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AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION



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In This Issue

This issue contains three articles, an *AHR Forum*, and a review essay. The articles explore a diverse analytical terrain: the effects of human enterprise on the medieval European ecology, the implications of the late nineteenth-century creation of an Algerian literary character, and the multiple meanings of a British-Tibetan encounter in the 1920s. The *Forum* tackles the critical but vexing issue of periodization in world history. And the review essay offers a wide-ranging analysis of recent work in early modern Italian religious history. The usual complement of book reviews completes the issue.

Articles

Richard C. Hoffmann takes an original look at the environmental history of pre-industrial Europe. He draws on a variety of sources to argue that the well-known growth of medieval human numbers, production, and commerce had a dramatic impact on the communities of plants and animals in Europe's streams and lakes. After about 1000 C.E., medieval economic growth increasingly transformed what had been a relatively stable relationship. Specifically, Hoffmann chronicles how agricultural and urban development changed aquatic habitats. Rising human demands for fish to eat depleted the natural populations of those species favored as food. Consequently, other species gained living space and human entrepreneurial and culinary interest. At the same time, Hoffmann contends that medieval Europeans sensed at least some of their impact on the environment and responded by adjusting both the way they organized their economic and social lives and their relationships to the natural world. Most notably, they privatized, commercialized, and regulated what had been free resources used by many people for subsistence. And Europeans developed artificial fish farms that both exploited and reinforced the ecological changes they had wrought. As a result, Hoffmann concludes, already well before the Renaissance, Europeans—and not merely the elites—had become accustomed to the economic transformation and modification of aquatic as well as terrestrial Nature. His article amply demonstrates the complexity and impact of medieval economic growth on the environment and in doing so raises questions about the ecological history of other parts of the globe.

David Prochaska uses the creation of an Algerian literary character at the turn of the twentieth century to explain how historical and literary perspectives can be combined to illuminate a colonial text. He argues that Cagayous of Algiers constitutes one of the primary European representations of Algeria as well as an important source for understanding the colonial society that spawned him. The most popular literary

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creation of colonial Algeria, the Cagayous tales were published between 1895 and 1920, an era that also witnessed the emergence of the Algerian colonial novel. Prochaska challenges the tendency of commentators in colonial Algeria to characterize the Cagayous tales as picaresque and thus to simultaneously aestheticize and dehistoricize the stories. Instead, he contends that the characters in these tales exemplify the formation of a distinctive settler colonial society between 1890 and 1914. This society came to be known as *pieds noirs* and included French, Spanish, Italian, Maltese, and other European settlers but excluded Jews as well as native Arabs and Berbers. Prochaska maintains that the Cagayous tales actively contributed to the formation of settler society by helping shape a collective identity for the *pieds noirs*. His argument is intended to suggest the kind of contributions historians can make to the growing body of work in postcolonial studies.

Peter H. Hansen recovers debates over the British Mt. Everest expeditions in the 1920s to examine the intersection of diplomatic policy, cross-cultural encounters, the cinema, exhibitions, and the discourse of "Orientalism." He argues that encounters during the Everest expeditions in Tibet and the performances of a group of "dancing lamas" in London redefined Anglo-Tibetan power relationships as intercultural and interdependent. Hansen explains that Tibetan permission to climb Everest hinged not only on the supply of weapons to Tibet but also on British respect for Tibetan religious beliefs and cultural practices. And though films about Everest climbs and the "dancing lamas" in London were often portrayed in terms of "Orientalism," the representations were often deeply ambivalent, mingling admiration with contempt. At the same time, in Lhasa, British diplomats and Tibetan officials promoted Anglo-Tibetan relations as an intercultural exchange. Hansen develops these contentions by noting the growing global influence of the cinema and mass media and following their extension into Tibet, where they inspired Tibetan resistance and played a crucial role in integrating culture and power. Hansen's argument purposely blurs the boundaries of British history, imperial history, and world history. And it suggests the attractions of intertwining diplomatic history and media studies and of using history and anthropology to illuminate one another.

AHR Forum

The *Forum* addresses the issue of periodization in world history. **Jerry H. Bentley** starts the discussion by declaring that historians who pursue comparative and cross-cultural themes must confront the challenge of identifying periods of time that are both meaningful and coherent across the boundary lines of societies and cultural regions. He proposes cross-cultural interaction—the participation of the world's peoples in processes that transcend individual societies and cultural regions—as a foundation for just such a periodization scheme. Bentley argues that processes of cross-cultural interaction had large-scale repercussions in pre-modern as well as modern times, and he focuses particular attention on the effects of mass migrations, campaigns of imperial expansion, and long-distance trade. On the basis of these cross-cultural interactions and their results, he sketches six major periods

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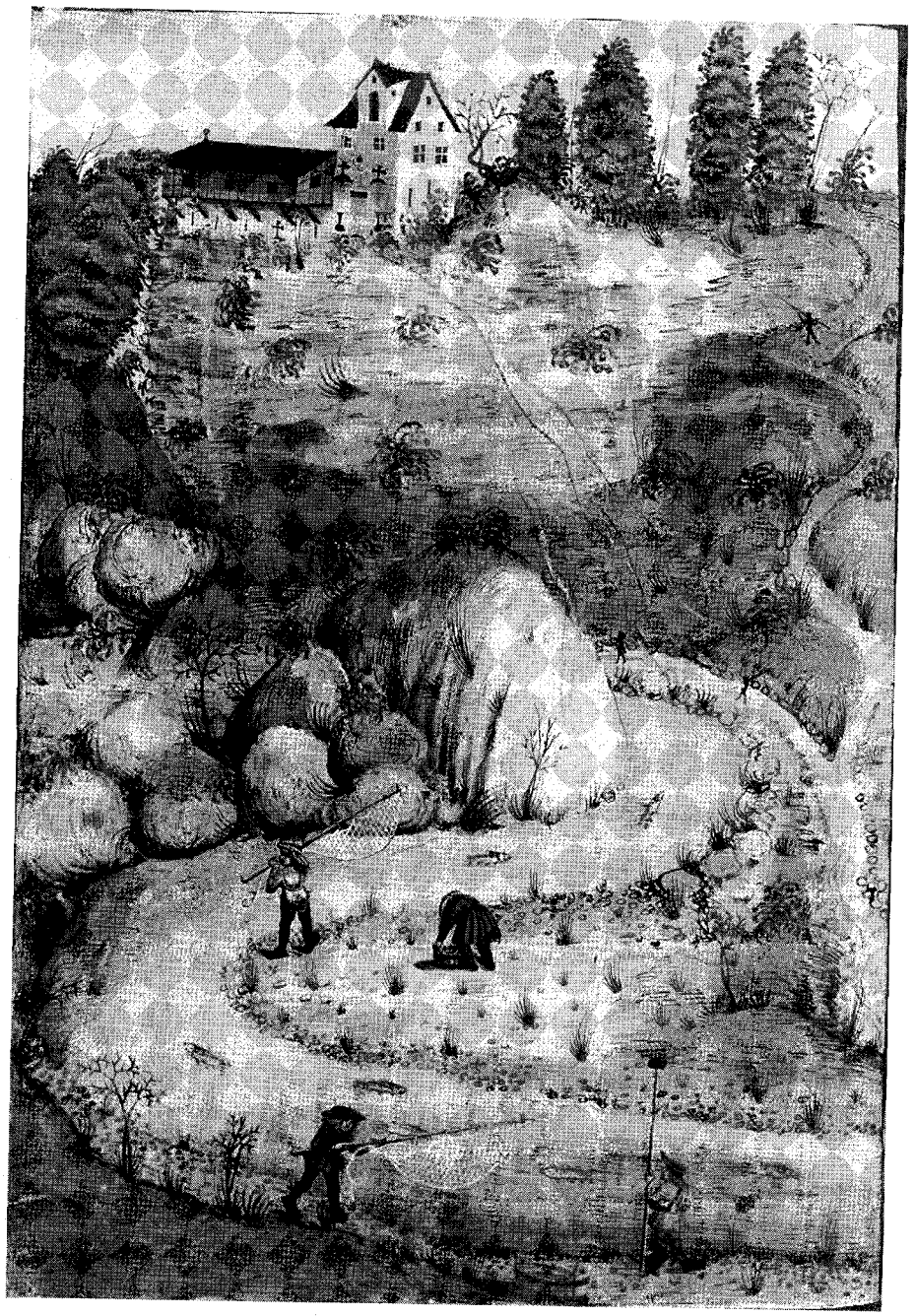
of world history. In developing his periodization scheme, Bentley recognizes that a global periodization based on cross-cultural interactions cannot encompass all of the world for all of time, and he acknowledges that local periodizations remain significant for efforts to understand the development of individual societies. Nevertheless, he maintains that large-scale periodizations can suggest pertinent contexts for understanding local and regional experiences, and declares that efforts to identify large-scale patterns of continuity and change are essential for historians examining the past from comparative, cross-cultural, or global perspectives.

In the accompanying comment, **Patrick Manning** endorses Bentley's proposal and also explains that accepting it makes cross-cultural interaction not only a criterion for periodization but also the main subject matter in world history. He explores the implications of this historiographical departure by noting the problematic nature of the terms "interaction," "culture," and "period." Manning argues that while many forms of interaction have taken place in history, historians tend to reduce them to a single process of cultural diffusion. He urges world historians to become more aware of the changing definitions and theories of culture, especially in the anthropological literature, and to select their concepts of culture with care. Further, in discussing various ways of constructing periods, Manning suggests going beyond trade, migration, and states as evidence for world-historical trade. As examples of other sources, he offers contacts and changes in food crops, dress, and family structure and points to the use of evidence drawn from historical linguistics. Manning concludes that adopting Bentley's approach to periodization would encourage researchers and students to focus on the conceptualization of processes in world history and thus turn them away from dense narratives of civilizational rise and fall that have plagued the field.

Review Essay

William V. Hudon surveys recent literature on early modern Italy, as well as archival and primary sources, to reconsider the utility of conventional concepts and categories used to understand that society, especially its religious experiences. He argues that though long-dominant concepts such as Francesco De Sanctis' and Benedetto Croce's theories of Italian sixteenth and seventeenth-century decline, as well as more recently constructed categories of "Catholic Reform" and "Counter Reformation," may be frequent historiographical targets, they unfortunately remain the analytical foundation of much of the work in the field. Furthermore, Hudon argues that newer concepts such as the currently fashionable "social disciplining" model only partially resolve the problems created by the conventional approaches. As a way out of these difficulties, he urges historians studying the place of religion in early modern Italian society to abandon the terms "Catholic Reform," "Counter Reformation," *spirituali*, *evangelismo*, and *intransigenti*. And he calls for studies of the practical effects of plans for organized religious repression that do not preordain the results. Hudon's essay is a compelling historiographical critique that encourages a reexamination of early modern Italy and suggests the need for similar analyses of other places and times.

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FRONTISPIECE: Four Tirolian fishers of Emperor Maximilian use the *Stangengarn*, a closeable net rigged on a long staff, to pursue what look like salmonid fishes in an unidentified mountain river. An original color illustration by Jörg Kölderer in the inventory of fishes compiled in 1504 for the emperor, who was duke of Tirol, by his *Fischmeister*, Wolfgang Hohenleiter. From the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, codex Vindobonensis 7962, fol. 26v. Used with permission.

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Economic Development and Aquatic Ecosystems in Medieval Europe

RICHARD C. HOFFMANN

WHAT COULD LATE MEDIEVAL PARISIANS eating carp instead of salmon have to do with serious history? Who but local antiquarians now cares that the Po flooded Mantua and Cremona in November 1280? After all, as Robin Fleming plainly showed in a centennial issue of the *American Historical Review*, scientific historians a century ago scorned picturesque details about foodstuffs, weather, and the like beyond the bounds of scholarly study of the European Middle Ages. The Historical Discipline would treat serious issues of politics and the higher literary and artistic activities of the human mind.[1] Yet the centennial issues have their ironic touches. Not a hundred pages after Fleming's study appears, Alfred W. Crosby indicted traditional (formerly, scientific) history for neglect of the concrete and the natural in the human past. He disdained the first professionals of the American Historical Association as being "with very few exceptions, marooned on one side of the chasm between the sciences and the liberal arts" and "immured in the past few hundred years."[2] Crosby then traced the slow birth of a self-conscious environmental history back (after some lonely precursors) to the mid-twentieth-century French discovery of the *longue durée* and a subsequent generation's environmental movement.

Few now deny that whatever humans do affects their non-human surroundings, and the non-human environment, living or not, also affects all human activity. Environmental historians explore and reconstruct these mutual interactions, bridging Crosby's chasm to identify precise and changing relationships among certain people and particular ecosystems. These historical phenomena are constitutive elements in the past and present of human societies, the human species, and the

Earlier versions of this essay were presented in whole or part at the 18th International Congress of Historical Sciences in Montreal; the 8th meeting of the Fish Remains Working Group, International Congress of Archaeozoology, in Cantoblanco; the International Congress of Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University; the Institute of Ichthyology at the University of Guelph; and the Historical Research Group at York University. Research reported here has been supported over the years by the Faculty of Arts, York University, by grants for travel from the International Research and Exchanges Board and the American Philosophical Society, and by a research grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. I am also grateful for the help and advice of Eugene Balon, Norbert Benecke, Thomas Cohen, Anton Ervynck, Dirk Heinrich, Jacob Imhof, Terryl Kinder, Elinor Melville, Hans-Hermann Müller, Jean Richard, Paolo Squatriti, Peter Stanisic, and colleagues in the Historical Research Group who, of course, are innocent of my remaining errors of fact and reasoning.

[1] Robin Fleming, "Picturesque History and the Medieval in Nineteenth-Century America," *AHR*, 100 (October 1995): 1087–89.

[2] Alfred W. Crosby, "The Past and Present of Environmental History," *AHR*, 100 (October 1995): 1181.

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planet. Certainly what matters in the selection of historical data is the question being asked, and the questions of environmental history were wholly outside the ken of medievalists and others a hundred years ago. No longer.

Scholars have examined medieval woodlands, wetlands, pastures, and fields, and in recent years have even done this from environmental as well as economic perspectives. Not so for waters, and especially not for waters as habitats for living organisms.[3] This article argues that growing human population, production, and exchange in medieval Europe interacted with the communities of plants and animals in Europe's streams and lakes. After identifying natural features of Europe's aquatic ecosystems, I describe ways in which well-known medieval economic developments altered them. In those distant times, too, growth had distinct environmental impact. As, in turn, medieval Europeans perceived changes to their environment, they both adjusted their own social relations and undertook deliberate modifications to their aquatic surroundings. To find people "managing" natural resources in the Middle Ages challenges those scholars who think the very notion an invention of Renaissance engineers and intellectuals. Agents for conscious human superiority and control over nature and came, it is here proposed, from an earlier, more pragmatic, and more popular setting. Readers with better knowledge of other pasts and presents far from medieval Europe or the water's edge will recognize historical parallels in their own experience.

This essay does not promise any comprehensive environmental history of medieval inland waters, with the necessary full unraveling of mutually interlocking relations among natural ecosystems, economic production, and cultural understandings. It concentrates instead on tracing the most direct patterns of impact and response between a growing and more complex medieval economy and life in fresh waters. Of course, even now, environmental consequences hover at the edge of human awareness, so none should be surprised to find here occasionally hypothetical reconstruction from an exiguous and often quite unintentional medieval record. Scraps of historical information are patterned by known ecological relationships and processes.[4]

READERS UNFAMILIAR WITH AQUATIC BIOLOGY or European landscapes deserve some preliminary orientation to these subjects. Natural aquatic ecosystems in Europe result from the physical geography and Pleistocene glaciation of the subcontinent.[5]

[3] Contrast the abiotic hydrology of André Guillerme, *The Age of Water: The Urban Environment in the North of France, A.D. 300–1800* (College Station, Tex., 1988) [French original, 1983], with such lively examples as Oliver Rackham, *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape*, rev. edn. (London, 1990); Robert Delort, *Le commerce des fourrures en Occident à la fin du moyen âge (vers 1300–vers 1450)*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1978); and William TeBrake, *Medieval Frontier: Culture and Economy in Rijnland* (College Station, 1985).

[4] For the Middle Ages, Crosby, "Past and Present," 1181, is naïve to think "the data environmental historians needed were to be found in government reports and scientific journals filled with . . . numbers and charts." Besides particular items noted below to make sense of the historical data, see essential background in H. B. N. Hynes, *The Ecology of Running Waters* (Toronto, 1970).

[5] In accord with social and natural differences, this article focuses on the lands of medieval Western Christendom from the Mediterranean coasts to Scandinavia. It does not range into the Balkans or eastern Slavic territories, which belonged to the distinctive sibling culture of orthodox Christendom,

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Europe projects as a peninsula from the larger land mass of Eurasia; ecologists find that a peninsular situation commonly reduces the variety of all resident life-forms (species). Speaking very generally, beyond the mountainous zones along the Mediterranean and Black Sea, the subcontinent slopes to the north and west through uneven (but not abrupt) relief and becomes more humid. From Central and Western Europe north of the Alps, only the Danube flows eastward. Terrain and climate make for many flowing waters, which provide what ecologists call "lotic" habitats, but rather few and localized permanent standing waters with still-water, or "lentic," habitats.

During the half millennium or so after the collapse of Roman populations and political authority, thick communities of native plants blanketed most of the irregular and damp landscape north of the Alps. Vegetative cover on the drier and more abrupt Italian and Iberian peninsulas continued to show aftereffects from intensive human use during ancient times.[6] Some good-sized areas throughout Europe were still under dense, wild woodland, where human activity was little noticed. More terrain held open woods and brushlands subject to intermittent and extensive use by scattered human communities and their livestock. Tight growths of woody and large herbaceous plants covered the well-irrigated margins of watercourses.[7] So protected, the land absorbed precipitation and retained both its soils and the plant nutrients in them. Fed by well-filtered and slowly released surface runoff and ground water, Europe's streams ran clear, cool, and stable. Seasonal high waters inundated only natural flood plains. Even in wetlands, rooted aquatic vegetation absorbed soluble nutrients and kept the water clear. In the late fourth century, the Gallo-Roman writer Ausonius saw the Moselle "bright as water in crystal goblets," and his "vision, when it pierces this deep stream, finds the open secrets of the bottom."[8] Limpid flows tumble through other poetic Gallic land-

sometimes called the "Byzantine Commonwealth," and contain vastly more complex and varied fish fauna in unglaciated (Balkans) or truly continental (Russia) habitats.

[6] Vito Fumagalli, *Landscapes of Fear: Perceptions of Nature and the City in the Middle Ages*, Shayne Mitchell, trans. (Cambridge, 1994), 99–103; C. Vita-Finzi, *The Mediterranean Valleys: Geological Change in Historical Times* (Cambridge, 1969), 65–82, 91–120; J. R. McNeill, *The Mountains of the Mediterranean World: An Environmental History* (Cambridge, 1992), 16–18, 72–74, 84–86; J. Donald Hughes, *Pan's Travail: Environmental Problems of the Ancient Greeks and Romans* (Baltimore, Md., 1994), 16–18, 77–84, 190. See also note 33 below.

[7] H. Darby, "The Clearing of the Woodland in Europe," in W. L. Thomas, ed., *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth* (Chicago, 1956), 183–216, is a classic survey, but for the importance of early medieval woodland, see the pioneering essay of Charles Higounet, "Les forêts de l'Europe occidentale du V^{e} au XI^{e} siècle," in *Agricoltura e mondo rurale in Occidente nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1966), 343–98; and the recent examination of its physical and economic attributes by Chris Wickham, "European Forests in the Early Middle Ages: Landscape and Land Clearance," in *L'ambiente vegetale nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1990), 2: 479–545. Stable and well-vegetated riparian zones are described in G. Petts, "Forested River Corridors, a Lost Resource," in Denis Cosgrove, ed., *Water, Engineering, and Landscape: Water Control and Landscape Transformation in the Modern Period* (London, 1990), 12–34; and other medieval examples appear in Fumagalli, *Landscapes*, 99–103; Alain Derville, "Rivières et canaux du Nord/Pas-de-Calais aux époques médiévales et moderne," *Revue du Nord*, 72 (1990): 19; Richard C. Hoffmann, *Land, Liberties, and Lordship in a Late Medieval Countryside: Agrarian Structures and Change in the Duchy of Wrocław* (Philadelphia, 1989), 13–14, 100–04, and 255–56. George Lambrick, "Alluvial Archaeology of the Holocene in the Upper Thames Basin 1971–1991: A Review," in Stuart Needham and Mark G. Macklin, eds., *Alluvial Archaeology in Britain* (Oxford, 1992), 222, notes a decline in the rate of alluviation at the start of the Saxon period.

[8] D. Magnus Ausonius, *Mosella*, Charles-Marie Ternes, ed. (Paris, 1972), ll. 22–74, notably 27–28, 61–62. A century later, Sidonius Apollinaris described another transparent river and lake in *Epistolae*,

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scapes all the way to 1200.[9] In Thuringian Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Titurel* (*ca.* 1210–20), Schionatulander angled for trout and grayling while wading "through the cool and clear-running brook."[10]

Life-forms in early medieval waters had survived or repopulated the very antithesis of a freshwater habitat, the continental ice sheet. Millennia earlier, more glacial ice had flowed across Western Europe from the north than down from the ice caps of its inland mountains. As the waters chilled below the tolerance levels of aquatic organisms, those unable to move into salt water died or withdrew to the southeast, the one direction where warm fresh water was accessible.[11] Cold and salt-intolerant fishes survived the Ice Age only in the refuge of the lower Danube and other rivers running from the Balkans into the Black Sea. From there, it was a slow and partial process to recolonize the greater part of peninsular Western Europe. Hence the numbers of fish species in European watersheds fall sharply along an east-west gradient.

The clear, cool waters of post-glacial Western Europe thus held relatively simple fish communities with a low diversity of native species.[12] Most were well adapted to

II, 2 and 9 (W. B. Anderson, ed. and trans., *Sidonius Poems and Letters*, 2 vols. [Cambridge, Mass., 1936, 1965]).

[9] Guillerme, *Age of Water*, 76–77, provides several examples. Another is the description of convalescent monks watching fish play where the upper Aube entered the gardens of early thirteenth-century Clairvaux, which is found in "Descriptio positionis seu situationis monasterii Claraevallensis," *Patrologia Latina*, J. P. Migne, ed., 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–44, 1862–64), vol. 185, cols. 569–72. Though translated as "Description of the Position and Site of the Abbey of Clairvaux" in Samuel J. Eales, ed. and trans., *Life and Works of St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux*, 2 vols., 2d edn. (London, 1912), 2: 460–65, the text postdates Bernard's death. Robert Fossier, "L'essor économique de Clairvaux," in *Bernard de Clairvaux*, Commission d'Histoire de l'Ordre de Cîteaux, ed. (Paris, 1953), 3: 110–12, treats pond building at Clairvaux.

[10] *Titurel*, strophe 159, 3, Walter J. Schröder and Gisela Hollandt, eds. (Darmstadt, 1971), 617.

[11] For a fish to survive moving between fresh and salt water, its kidneys must reverse their function to maintain its vital osmotic balance. This can only be done by certain inshore marine species (called euryhaline) such as flounder and mullet, and by so-called diadromous fishes, which split their life cycles between fresh and salt water. Freshwater fishes can naturally move from one habitat to another only through a (possibly temporary) freshwater link in which both temperature and dissolved oxygen levels fall within the tolerance of the species. For basic features of fish distribution in Europe, see Johannes Lepiksaar, "Die spät- und postglaziale Faunengeschichte der Süsswasserfische im Schweden: Übersicht der subfossilen Funde und der Versuch einer faunengeschichtlichen Analyse der rezente Artareale" (typescript, Göteborg, 1983); Margaret Varley, *British Freshwater Fishes: Factors Affecting Their Distribution* (London, 1967); A. Thienemann, *Verbreitungsgeschichte der Süsswassertierwelt Europas* (Stuttgart, 1950). A recent case study of retreat and recolonization by two warm-water species, the catfish (*Silurus glanis*) and the pike perch (*Stizostedion lucioperca*), is Dirk Heinrich, "Bemerkungen zur nordwestlichen Verbreitung des Welses, *Silurus glanis* L., unter Berücksichtigung subfossiler Knochenfunde," *Zoologische Jahrbücher: Abteilung für Systematik, Ökologie, und Geographie der Tiere*, 121 (1994): 303–20.

[12] "Western Europe is exceptional in that it has a very limited freshwater fish fauna, probably because of the Pleistocene glaciations. There the Alps prevented both retreat and recolonization, and many species must have been eliminated . . . It will be appreciated, therefore, that the ecology of fishes in European rivers is possibly somewhat simpler than it is in most other continents." Hynes, *Ecology*, 337–38.

Spain and Italy have species inventories still more abbreviated than elsewhere in Europe and few distinctive autochthonous taxa. This argues against these southern regions being major glacial refuges for freshwater fishes. Instead, Alps and Pyrenees alike barred the spread of species from the rest of Europe and accentuated the peninsular effect remarked above. Historically significant native inland fisheries in Italy are based primarily on migratory fishes, which also use the Mediterranean. See William A. Dill, *Inland Fisheries of Europe* (Rome, 1990), 255; and general remarks in N. F. Prat, *et al.*, "Llobregat," in B. A. Whitton, ed., *Ecology of European Rivers* (Oxford, 1984), 542.

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cold, well-oxygenated, alkaline, running-water habitats with low levels of dissolved nutrients (called "oligotrophic"). Many fishes in drainages running to the Atlantic, North Sea, and Baltic show adaptations to marine access and to conditions in the ice-front lakes that had joined these basins while the glacier withdrew slowly down-slope to the north.[13] Varieties notably important as fish biomass and for human use in watersheds from the Garonne to the Vistula were the sturgeon (*Acipenser sturio*), the shads (*Alosa alosa* and *Alosa fallax*), and the closely related families of salmon, trout (*Salmonidae*), and whitefish (*Coregonidae*).[14] Most of these fishes are anadromous, meaning they spend their adult lives more or less at sea and return to fresh water to reproduce. Two of Western Europe's three species of lampreys (*Petromyzonidae*), eel-shaped but primitive and parasitic fishes, are also anadromous. Eel (*Anguilla anguilla*), however, a species of large and growing economic importance, have the reverse habit of "catadromy," for they enter fresh water as larvae to grow and mature, and return to the sea to spawn and die. Eel, lampreys, sturgeon, and shads were also important natives of western Mediterranean watersheds, but marine migratory salmonids do not occur there. Other ubiquitous (apart from peninsular Italy and Spain), numerous, and oft-eaten native fishes were the European representatives of two circumpolar genera, the perch (*Perca fluviatilis*), and the pike (*Esox lucius*). About 1080, the monk Ulrich compiled a dictionary of the sign language used at Cluny, then Western Christendom's most respected monastery, during times of compulsory silence. His section on foods named only six fishes, but five of them were from fresh water: salmon, trout, pike, eel, and lamprey.[15]

Other parts of the Old World have many representatives of the huge family of carp-like fishes, the *Cyprinidae*, which commonly favor warm and lentic habitats. By comparison, however, western European waters naturally held rather few members of this family; and those present, such as the barbel (*Barbus barbus*), bream (*Abramis brama*), roach (*Rutilus rutilus*), minnow (*Phoxinus phoxinus*), or gudgeon (*Gobio gobio*), were unusually adapted to cool and/or lotic conditions. Only barbel and gudgeon, two cyprinids especially suited to swiftly flowing middle reaches of

[13] Generally, for what follows, see Alwyne Wheeler, *The Fishes of the British Isles and North-West Europe* (East Lansing, Mich., 1969); and M. Blanc, *et al.*, *European Inland Water Fish: A Multilingual Catalogue* (London, 1971), and works cited in note 11 above.

[14] Shared characteristics of physiology (streamlined form, light color), habitat preferences (well-oxygenated water in main river channels, lakes, or the sea), and behavior (long-distance migration to spawn in open water over clean and unvegetated substrate) place all these taxa into an ecological assemblage called "white fish" in the analytical scheme introduced by Robin L. Welcomme and further articulated in Henry J. Regier, *et al.*, "Rehabilitation of Degraded River Ecosystems," in Douglas P. Dodge, ed., *Proceedings of the International Large River Symposium* (Ottawa, 1989), 93–96. In contrast, species they call "grey fish" are more laterally compressed, darker colored fishes of backwaters or main channel fringes, which can tolerate lower oxygen levels and move laterally into vegetated edges along the flood plain to reproduce. In temperate Europe, pike, several members of the perch family, and some members of the carp family—chub, dace, nose, etc.—may be considered "grey fish." "Black fish" have compressed or soft and elongated bodies of very dark color; they live in quiet, heavily vegetated flood-plain bodies of water, where they can survive very low oxygen levels and often guard complex nests. Western Europe has few prototypical "black fish," but the maturing eel in fresh water, tench, crucian carp, and carp have many "black" characteristics. Each association responds differently to particular alterations to the aquatic ecosystem. These correspondences will be noted below.

[15] Ulrich of Cluny, "Consuetudines Cluniacensis," II.4 (*Patrologia Latina*, vol. 149, col. 703). Note the absence of species preferring warm, still waters. Cluny, on a tributary of the Saône in southern Burgundy, is some 300 kilometers from salt water.

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streams, joined perch, pike, salmon, and eel in the catches that twelfth-century sporting cleric Gui of Bazoches made in northern French waters.[16]

An ecological principle emphasizes the importance of "edge" between two adjoining habitats as affording access to resources in both. Rich populations of fishes in Europe's streams attracted many air-breathing predators, birds, mammals, and humans, to the stable boundaries between water and land.[17] Seventh-century Irish monk Gall and his Swabian deacon Hiltibod lived and fished on the shore of the Bodensee. Gall sought the wilderness up the Steinach and settled where they saw and caught many fish. In seeking one meal for visitors, Gall had help from a pair of otters that also fished that pool.[18] Contemporary proto-Polish fishers clustered along their streams in settlements called "Fish Eaters" (*Rybejady*). What they ate was what they caught. Archaeologists still find in food refuse from the unfortified habitation sites of early medieval peasants all across the north European plain the remains of those fishes that local waters supplied in abundance.[19] To this direct subsistence fishery, even the earliest Middle Ages had added indirect subsistence consumption by elite non-fishers.[20] Servants built a fish trap in the

[16] Epistola 21, ll. 70–88 (Herbert Adolfsson, ed., *Liber epistularum Guidonis de Basochis* [Stockholm, 1969], 97–98). Gui's fishing is discussed in Richard C. Hoffmann, "Fishing for Sport in Medieval Europe: New Evidence," *Speculum*, 60 (1985): 886–87.

[17] Compare Randall F. Schalk, "The Structure of an Anadromous Fish Resource," in L. R. Binford, ed., *For Theory Building in Archaeology* (New York, 1977), 207–49.

[18] Walafrid Strabo, *Vita Galli*, lib. 1, 6–7, 9–12, 28; *Vita Galli confessoris triplex*, Bruno Krusch, ed. in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (hereafter, *MGH*), *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, Vol. 4, 229–337 (Hanover, 1902); and *The Life of St. Gall*, Maud Joynt, ed. and trans. (London, 1927). Monks at Stavelot on the Meuse then operated their own fish weir, too ("Miracula S. Remacli," *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept., I, 701).

[19] Jan Żak, "Der Fischfang in der Wirtschaft der protopolnischen Stämme des 6. bis 8. Jahrhunderts," *Offa: Berichte und Mitteilungen*, 37 (1980): 197–200. For examples of fish eaten at early medieval non-elite riparian sites, see, among others, Zygmunt Chełkowski, "Szczątki ryb w materiale wykopaliskowym z osady wszesnośredniowiecznej Szczecin-Mścięcino," *Materiały Zachodniopomorskie*, 5 (1959): 165–86, and tables; and "Wczesnośredniowieczne pozostałości ryb z Kamienia Pomorskiego," *Materiały Zachodniopomorskie*, 6 (1960): 245–64; Michał Iwaszkiewicz, "Szczątki rybie z miejscowości Szeligi, pow. Płock," in W. Szymański, ed., *Szeligi pod Płockiem na początku wczesnego średniowiecza* (Wrocław, 1967), 360; Norbert Benecke, "Die Fischreste aus den slawischen Inselsiedelungen in der Lieps und im Tollensesee," in V. Schmidt, ed., *Lieps: Eine slawische Siedlungskammer am Südende des Tollensesees* (Berlin, 1984), 118–21; and Benecke, "Die Fischreste aus einer frühmittelalterlichen Siedlung bei Menzlin, Kreis Anklam," *Bodendenkmalpflege in Mecklenburg*, Jahrbuch 1986, 225–39; Wietske Prummel, *Early Medieval Dorestad, an Archaeozoological Study* (Amersfoort, 1983), 11–13, 233–36; Jenny Coy, "Fish Bones," in G. G. Astill and S. J. Lobb, "Roman and Saxon Deposits at Wraysbury," *The Archaeological Journal*, 146 (1989): 118–20, and microfiche M1/68–74. Several of these sites also had early medieval fishing gear.

[20] Following the combined precedents of B. H. Slicher van Bath, *The Agrarian History of Western Europe A.D. 500–1850*, Olive Ordish, trans. (New York, 1963), 24; Andres von Brandt, *Fish Catching Methods of the World*, 3d edn. rev. (Farnham, Surrey, 1984), 3–4; and Alan B. McCullough, *The Commercial Fishery of the Canadian Great Lakes* (Ottawa, 1989), 7, I distinguish between subsistence, commercial, and recreational fisheries. A subsistence fishery is one in which fish are caught for consumption by the fisher and his or her household (direct subsistence) or by the fisher's master, lord, or employer (indirect subsistence) without intervention of a market. A commercial fishery is one in which fish are caught for sale, whether to the immediate consumer or through intermediaries. As will be noted, in some historical circumstances the same catch could result in transfers of fish for both indirect subsistence and sale. A commercial fishery with production units of a household or small crew may further be termed an artisanal as opposed to an industrial fishery. A recreational (sport) fishery is one in which fish are caught for pleasure (though they may then be consumed). Recreational fishing as such, though surely practiced in medieval Europe (see Hoffmann, "Fishing for Sport"), is not especially germane here. Note that the classification of fisheries is by economic purpose and bears no necessary or *a priori* relation to techniques of capture or target species.

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Subsistence fishing? St. Peter is depicted as a successful angler in a fragment from an anonymous English Gospel lectionary done in the style of the Canterbury school about 1000 A.D. Collection of the J. Paul Getty Musuem, Malibu, California, MS. 9 (85. MS. 79), fol. 2v. Used with permission.

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Meuse for eighth-century Bishop Hubert of Tongres-Maastricht, and fishers on the Mincio near Mantua in 813 were obliged to turn half of their catch over to Nonantola Abbey.[21] By that time, Western Christians agreed that when religious custom forbade eating meat, only fish was an acceptable substitute.[22]

OF COURSE, MEDIEVAL EUROPE did not remain, if it had ever been, a simple society sustained by the gathered bounty of local nature. Modern generations of historians have learned to recognize characteristic patterns of medieval economic growth. Put simply, some time in the tenth century, human numbers began to increase, and so with them did land under the plow for production of cereal grains. The medieval agricultural sector improved its equipment and farming methods. Higher productivity and more available surpluses permitted exponential expansion of a hitherto tiny and luxury-dependent exchange sector, and this transformed Europe's minuscule groupings of non-agricultural administrators and consumers into new and dynamic urban centers, the nodes of a market economy. Even when the demographic and agrarian upsurge petered out into stagnation and decline in the fourteenth century, commercial specialization and trading networks continued to thicken and to infiltrate formerly subsistence activities.

What had this increase in economic activity to do with aquatic life? Replacement of woodlands with intensified arable agriculture changed basic hydrological conditions, both directly and by proliferation of water-powered grain mills. Rising human populations and their concentration into towns added nutrients and contaminants to water courses, while the demand for fish as food soared. As these effects accumulated in each region, freshwater fisheries visibly came under stress.[23]

One familiar and basic change in the medieval economy needs mere rearticulation in ecological terms: growing reliance on cereal food meant permanent plowed fields replaced woodland from central Spain to Sweden and from Wales to Poland.[24] Forests slow runoff and maintain steady stream flow, and the clearance of woodlands makes the pattern of stream discharge more irregular. Rain and

[21] "Vita Hugberti episcopi Traiectensis," in *MGH, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, Vol. 6 (Hanover, 1913), 487–88; Giuseppe Mira, *La pesca nel medioevo nelle acque interne italiane* (Milano, 1937), 5. The interest in Alpine lake fisheries of monasteries at Tegernsee and Mondsee and of the archbishopric of Salzburg is well documented before 850 ("Passio Quirini Tegernseensis," Bruno Krusch, ed. in *MGH, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, Vol. 3 [Hanover, 1896], 12; Willibald Hauthaler, ed., *Salzburger Urkundenbuch*, Vol. 1 [Salzburg, 1910], 907 and 915).

[22] "Carême," *Dictionnaire de theologie catholique*, Vol. 1 (Paris, 1908), 1742–43; Hannelore Zug Tucci, "Il mondo medievale dei pesci tra realta' e immaginazione," in *L'uomo di fronte al mondo animale nell'alto Medio Evo* (Spoleto, 1985), 294–301.

[23] In Regier, "Rehabilitation," 87–88 (and see works there cited), fishery ecologists argue that "conventional exploitative development" damages aquatic ecosystems through a sequence and synergy of excessive harvests, damming, destructive cultural practices, organic and toxic pollution, and urbanization without regard for environmental effects. Their ecosystem model comes primarily from comparative study of more or less modified river systems in the late twentieth century. The deeper historical record will confirm it in general but suggests greater nuance and different specific processes.

[24] Darby, "Clearing"; Walther Maas, *Les moines-défricheurs: Etudes sur les transformations du paysage au Moyen Age aux confins de la Champagne et de la Lorraine* (Moulins, 1944), 22–23; Jean-Marie Jenn, "Défrichments cisterciens dans la région de Colmar au douzième siècle," *Annuaire de la Société historique et littéraire de Colmar*, 19 (1969–70), 42–48; Werner Rösener, *Bauern im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1985), 40–54, 118–33; Rackham, *Trees and Woodland*, 39–90; Helmut Jäger, *Einführung in die Umweltsgeschichte* (Darmstadt, 1994), 81–84.

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meltwaters run more quickly off farmland. Larger and faster runoff exerts greater erosive force on stream beds and channels, and then falling water levels leave a contracted stream and deposits of eroded materials. One astute observer in late thirteenth-century Alsace noted how clearance of the Vosges in his own lifetime had caused much more rapid and dangerous runoff.[25] Modern scholars detect the same sequence of medieval deforestation and flooding in the Po basin and in central Poland.[26] Biologists now also know that unstable flow regimes create difficult habitats for fishes. Those living in running water must expend more energy during floods. They lose eggs and young to winter floods and suffer high mortalities when small streams dry up in summer. Species that spawn in flooded margins are adapted to consistent seasonal patterns of rising and falling water, so instability disrupts their reproductive behavior.[27]

Soil erosion and the resulting alluvial deposition is becoming a well-documented consequence of medieval agricultural expansion. First, the natural vegetative cover was removed. Then, characteristic medieval farming practices disrupted the soil surface and its structure. Plowmen drove long straight furrows or pulverized the soil to prepare it for the autumn sowing of winter grains. Bare fallow stripped all plants from a third or half of arable almost all year. Large open fields stopped neither wind nor water nor the downward creep of the soil itself. Topsoil thus flowed to the watercourses, especially during heavy winter rains and snowmelt.[28] In the Leine valley of Saxony, large sediments from eroded topsoil overlain with former subsoil yield C_{14} dates between the 790s and 850s; the Frankish conqueror Charlemagne had promoted new rural settlements and clearances there during the 780s and 790s.[29] In the upper Thames basin, valley erosion and deposition on flood plains reached an all-time high in late Saxon and early Norman times. Siltation in

[25] Writing around 1300, a Colmar Dominican compared his own times with the less developed Alsace his fellow friars had entered a century before: "Streams and rivers were then not so large as now, because the roots of trees held back in the mountains for a time the flow of [melting] snow and cloudbursts." P. Jaffé, ed., "De rebus Alsaticis ineuntis saeculi XIII," in *MGH, Scriptorum*, Vol. 17 (Hanover, 1861), 236.

[26] Fumagalli, *Landscapes*, 110–21. T. Dunin-Wąsowicz, "Natural Environment and Human Settlement over the Central European Lowland in the 13th Century," in Peter Brimblecombe and Christian Pfister, eds., *The Silent Countdown: Essays in European Environmental History* (Berlin, 1990), 94–95, 102, refers to "great changes in the hydrographic balance, which reached proportions of a natural disaster during the course of the 13th century." In the lower Harz, wet-season floods and dry-season dewatering of streams and springs followed the cutting of forests to fuel a mining and iron-working industry that grew from the late 1200s to 1400s. M. Linke, "Medieval Deserted Fields and Deserted Villages in the Lower Harz Mountains—An Interim Report," in B. K. Roberts and R. E. Glasscock, eds., *Villages, Fields and Frontiers: Studies in European Rural Settlement in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods* (Oxford, 1983), 296, 301.

[27] Compare Hynes, *Ecology*, 327–32, and the habits ascribed to "white fish" and "grey fish" by Regier, "Rehabilitation," 93–96.

[28] A point emphasized in both J. Vogt, "Aspects of Historical Soil Erosion in Western Europe," in Brimblecombe and Pfister, *Silent Countdown*, 86–88, and Martin Bell, "Archaeology under Alluvium: Human Agency and Environmental Process; Some Concluding Thoughts," in Needham and Macklin, *Alluvial Archaeology*, 272.

[29] H.-J. Nitz, "Feudal Woodland Colonization as a Strategy of the Carolingian Empire in the Conquest of Saxony: Reconstruction of the Spatial Patterns of Expansion and Colonist Settlement Morphology in the Leine-Weser Region," in Roberts and Glasscock, *Villages, Fields and Frontiers*, 178. Linke, "Medieval Deserted Fields," 296, finds similar evidence in soil profiles from the bottom of slopes on abandoned medieval fields in the Lower Harz and especially blames the bare winter fallow of a three-course rotation. A more general view of the process is taken in Wickham, "European Forests," 534, and works there cited.

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backwaters along the Lys and Scarpe in Artois and Hainault is mentioned during the late 1200s.[30] Grain-growing monastic granges established about 1300 on the once-wooded shores and valley of the Lac d'Annecy in Savoy were followed by an increased rate of lake-bottom sedimentation. Today, we find that these deposits contain pollens from cultivars and field weeds and analytic features indicative of topsoil rather than channel erosion.[31] Further downstream, the Oude Rijn mouth of the Rhine in Holland silted shut by the eleventh century, and the one-time bay between Gdańsk and Elbląg was filled between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries by the expanding delta of the Vistula.[32] Long, unavailing struggles of Ravenna against the filling of the Po delta and of Bruges against the plugging of the Zwin are historical commonplaces.[33] Such heavy silt loads make water more often turbid, reduce the penetration of light, and can smother organisms living in weed or gravel beds. Like the more dramatic alternation of floods and low water, the effects favor certain species over others.

To process the new grain supplies, a little-used late antique invention, the watermill, spread rapidly across the medieval landscape. From perhaps two hundred in King Alfred's England, they multiplied to 5,624 in the Domesday Book of 1085. In Poitou, Berry, Burgundy, and Lorraine, mills proliferated from the tenth century through the twelfth. On the Aube, where fourteen mills were recorded in the eleventh century, sixty-two could be counted in the twelfth century and almost two hundred in the early thirteenth. Then and later, their construction became a normal part of rural development in the Egerland and in central Silesia.[34] As one modern student summed it up,

[30] Lambrick, "Alluvial Archaeology," 222; Derville, "Rivières et canaux," 11, 15, 19.

[31] Reported in F. Oldfield and R. L. Clark, "Environmental History—The Environmental Evidence," in Brimblecombe and Pfister, *Silent Countdown*, 152–55, and works there cited.

[32] TeBrake, *Medieval Frontier*, 70, 147–48; J. Filuk, "Biologiczno-rybacka charakterystyka ichtiofauny zalewu wiślanego na tle badań paleoichtiologicznych, historycznych i współczesnych," *Pomorania antiqua*, 2 (1968): 146–48.

[33] Large areas in peninsular Italy and other parts of the classical Mediterranean had, however, already suffered permanent damage from deforestation, overgrazing, and erosion followed by coastal deposition in Roman times (Hughes, *Pan's Travail*, 90, 190), so further changes during the Middle Ages (as, for instance, at the mouth of the Tiber) were less dramatic there.

[34] For a major overview, see Terry S. Reynolds, *Stronger Than a Hundred Men: A History of the Vertical Water Wheel* (Baltimore, Md., 1983), 47–69. Regional discussions include Jean Richard, "Les étangs et le commerce du poisson en Bourgogne," in *L'eau en Bourgogne* (Dijon, 1986), 98–99; Guy Devailly, *Le Berry du X^e siècle au milieu du XIII^e: Etude politique, religieuse, sociale et économique* (Paris, 1973), 226–27; Jacques Brien, "Le développement de l'ordre cistercien en Poitou aux XII^ème siècle et dans la prèmiere moitie du XIII^ème siècle: Essai sur l'emplacement des monastères cisterciens" (Poitiers, 1954), 6; Maas, *Moines-défricheurs*, 71–74; Hans Muggenthaler, *Kolonisatorische und wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit eines deutschen Zisterzienserklosters im XII. und XIII. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1924), 129–31; Willy Cnopf, *Die Entwicklung und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Teichwirtschaft in Mittelfranken* (Dissertation Erlangen, 1926), 9–23; Hoffmann, *Land, Liberties, and Lordship*, 261–62; Maria Dembińska, *Przetwórstwo zbożowe w Polsce średniowiecznej (X–XIV wiek)* (Warsaw, 1973), 63–175; Zofia Podwińska, "Rozmieszczenie wodnych młyno zbożowych w Małopolsce w XV wieku," *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, 18 (1970): 373–402; Richard Holt, *The Mills of Medieval England* (Oxford, 1988), 107–44; John Langdon, "Lordship and Peasant Consumerism in the Milling Industry of Early Fourteenth-Century England," *Past and Present*, 145 (November 1994): 3–46; John Muendel, "The Grain Mills of Pistoia in 1350," *Bollettino Storico Pistoiese*, 74 (1972): 39–64; and "The Distribution of Mills in the Florentine Countryside during the Late Middle Ages," in J. Ambrose Raftis, ed., *Pathways to Medieval Peasants* (Toronto, 1981), 83–115.

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Watermill and fish traps on the Lincolnshire estate of Sir Geoffrey Luttrell, *circa* 1330. A marginal illustration in the Luttrell Psalter, British Library, London, Additional Mss. 42130, fol. 181r. Used with permission.

By the close of the Middle Ages watermills were in use on streams of every type. They dammed up the rivers of medieval man; they were on the banks of his brooks and creeks, in the middle of his rivers, under his bridges, and along his coastlines. They impeded navigation and created streams (in the form of mill races and power canals) and lakes (in the form of storage reservoirs behind waterpower dams) where none had existed before.[35]

In fact, the streams had existed but not the ponds. Medieval watermills commonly powered their overshot wheels by using a dam or weir to concentrate the falling water and pond a reserve supply of it. Medieval millwrights learned to do this on ever larger rivers. Dams blocked running water and created still water. As moving water slows, it drops the solids it has carried in suspension. On the Derwent in the English Midlands, two meters of gravel and silt alluvium eventually covered a one-meter timber mill dam, gate, and raceway, which have been dated by dendrochronology to the mid-twelfth century.[36] The broad surfaces of standing waters absorb more solar energy. This both warms the water and further improves conditions for the growth of rooted plants. Twelfth-century Picard charters and conveyances show slower, deeper, and weedier waters backing up behind mill dams and weirs all along the Scarpe, the Oise, and the Somme.[37] Ubiquitous watermills

[35] Reynolds, *Stronger Than a Hundred Men*, 69.

[36] Patrick Clay, "A Norman Mill Dam at Hemington Fields, Castle Donington, Leicestershire," in Needham and Macklin, *Alluvial Archaeology*, 163–68, and works there cited. Compare Zbigniew Bagniewski and Piotr Kubów, "Średniowieczny młyn wody z Ptakowic na Dolnynm Śląsku," *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, 25 (1977): 3–30; and other medieval Polish mills described in Dembińska, *Przetwórstwo zbożowe*, 90–135. Luisa Chiappa Mauri, *I mulini a acqua nel Milanese (secoli X–XV)* (Rome, 1984), 152–75, emphasizes an early medieval replacement of horizontal with vertical wheels; and Germain Sicard, *Les moulins de Toulouse au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1953), 38–43, documents a shift from mills on anchored rafts to land-based mills with dams or weirs.

[37] Robert Fossier, *La terre et les hommes en Picardie jusqu'à la fin du XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1968), 366–68, 380–89, 395–97.

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formed and multiplied a new kind of aquatic habitat to be probed more deeply below.

Mills had immediate effects on existing watercourses and their native fish populations, for they blocked the movement of migratory fish. Like the concentrations at natural barriers, those at dams and weirs offered fishers profitable access to migratory species. Even deep in central Saxony, operation of a salmon trap at the mill dam at Lauenheim on the River Zschopau fueled a century of dispute (1293–1393) between Altzelle Abbey and the von Steinbach family.[38] Possession of mills was associated with the right to take eel on the Duero in Castile, the Garonne near Toulouse, the Meuse around Liege, and on the Lincolnshire estate that Sir Geoffrey Luttrell had depicted in his early fourteenth-century psalter.[39] When Henry III celebrated Christmas at Clarendon Palace in 1240, his purveyors laid in stores of shad, salmon, lamprey, and herring.[40] Only the coastal herring departs from the anadromous pattern of supply.

But impassable barrier dams kept migratory species from vital spawning habitats. Blocked runs of fish—were they trout or shad?—ascending the Sarca from Lake Garda in 1210 caused the bishop of Trento, who held sovereign fishing rights in that county, to require the removal of mill dams at Arco.[41] For the sake of the salmon, a Scottish statute of 1214 required all dams to be fitted with an opening and all barrier nets to be lifted every Saturday.[42] About 1470, a Rhineland abbot was complaining that since construction of a new dam three years earlier on the Dhünn (a Rhine tributary) "neither salmon nor [other] fish can go up."[43] Dikes built in the Rhine delta during the eleventh and twelfth centuries to drain marshes for agricultural settlement may have caused major declines in the sturgeon population.[44] These losses were especially important because, ecologists agree, the

[38] Eduard Beyer, *Das Cistercienser-Stift und Kloster Alt-Zelle in dem Bisthum Meissen* (Dresden, 1855), charters no. 216, 510, 518. Salmon fishing at mills in Denmark is mentioned in Brian P. McGuire, *The Cistercians in Denmark: Their Attitudes, Roles, and Functions in Medieval Society* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1982), 140; and at mills in lower Normandy in Xavier Halard, "La pêche du saumon en Normandie du XI^{e} au XV^{e} siècle," *Journal of Medieval History*, 9 (1983): 175, 177.

[39] Javier Perez-Embid Wamba, *El cister en Castilla y Leon: Monacato y dominios rurales (siglos XII–XV)* ([Salamanca?], 1986), 137–38, 178–79; Mireille Mousnier, *L'Abbaye de Grandselve et sa place dans la société et l'économie méridionales XII^{e}–début XIV^{e} siècles*, Thèse présentée pour l'obtention du Doctorat de III^{e} cycle, Université de Toulouse le Mirail (Toulouse, 1982), 189–90; Sicard, *Les moulins de Toulouse*, 118–28; Denise Van Derveeghe, *Le domaine du Val Saint-Lambert de 1202 à 1387* (Paris, 1955), 63–66; *The Luttrell Psalter* [facsimile] (London, 1932), fol. 181r. Further examples include Isabel Alfonso Anton, *La colonización cisterciense en la meseta del Duero: El dominio de Moreruela (siglos XII–XIV)* (Zamora, 1986), 176–77; Brien, "Le développement," 43–44, Appendix 4; and the discussion of mills, eel, and salmon in H. C. Darby, *Domesday England* (Cambridge, 1977), 279–85.

[40] T. B. James, A. M. Robinson, *et al.*, *Clarendon Palace: The History and Archaeology of a Medieval Palace and Hunting Lodge near Salisbury, Wiltshire* (London, 1988), 30–31.

[41] Otto Stolz, *Geschichtskunde der Gewässer Tirols* (Innsbruck, 1936), 346.

[42] John Skene, *Regiam majestatem: The Auld Lawes and Constitutions of Scotland* [also known as *Veteres Leges Scotiae*] (Edinburgh, 1774), 335, translated the statute of Alexander II: "the streame of the water shall be in all parts swa free, that ane swine of the age of three zears, well feed, may turn himself within the streame, round about, swa that his snowt nor taill sall not touch the bank of the water" and noted its reenactment under James III (1460–88). Thomas Thomson and C. Innes, eds., *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, Vol. 1: *A.D. M.C.XXIV.–A.D. M.CCCC.XXII.* (Edinburgh, 1844), 374 red, attributed a Latin text of the same statute to William I (1165–1214).

[43] "dar enkan noch laeis noch vijsch up gegayn": Hans Mosler, ed., *Urkundenbuch der Abtei Altenberg*, Vol. 2: *1400–1893* (Düsseldorf, 1955), no. 206.

[44] R. Boddeke, *Vissen en vissen: Ervaringen van een visserijbioloog en sportvisser* (Amsterdam, 1971), 169–76.

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spawning environment in fresh water determines the productivity and survival of anadromous fish.[45]

TURNING FROM RURAL DEVELOPMENT to other aspects of the medieval economy, human population growth and urbanization in the typically organic-based pre-industrial resource system affected both water chemistry and hydrological conditions for aquatic life.

Waste from more and larger concentrations of people, from rural monasteries to towns of twenty, or even fifty, thousand, necessarily increased the nutrient load—soluble nitrates—in watercourses.[46] The several hundred monks and lay brethren at early thirteenth-century Clairvaux were served by a diversion of the Aube, which ran through gardens, mills, brewery, fulling mill, tannery, laundry, and latrines before rejoining the main stream.[47] Long rows of latrines over channels running back into the local stream were the norm, since, at latest, the eleventh century among all monastic orders and, where location permitted, in secular palaces. During one famous incident in 1184, the hall floor in the palace of the archbishop of Mainz at Erfurt collapsed and pitched members of the imperial court into underlying cesspits (*cloaca*) through which the River Gera flowed.[48] Local streams likewise received the human (and animal) waste of towns, whether by runoff from street disposal (even with intentional diversions to flush gutters as at Goslar and Strasbourg), by purposely emptying the contents of cesspits into flowing water below the town (Cologne), or by direct siting of latrines over watercourses (Rouen, Nuremberg).[49] Robert Guillerme has argued that organic acid-based and alkaline-based processes used by early medieval textile and leather crafts caused

[45] Schalk, "Structure," 222–24. Anadromous populations not only need access to suitable spawning habitat, they characteristically adapt to specific flow regimes in both the main river and the spawning tributary, and form discrete and separate spawning stocks, even within individual river systems. When environments are changed—as by deforestation or barriers—survival of the stock will depend on natural variation in the gene pool providing some individuals more suited to the new regime. Their spawning success will, over time, modify the genetic composition and the behavior pattern of the whole surviving population. John E. Thorpe and L. Stradmeyer, "Management Examples: The Atlantic Salmon," in Thorpe, *et al.*, *Conservation of Fish and Shellfish Resources: Managing Diversity* (London, 1995), 83–85, 94. To the extent that medieval dams and weirs (always low by modern hydroelectric or flood-control standards) failed fully to block the larger streams and tributaries, salmon in particular would shift their spawning downstream in the watershed. A later observer (for example, Jäger, *Einführung*, 200–04) might miss the empty highest tributaries, see some still-extensive early modern runs, remain unaware of a half-millennium of adaptation to pre-industrial levels of human development, and think the situation still "natural."

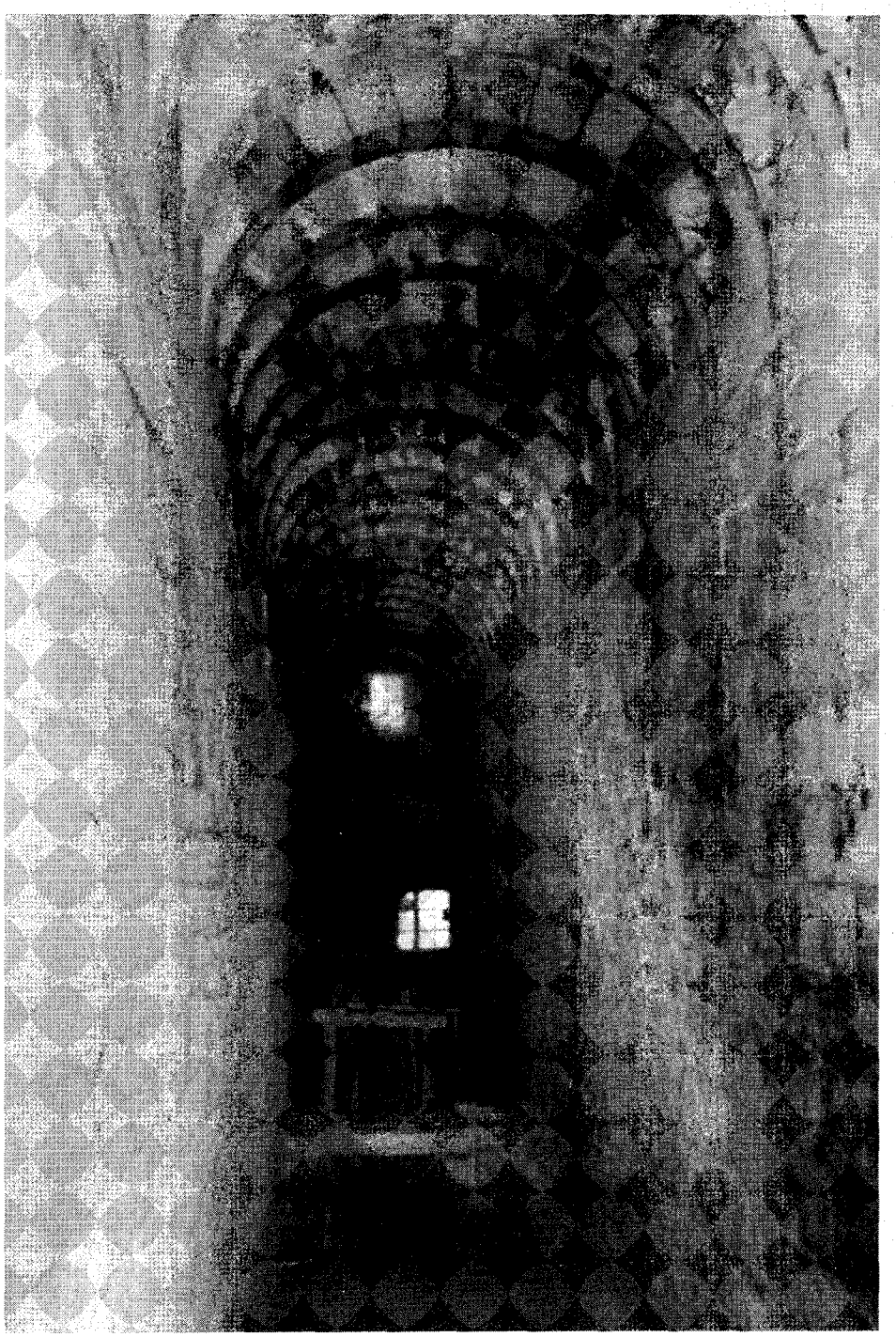
[46] Klaus Grewe, "Wasserversorgung und -entsorgung im Mittelalter—Ein technikgeschichtlicher Überblick," in *Die Wasserversorgung im Mittelalter*, Klaus Grewe, ed., for the Frontinusgesellschaft (Mainz, 1991), 75, cites nineteenth-century calculations of an annual pre-industrial per-capita output of 34 kilograms of feces and 428 kilograms of urine, totaling 462 kilograms of nitrogen-rich excrement.

[47] "Descriptio . . . Claraevallensis." The fate of eventual effluent is not treated in Meredith Lillich's classic study, "Cleanliness with Godliness: A Discussion of Medieval Monastic Plumbing," in Benoît Chauvin, ed., *Mélanges à la mémoire du Père Anselme Dimier*, Vol. 3 (part 5) (Arbois, 1982), 123–49.

[48] Grewe, "Wasserversorgung," 74–75. The same collection [see note 46] has more information in contributions by Clemens Kosch, "Wasserbaueinrichtungen in hochmittelalterlichen Konventenanlagen Mitteleuropas," notably 96, 110–12, and 134–35, and by Paul Benoit and Monique Wabont, "Mittelalterliche Wasserversorgung in Frankreich: Eine Fallstudie; Die Zisterzienser," esp. 195, 204, and 207–16, which include orders besides the Cistercians.

[49] Grewe, "Wasserversorgung," 75–80; Guillerme, *Age of Water*, 105–07.

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The sixty-seat latrine (two back-to-back rows of thirty), at Royaumont Abbey (Seine-et-Oise, France), viewed from below. For five hundred years, human wastes drained through this thirteenth-century structure into the River Oise. Photograph by Terryl Kinder. Used with permission.

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"the precipitation of solid organic materials in water which river currents carried beyond city limits."[50]

And what was downstream? From the thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries, a lagoon-like shoreline on the Bodensee at Konstanz was filled with town wastes. Archaeological study of plant remains there shows disappearance of species native to clean waters and massive appearance of a filamentous algae associated with an excess of dissolved nutrients.[51] By the early 1400s, Parisian effluent was making the Seine below town "infectée et corrumpue" every summer.[52] These are symptoms of aquatic ecosystems under stress. More immediate and visible toxic effects came from slaughtering livestock at the waterside or extracting fibers from flax and hemp by wet decomposition ("retting").[53]

Activities in the urban and commercial sector further impeded the free flow of water. Since the eleventh century, castles and towns had diverted rivers to fill defensive moats; this stratagem gained popularity in the later Middle Ages.[54] An accessible market for fuel drove extensive peat-digging, which created the Norfolk Broads and smaller but more numerous pools called *plassen* in the Netherlands.[55] And between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, still more weirs, dams, and ponds were built to power new industrial operations such as malting, fulling cloth, metal-working (hammers and bellows), sawmills, and paper making.[56]

The type and scale of physical and chemical changes that medieval economic development brought to European inland waters most directly and heavily affected small and medium-sized watercourses. Brooks, streams, and small rivers are more closely tied than are large rivers to their immediate terrestrial environments. Smaller size, high ratio of surface area to volume, and abundance in the landscape mean that human actions such as removal of bankside vegetation, local ditching, diversion, or embankment, small mill ponds and dams, and effluents from concentrations of livestock or people have profound local impact, removing the whole waterway from its natural form and sources of energy. Large rivers, in contrast, are linked to their surroundings through their multiple channels and extensive floodplains, so simple and local changes in shoreline conditions have less effect on

[50] Guillerme, *Age of Water*, 97–100.

[51] Hansjörg Küster, "Mittelalterliche Eingriffe in Naturräume des Voralpenlandes," in Bernd Herrmann, ed., *Umwelt in der Geschichte: Beiträge zur Umweltgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1989), 72. Regier, "Rehabilitation," 88, specifies this very botanical phenomenon as characteristic of an aquatic ecosystem under stress. Note further that where current speed and substrate prevent establishment of rooted aquatic vegetation, increased nitrate loads encourage suspended algae to grow and add more turbidity.

[52] As described in an ordinance against waste disposal from 1415 cited from François A. Isambert, *et al.*, eds., *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la Révolution de 1789*, Vol. 8 (Paris, 1822), 565f, cap. 683, by Ilja Mieck, "Die Anfänge der Umweltschutzgesetzgebung in Frankreich," *Francia*, 9 (1981): 332. Later legislation (335–36) dealt in particular with tanners' and potters' wastes.

[53] Guillerme, *Age of Water*, 152; Jean Gimpel, *The Medieval Machine: The Industrial Revolution of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1976), 85–87; Günter Heine, "Umweltbezogenes Recht im Mittelalter," in Herrmann, *Umwelt in der Geschichte*, 123.

[54] Guillerme, *Age of Water*, 47–50, 118–31.

[55] J. M. Lambert, *et al.*, *The Making of the Broads: A Reconsideration of Their Origin in the Light of New Evidence* (London, 1961); G. J. Borger, "Draining—Digging—Dredging: The Creation of a New Landscape in the Peat Areas of the Low Countries," in J. T. A. Verhoeven, ed., *Fens and Bogs in the Netherlands: Vegetation, History, Nutrient Dynamics and Conservation* (Dordrecht, 1992), 153–57.

[56] Reynolds, *Stronger Than a Hundred Men*, 69–97.

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them.[57] Hence the impact of pre-industrial economic development differed in degree and kind from that of industrial development. Yet the finding should not be oversimplified. The much-studied Rhine and its major tributaries, for instance, are said to have suffered little from human activity before channelizing and embanking in the early nineteenth century began a total degradation.[58] But most studies of major European rivers start from a present and retrospective standpoint with little deeper historical knowledge or awareness. The evidence of medieval landscape change is overwhelming. Watersheds are systemic continua: what enters at the top flows all the way down. Besides dams cutting off what had once been the highest spawning sites, we must recognize medieval deforestation and erosion as principal causes of more erratic flow regimes and contributors of material to the many mainstream sandbars and islands known from early modern records.

THE MOST DIRECT HUMAN IMPACT on freshwater ecosystems was the demand for fish as food. Medieval European awareness of fish as a nutritionally desirable substitute or supplement for meat is manifest in monastic customaries, in recipe collections and dietary treatises, and in literary allegories of combat between Lord Carnival's animal armies and the scaled hosts of Lord Lent.[59] Early Christians had avoided meat on ascetic and penitential grounds, which, refracted through the monastic practices of the early medieval church, became a general obligation of believers to abstain from eating the flesh of terrestrial quadrupeds about 150 days of the year. These times notably included every Friday, the forty days of Lent before the springtime festival of Easter, and shorter periods of penitence before other important feasts. Eating fish was not enjoined, and many medieval people could regularly afford little beyond the cereals that provided most of their calories. Nevertheless, traces of fish meals survive from both poor and rich settings.[60] For those who could afford it, fish on the table laid public claim to respect for wealth and ritual observance.[61] Thus, in the meticulously documented diets of monks at late medieval Westminster Abbey, the share of calories provided by fish rose in

[57] A general comparative point made in Regier, "Rehabilitation," 88–89.

[58] Antonin Lelek, "The Rhine River and Some of Its Tributaries under Human Impact in the Last Two Centuries," in Dodge, *Proceedings*, 469–87.

[59] As recently summarized in Terence Scully, *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1995), 62–64, 72–79, from sources there indicated, but see also Zug Tucci, "Mondo medievale dei pesci," 294–301; and Laurence Bérard, "La consommation du poisson en France: Des prescriptions alimentaires à la prépondérance de la carpe," in Liliane Bodson, ed., *L'animal dans l'alimentation humaine: Les criteres de choix* (Paris, 1988), 171–73.

[60] Written and archaeological examples of laborers and peasants who commonly, if not frequently, ate fish occur in Sandor Bökönyi, "Die Wirbeltierfauna" [of Zalavàr], *Archaeologica Hungarica*, 41 (1963): 370; Helmut Hundsbichler, "Nahrung," in Harry Kühnel, *et al.*, *Alltag im Spätmittelalter* (Graz, 1984), 201–02; Coy, "Fish Bones" [Wraysbury].

[61] Marianne Mulon, ed., "Deux traités inédits d'art culinaire médiéval," *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1610) du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, année 1968 (Paris, 1971), 369–70; Gerhard Jaritz, "The Standard of Living in German and Austrian Cistercian Monasteries of the Late Middle Ages," in E. Rozanne Elder, ed., *Goad and Nail: Studies in Medieval Cistercian History* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1985), 58–59; Christopher C. Dyer, "The Consumption of Fresh-water Fish in Medieval England," in Michael Aston, ed., *Medieval Fish, Fisheries and Fishponds in England* (Oxford, 1988), 27–38.

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direct proportion to staged restrictions on meat, dairy products, and eggs.[62] To a lesser degree, this would have been equally true in less prestigious and less well-recorded settings.

It is likely that early medieval Europeans ate much more freshwater than marine fish, and exigencies of transport, if no others, kept fresh inland fish competitive even after establishment of major marine fisheries.[63] A Greek-trained physician, Anthimus, assessing foods for the sixth-century Frankish king Theodoric, son of Clovis, named eleven fishes "which occur in these parts": four were entirely freshwater organisms, five had life stages in both salt and fresh water; from the sea came only sole, which he said went by two names.[64] When the learned Ekkehard IV imagined a monastic banquet at eleventh-century St. Gallen, fourteen of his twenty fish taxa[65] came from fresh water, five were migratory, and one from salt water only.[66] More than a century later, Hildegard of Bingen compiled a medico-dietary analysis of fishes that members of her religious community ate: of thirty-seven taxa, twenty-four came from fresh water, nine migrated into it, and four were of marine origin.[67] Such verbal impressions are corroborated by the surviving remains of fish Europeans actually ate. In large deposits of food waste from eleventh and twelfth-century Schleswig, bones from locally caught perch, pike, and cyprinids were as well represented as imported cod, and in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they outstripped all other fishes. Before about 1500, well-to-do Parisians on Rue Fromenteau ate mostly fish from fresh water, and their religious contemporaries at La Charité-sur-Loire exclusively those varieties.[68] By the thirteenth century,

[62] Barbara Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100–1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford, 1993), 57.

[63] Useful general overviews include Raymond Delatouche, "Le poisson d'eau douce dans l'alimentation médievale," *Comptes-rendus de l'Academie d'agriculture de France*, 52 (1966): 793–98; and "Le poisson d'eau douce dans l'alimentation médiévale: L'exemple du Maine," *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1610) du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, année 1967, Vol. 1 (Paris, 1969), 171–82; Herbert Hitzbleck, *Die Bedeutung des Fisches für die Ernährungswirtschaft Mitteleuropas in vorindustrieller Zeit unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Niedersachsens* (Göttingen, 1971), 98–139; Jean Verdon, "Recherches sur la pêche et la pisciculture en occident durant le haut moyen âge," in *Actes du 102e Congrès national des Sociétés savantes (Limoges, 1977): Section d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art; Le Limousin; Etudes Archéologiques* (Paris, 1979), 337–49; Alison Littler, "The Fisheries Industry in Medieval England down to the Reformation" (Dissertation Swansea, 1979), 8–10; Dyer, "Consumption of Fresh-water Fish."

[64] Anthimus, *De observatione ciborum ad Theodoricum regem Francorum epistula*, Eduard Liechtenhan, ed. and trans., rev. edn. (Berlin, 1963), 18–20, 41–42.

[65] Ethnobiologists and zooarchaeologists use the technical term *taxon* (plural *taxa*) to refer to "identified varieties or forms." The word subsumes species, subspecies, and, where they are ambiguous in some archaeology, pictures, and popular vocabularies, genera or families. Pike, for instance, are clearly distinguished by shape in medieval pictures of fishes; cyprinid species are not. Only certain bones allow discrimination between remains of salmon, migratory sea-trout, and resident stream trout, though local vernaculars plainly distinguish between live specimens on the basis of coloration and behavior.

[66] Ekkehard IV of St. Gallen, *Benedictiones ad mensas*, Johannes Egli, ed., as *Der Liber Benedictionum Ekkeharts IV. nebst den kleinern Dichtungen aus dem Codex Sangallensis 393* (St. Gallen, 1909). Compare current views in Johannes Duft, *Der Bodensee in Sankt-Galler Handschriften: Texte und Miniaturen aus St. Gallen*, 3d edn. rev. (St. Gallen, 1979), 21–23, 90–91.

[67] *Physica*, lib. 5, in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 197, cols. 1265–86. Ulrich of Cluny's vocabulary (see above) had the same freshwater emphasis.

[68] Dirk Heinrich, "Temporal Changes in Fishery and Fish Consumption between Early Medieval Haithabu and Its Successor, Schleswig," in C. Grigson and J. Clutton-Brock, eds., *Animals and Archaeology*, Vol. 2: *Shell Middens, Fishes and Birds* (Oxford, 1983), 151–56; and "Untersuchungen an mittelalterlichen Fischresten aus Schleswig: Ausgrabung Schild 1971–1975," *Ausgrabungen in Schleswig:*

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Belgian scholar Jan Materné has argued, this mainly urban market demand and the specialized labor that supplied it were responsible for rising exploitation of fisheries in northern Flanders.[69]

Populations of the fishes Europeans liked to eat came under evident stress. One sign is the contemporary human perception of resource destruction, commonly conceived as overfishing. A remarkably early explicit statement of the problem prefaces the first full-scale fisheries ordinance issued by French King Philip IV in 1289:

> today each and every river and waterside of our realm, large and small, yields nothing due to the evil of the fishers and the devices of [their] contriving, and because the fish are prevented by them from growing to their proper condition, nor have the fish any value when caught by them, nor are they any good for human consumption, but rather bad, and further it happens that they are much more costly than they used to be, which results in no moderate loss to the rich and poor of our realm.[70]

Philip's remedy is examined below. A more particular case of fishing pressure is reported from the Pinzgauer Zellersee, high in the Salzburg Alps. Its rich fisheries drew a mid-fourteenth-century settlement of professionals, who paid the archbishop 27,000 whitefish and 18 lake trout a year for the right to take, smoke, and sell still more. After one human generation, the whitefish catch collapsed, and a replacement planting of pike ate nearly all the trout, so the fishing community decided to rest the lake for three years and then to fish only with far fewer nets in a limited season and a restricted area.[71]

Berichte und Studien, Vol. 6 (Neumünster, 1987), 186–89; Jean Desse and Nathalie Desse-Berset, "Pêches locales, côtières ou lointaines: Le poisson au menu des parisiens du Grand Louvre, du 14ème au 18ème siècle," *Anthropozoologica*, 16 (1992): 119–26; Frèdèrique Audoin-Rouzeau, *Ossements animaux du Moyen-Age au monastère de la Charite-sur-Loire* (Paris, 1986), 146–47.

Further confirmation of significant medieval freshwater fish eating occurs in Prummel, *Early Medieval Dorestad*, 11–13, 235–36; A. Paul, "Knochenfunde aus dem mittelalterlich-neuzeitlichen Lübeck (Grabung Königstrasse 59–63)," *Lübecker Schriften zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte*, 2 (1980): 59–60; Floridus Röhrig, "Die materielle Kultur des Chorherrenstiftes Klosterneuburg unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Aussage von Rechnungsbücher," in *Klösterliche Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters* (Vienna, 1980), 221; Jean Richard, "Transports par eau et péages de Chalon a Avignon: A propos des fournitures de poisson a la cour des papes," *112e Congrès national des Sociétés savantes, Lyon, 1987, Histoire médiévale* (Lyon, 1987), 40–44; *Le Ménagier de Paris*, Georgine E. Brereton and Janet M. Ferrier, eds. (Oxford, 1981), 231–36; Annie Grant, "Animal Resources," in Grenville Astill and Annie Grant, eds., *The Countryside of Medieval England* (Oxford, 1988), 170–72; Anton Ervynck, Wim Van Neer, and P. Van der Plaetsen, "De organische resten," in M. DeWilde and Anton Ervynck, eds., *"De Burcht" te Londerzeel: Bewoningsgeschiedenis van een motte en een bakstenen kasteel* (Brussels, 1992).

[69] Jan Materné, "Beroeps- en vrijetijdsvisserij op de Vlaamse binnenwateren tussen Antwerpen en Gent vóór de industriële revolutie," *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis*, 71 (1988): 142–44.

[70] H. Duplés-Agier, "Ordonnances inédites de Philippe-le-Bel et de Philippe-le-Long sur la police de la pêche fluviale," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 14 (1852): 49. More recent context is provided in Paul Jeulin, "L'elaboration par la monarchie de l'ancienne reglementation de la pêche fluviale," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, ser. 4, 40 (1962): 127–28, and 42 (1964): 728–30, who notes how these themes became a commonplace of French legislation. Comparable perceptions of fisheries damaged by too intensive use are voiced in mid-fifteenth-century enactments by communal governments at Florence: Richard Trexler, "Measures against Water Pollution in Fifteenth Century Florence," *Viator*, 5 (1974): 463–67; and Strasbourg: Hans Stromeyer, *Zur Geschichte der Badischen Fischerzünfte* (Karlsruhe, 1910), 2.

[71] Hans Freudlsperger, "Kurze Fischereigeschichte des Erzstiftes Salzburg," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, 76 (1936): 100. Likewise, Wim Van Neer and Anton Ervynck, "New Data on Fish Remains from Belgian Archaeological Sites," in Wim Van Neer, ed., *Fish Exploitation in*

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Less subjective indicators allow closer description and diagnosis of fish populations under stress. Thousands of bone remains from tenth through thirteenth-century Gdańsk reveal a steady reduction in the size of sturgeon caught nearby. Like trends are more vaguely visible in some other large Central European collections predating 1200.[72] Shrinking average size indicates a population where more fish are being caught before reaching their full growth.

Shifts in species composition of medieval catches are still more telling. Investigators have diagnosed a decline of anadromous and cold-water varieties during the high and later Middle Ages in several regions of Western Europe. Using archaeological remains of sturgeon from seventeen southern Baltic sites, Norbert Benecke generalized both a reduction in average size and a fall of this species from 70 percent of fish consumed during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries to only 10 percent during the twelfth and thirteenth. Benecke blamed long-term overexploitation, especially of the reproductively dominant large females of this long-lived and slow-growing fish.[73] Written records supported R. Boddeke's finding of a comparable downward trend in the sturgeon catch of the Low Countries that lasted from the eleventh through the fourteenth century. He held responsible the widespread damming and diking of critical spawning waters in the upper estuary and noted that after great storm floods smashed the barrier dikes around 1400, sturgeon catches came back until new reclamation works affected them adversely in the 1800s.[74] In thirteenth-century France and England, all sturgeon were reserved for the king. By the fourteenth century, chefs in those countries were circulating a recipe to "make sturgeon" from veal, a distinct mark of the prestige and favor still attached to an almost extinct food fish.[75]

As for salmon, catches from fisheries on the small rivers of lower Normandy,

the Past: Proceedings of the 7th Meeting of the I.C.A.Z. Fish Remains Working Group (Tervuren, 1994), 225, argue that relatively greater reliance on marine fish in the diets of late medieval Belgian towns as compared to rural castles and monasteries demonstrates the reduction of fish populations near those urban concentrations. Jäger's (*Einführung*, 192) claim of no evidence for decline in numbers of aquatic organisms before the 1500s results from an unrealistic assumption that only governmental records of catches constitute "scientific" data.

[72] W. Susłowska and K. Urbanowicz, "Szczętlu kostne ryb z wczesnośredniowiecznego Gdańska (X–XIII w.)," *Gdańsk wczesnośredniowieczny*, 6 (1967): 53–65. Early medieval remains of fish distinctly larger than later norms for the same species are also remarked by Z. Kozikowska, "Ryby w pokarmie średniowiecznych (X–XIV w.) mieszkańców Wrocławia na Ostrowie Tumskim jako wskaźnik gatunków łowionych w wodach danych okolic lub dobierających tam drogą handlu," *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis*, 223 (1974): 3–14; Paul, "Knochenfunde"; Angela von den Driesch, "Fischreste aus der slawisch-deutschen Fürstenburg auf dem Weinberg in Hitzacker (Elbe)," *Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Niedersachsen*, 15 (1982): 395–423.

[73] Norbert Benecke, "Some Remarks on Sturgeon Fishing in the Southern Baltic Region in Medieval Times," in D. C. Brinkhuizen and A. T. Clason, eds., *Fish and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1986), 9–17. *Acipenser sturio* needs ten years and more to reach spawning size, but it can live a century and attain weights over 100 kilograms. In all fishes, large females have room for many more eggs than do small ones.

[74] Boddeke, *Vissen*, 169–74. Jäger, *Einführung*, 29–30, has recent bibliography on the catastrophic late medieval reflooding of North Sea coastal zones.

[75] *Fleta*, I: 44, H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, eds., Selden Society, vol. 72 (London, 1955), 100; Grégoire Lozinski, ed., *La Bataille de Caresme et de Charnage* (Paris, 1933), 184; Constance B. Hieatt and Sharon Butler, eds., *Curye on Inglysch: English Culinary Manuscripts of the Fourteenth Century (including the Forme of Cury)* (London, 1985), 155–56; *Le Ménagier de Paris*, 239–40; compare Liliane Plouvier, "La gastronomie dans le 'Viandier de Taillevent' et le 'Ménagier de Paris,' " in *Manger et boire au Moyen Age*, Vol. 2 (Paris, 1984), 154.

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where plowed fields and watermills multiplied through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, were distinctly fewer by 1300 than they had been around 1100. Continued "overfishing" thereafter brought near-total destruction of the runs by the mid-1400s.[76] Even in wealthy Parisian households and prosperous Flemish monasteries, consumption of once-favored sturgeon, salmon, trout, and whitefish shrank to nothing by around 1500.[77]

In contrast, the same and comparable evidence reveals other species gaining dietary importance. Especially large increases are noted for eel and for common carp (*Cyprinus carpio*). Eel constitute two-thirds of the remains from twelfth-century Deventer but thereafter fall back to only one third in favor of undifferentiated small cyprinids. After about 1450, eel comprised 20 and carp 40 percent of all fish (and together 90 percent of the local fish) consumed at Sint-Salvators Abbey near Oudenaarde. Of the fish bones identified in twelfth through sixteenth-century deposits at Gaiselberg Castle in Lower Austria, carp provided 60 percent, and most of those postdated 1400. By that time, the species also dominated tables in Paris, Orleans, and La Charité-sur-Loire.[78]

The abundant (and easily recognized) remains of eel and carp lead and stand for general increases in relatively more lentic and heat-tolerant fish varieties. Financial records from the papal court at Avignon (1338–75) trace large shipments down the Rhone and Saône from Burgundy of carp, eel, bream, tench, barbel, and pike.[79] Accounts kept between 1349 and 1413 by managers of waters belonging to the church of St. Etienne at Troyes, Champagne, record large catches of carp, eel,

[76] Halard, "Pêche du saumon," 175–77. On the best-documented river, catches in 1423 were less than a third those of the early 1300s, though the price per fish rose by a factor of twelve.

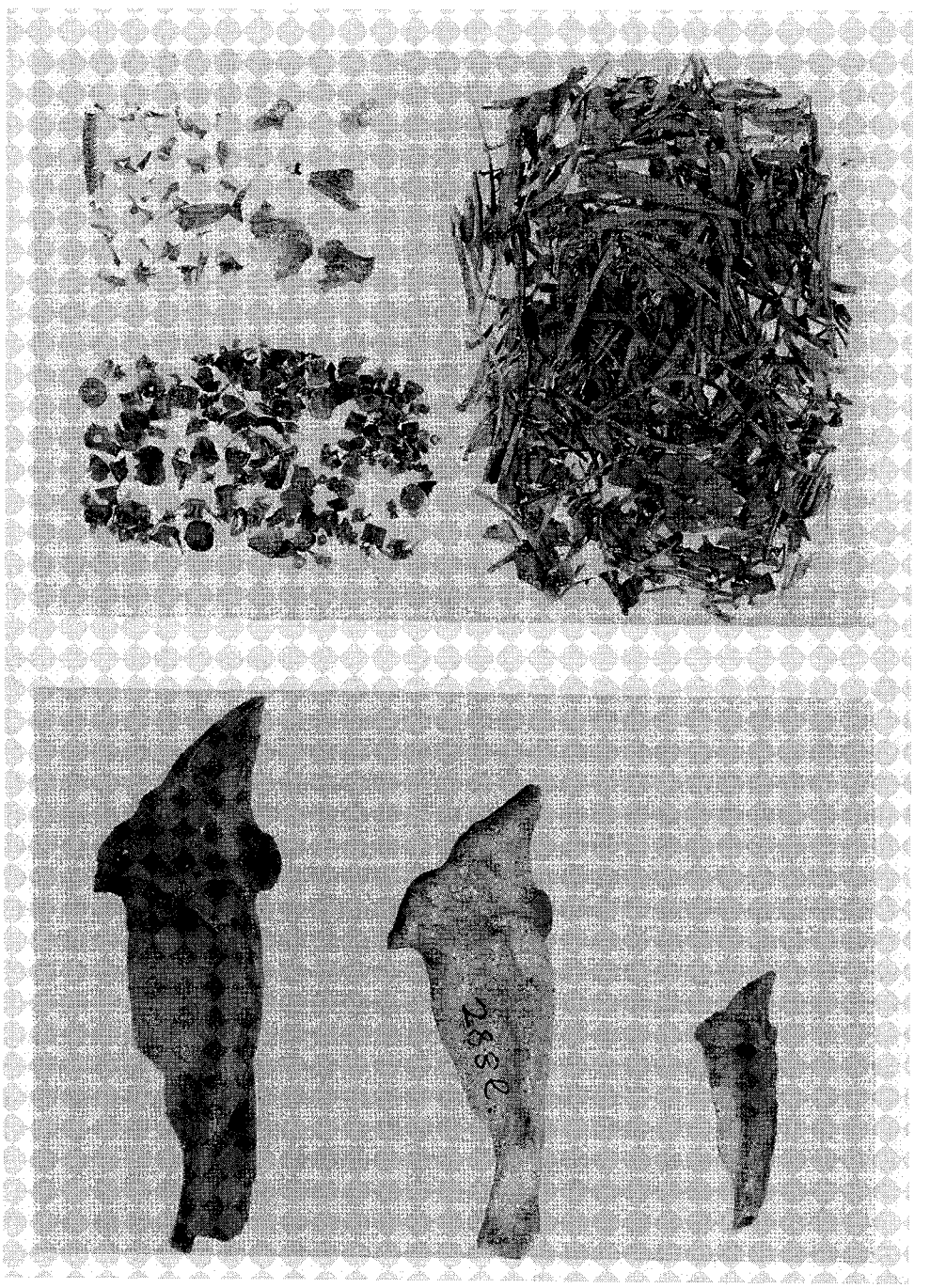
[77] Desse and Desse-Berset, "Pêches locales, côtières ou lointaines," 125–26; Miriam Sternberg, "L'approvisionnement de Paris en poisson au 16ème siècle: Que disent les sources bibliographiques? Que peut on espérer des données ichtyofauniques des Jardins du Carrousel?" *Anthropozoologica*, 16 (1992): 127–30; Anton Ervynck and Wim Van Neer, "De voodselvoorziening in de Sint-Salvatorsabdij te Ename (stad Oudenaarde, prov. Oost-Vlaanderen) I. Beenderen onder een keukenvloer (1450–1550 A.D.)," *Archeologie in Vlaanderen*, 2 (1992): 425–26. A compilation of fishes identified at fourteen Dutch sites found sturgeon, shad, and/or salmon at six of eight from before 1000 A.D. and at none of the six thereafter. A. T. Clason, W. Prummel, and D. C. Brinkhuizen, "Vogelen en vissen: Een glimp van de Nederlandse vogel- en viswereld uit het verleden," *Westerheem*, 28 (1979): 16–20.

Italian conditions may bear comparison. Fumagalli, *Landscapes*, 137, implies a high and late medieval contraction in the size and numbers of sturgeon taken from the Po, but Marco Vendittelli, "Diritti ed impianti di pesca degli enti ecclesiastici Romani tra X e XIII secolo," *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome: Moyen Age*, 104 (1992): 394–97, 409–10, does not engage possible changes in the important fishery of the Tiber delta, where drainage of marshlands and channels was also under way. Sturgeon did bring the highest price in a 1447 Roman edict, and disputes over claims to several Italian sturgeon fisheries intensified after 1300. Yet Roman physician Paolo Giovio's pioneering zoological investigation, *De romanis piscibus libellus* (Rome, 1524), still celebrated the sturgeon of the Tiber.

[78] G. F. IJzereef and F. Laarman, "The Animal Remains from Deventer (8th–19th Centuries AD)," *ROB: Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek*, 36 (1986): 435–36; Ervynck and Van Neer, "De voodselvoorziening in de Sint-Salvatorsabdij"; F. Spitzenberger, "Die Tierknochenfunde des Hausbergs zu Gaiselberg, einer Wehranlage des 12.–16. Jahrhunderts in Niederösterreich," *Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters*, 11 (1983): 139; Desse and Desse-Berset, "Pêches locales, côtières ou lointaines"; Sternberg, "L'approvisionnement"; Marie-Christine Marinval-Vigne, "Consommation d'animaux sauvages en milieu ecclésial à Orléans au XVIe siècle: Données archéozoologiques et livres de cuisine," in Jean Desse and Frédérique Audoin-Rouzeau, eds., *Exploitation des animaux sauvages a travers le temps* (Juan-les-Pins, 1993), 478–82; Audoin, *Ossement animaux*.

[79] Richard, "Transports," 40–44.

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Fish remains recovered in excavation of the late medieval castle site at Plesse near Göttingen in Lower Saxony. Expert analysis of this material can give information about the varieties, origins, and preparation of fishes eaten by medieval people. **Top**: a portion of the finds from water sieving through a fine mesh screen. Vertebrae and some other elements have already been sorted into the two small piles on the left. **Bottom**: a distinctive bone (*hyomandibular*) from the head of the common carp (*Cyprinus carpio*). The center bone is a present-day comparative example from a fish of 38.2 cm. total length. The find on the left is from a much larger, that on the right from a much smaller, type of carp consumed by residents of medieval Plesse. Photographs by Dirk Heinrich. Used with permission.

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bream, and pike.[80] As at Deventer, small cyprinids and eel dominated the freshwater component of fishes eaten at a late fourteenth-century palace in Tarquinia.[81]

Characteristic differences between the fishes that rose in importance and those that fell thus argue for human impact on medieval aquatic ecosystems more complex than can be ascribed to overfishing alone. The varieties that increased in dietary importance and apparent natural success may be characterized by greater tolerance, even preference, for warmer, more turbid, and quieter waters. Cyprinids and pike spawn by choice in weedy shallows, and eel leave fresh water when ready to breed. Reproductive success for the fish populations displaying stress (salmonids, sturgeon), on the other hand, requires clean and cool running or estuarine waters, preferably with a gravel substrate. Those were the very aquatic habitats being blocked or diminished by medieval agricultural, urban, and industrial developments. Quite without human forethought, economic development was raising the amounts of silt and nutrients in Europe's watercourses and the proportion of standing water.[82] Some deliberate human responses to a perceived decline and shortage in the fishes long preferred for human consumption would, it will shortly be seen, further accentuate precisely these alterations to aquatic environments and their biota.

MEDIEVAL AWARENESS OF UNDESIRABLE CHANGES to fisheries has already been noted. Actual statements of these perceptions commonly preface purposeful responses to them, but medievalists are well acquainted with many more such actions that people undertook without elaborate written rationale. Demand, pressure, and declining yields of medieval inland fisheries motivated proprietary and regulatory measures directed at controlling human behavior and, furthermore, provoked intentional human intervention in the environment aimed at changing natural relationships. Medieval Europeans both adjusted the social face with which they confronted nature and manipulated nature to fit their own wishes.

Rising demand against a limited, even diminishing, resource often triggers contests for control. Medieval inland fisheries became objects of efforts by landowners, producers, consumers, and territorial authorities to manage exploitation in their own interests.[83] Their measures to privatize, commercialize, and

[80] "Comtes des pêscheries de l'eglise de Troyes, 1349–1413," London, British Library, Additional Manuscript 22496.

[81] G. Clark, *et al.*, "The Food Refuse of an Affluent Urban Household in the Late Fourteenth Century: Faunal and Botanical Remains from the Palazzo Vitelleschi, Tarquinia (Viterbo)," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 57 (1989): 240–42.

[82] In the termiology of Regier, "Rehabilitation," 93–96, "white fish" were losing habitat and yielding their prior importance in human catches and consumption to "grey fish" and "black fish," whose favored conditions were less damaged and, in certain regions or localities, becoming more common. Although in contrast to postindustrial changes, pre-industrial development had a greater effect on lotic components of aquatic systems, the general ecological outcome was closely similar, as "through their greater flexibility [grey fish] come to dominate within modified ecosystems."

[83] The medieval situation has parallels in the responses to destruction of anadromous Atlantic salmon populations by nineteenth-century New England mill dams as described in Theodore Steinberg, *Industrialization and the Waters of New England* (New York, 1991), chap. 6.

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regulate fisheries and fish products helped shape and constrain human impact on the ecosystem. What follows explores each of these three social responses.

A long-term tendency in medieval Europe to transform fishing rights from common or public goods to private property is an axiom of the legal literature. It needs acknowledgement but only short discussion here.[84] By around 1200, royal grants or sheer usurpations had put landowners in possession of fisheries on all but the largest rivers. Later conflicts concerned the authority of princes over fisheries on navigable waters and, of greater social importance, the survival and attempted defense of common access to fisheries under seigneurial control.[85]

Peasants bitterly detested what they saw as lords' usurpation of their just rights to use local waters, and their resistance runs at least from the Norman revolt of 997 through the German Peasants' War of 1525.[86] That long struggle itself confirms that medieval peasants continued to engage in direct subsistence fishing to supplement their grain-based diets. Where detailed—as, for instance, in a court decision at Fontaines in Valois in 1270 or in fifteenth-century customaries from Hainaut and the *Weistümer* precedents from southern Germany—the usufruct rights of ordinary villagers were most often limited to small gear used personally to supply a resident household. Restraints on locations and times (seasons, days) to fish were also the norm.[87] In the long run, then, direct subsistence use of local aquatic resources—

[84] Ernst Cahn, *Das Recht der Binnenfischerei im deutschen Kulturgebiet von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Ekkehard Kaufmann, ed. (Frankfurt am Main, 1956), 13–90; Jeulin, "L'elaboration par la monarchie," 127–28. Nuanced regional examples include Guido Kisch, *Das Fischereirecht im Deutschordensgebiete: Beiträge zu seiner Geschichte*, 2d edn. rev. [substantively unchanged from the 1932 original] (Sigmaringen, 1978); Władysław Łęga, *Obraz gospodarczy Pomorza Gdańskiego w XII i XIII wieku* (Poznań, 1949), 35–49; Horst Willam, "Die Fischerei des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen bis zu Dietrich von Altenburg," *Jahrbuch der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg/Pr.*, 11 (1961): 74–137; Freudlsperger, "Fischereigeschichte," 87–122; Roger Grand and Raymond Delatouche, *L'agriculture au moyen âge de la fin de l'empire romain au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1950), 538–39; Fossier, *La terre et les hommes*, 395–97; J. McDonnell, *Inland Fisheries in Medieval Yorkshire, 1066–1300* (York, 1981), 12–18; Jan Materné, "De verwerving, betwisting en instandhouding van de visserijrechten in de Wase Durmestreek, 13de–18de eeuw," *De Soevereinen*, 22, no. 3 (1991): 1–14.

[85] This is not, of course, the now-proverbial "tragedy of the commons" famously analyzed by Garrett Hardin in *Science*, 162 (1968): 1243–48, which predicts the overexploitation of a resource open to all but controlled by none. Modern managers think regulated entry to the resource is a way to avoid "tragedy." Perhaps ironically, medieval privatization of fishing rights had precisely that effect.

[86] William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, Jean Marx, ed. (Rouen, 1914), 73–74 (Lib.V:2); Hermann Heimpel, "Die Federschnur: Wasserrecht und Fischrecht in der 'Reformation Kaiser Sigismunds,'" *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 19 (1963): 474–88; Hermann Heimpel, "Fischerei und Bauernkrieg," in P. Classen, ed., *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1964), 1: 353–72; F. Mayer, F. Bischoff, and J. von Zahn, eds., "Kleinere Mitteilungen zur Geschichte der Bauernunruhen in Steiermark, 1478–1515," *Beiträge zur Kunde Steiermärkische Geschichtsquellen*, 14 (1877): 121; Peter Blickle, "Wem gehörte der Wald? Konflikte zwischen Bauern und Obrigkeiten um Nutzungs- und Eigentumsansprüche," *Zeitschrift für württembergischen Landesgeschichte*, 45 (1986): 167–78.

[87] François Blary, *Le domaine de Chaalis, XII^e–XIV^e siècles: Approches archéologiques des établissements agricoles et industriels d'une abbaye cistercienne* (Paris, 1989), 95–99; Léo Verriest, *Le régime seigneurial dans le Comté de Hainaut du XI^e siècle a la Révolution*, 2d edn. (Louvain, 1956), 320–23; Cahn, *Das Recht der Binnenfischerei*, 51–56, 67–68; Heimpel, "Federschnur," 456–64. Compare the disputes in thirteenth-century English village courts reported in H. S. Bennett, *Life on the English Manor: A Study of Peasant Conditions 1150–1400* (Cambridge, 1937), 270; and the peasant fishing reported by Laszlo Màkkai, "Economic Landscapes: Historical Hungary from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century," in Antoni Mączak, Henryk Samsonowicz, and Peter Burke, eds., *East-Central Europe in Transition: From the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1985), 28–31.

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which means the fishes naturally present in Western Europe's ubiquitous streams and small rivers—was surely curtailed.

Fishing rights derive economic value from demand for fish and limited opportunities to obtain them (only certain waters, sites, and seasons are productive), not necessarily from an absolute shortage of fish or decline in their numbers. Even in a largely subsistence economy—which in the Middle Ages included dependent fishers supplying the household needs of their masters—fish flesh on the bank has scarcity value, use value, and value derived from at least the costs of human effort expended in its capture. Great lords and others with a large and steady demand for fish tried to secure stable supplies. Charlemagne instructed his estate managers to see to the employment of fishers. His son possessed thirty-two families of them on the Weser alone until he gave those to Corvey Abbey in 832.[88] Conveyances from lay to ecclesiastical lordship created the surviving record for most such arrangements, such as the six men named at two villages near Kalisz in 1210, whom Duke Władysław gave to Przemęt Abbey together with their individual obligations to fish daily or to provide a dozen fish the length of a forearm three days a week. But for all the gifts to churches and for all the availability of market-supply mechanisms by the thirteenth century, as late as 1265 the duke of Leicester still retained men to send off for two weeks' fishing to cover the needs of his household during Holy Week.[89] Private control over access to fisheries thus became a twig in the bundle of remunerative rights being assembled into lordship over land and men. Actual participants in the indirect subsistence fisheries ranged from more or less skilled part-timers to expert, full-time specialized employees and servants.

Once established in private hands, fishing rights evolved, mainly through rentals and leases, toward a market commodity.[90] Where lords stopped satisfying their own consumption needs through direct exploitation of their resources, exercise of fishing rights came chiefly to sustain production for commercial sale. The transition could often result in what would be temporary arrangements like those about 1300 at Klosterneuburg, where full-time fishers remained abbey dependents. For the right to practice their craft, they owed the prior first refusal rights on large fish, a share

[88] "Capitulare de villis," sect. 45 (A. Boretius, ed. in *MGH, Leges: Capitularia*, Vol. 1 [Hanover, 1883], no. 32); Cahn, *Das Recht der Binnenfischerei*, 91–93. Vendittelli, "Diritti," 427–28, describes other late eighth and ninth-century fishers on the lakes near Rieti in the Apennines who were hereditary serfs of Farfa Abbey. For their counterparts in Bohemia, see Barbara Sasse, *Die Sozialstruktur Böhmens in der Frühzeit: Historische-archäologische Untersuchungen zum 9.-12. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1982), 253–54.

[89] *Codex diplomaticus Majoris Poloniae*, Ignacy Zakrzewski and Franciszek Piekosiński, eds., 5 vols. (Poznań, 1877–1908), no. 66; Thomas H. Turner, ed., *Manners and Household Expenses of England in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries Illustrated by Original Records* (London, 1841), 16, 39, where at least one of the duke's fishers, *Simon Piscator*, was on permanent retainer.

Large consumers who controlled rich local resources, such as the counts of Tirol and the Benedictine monks at Tegernsee Abbey, still employed many full-time fishers in the sixteenth century. See *Das Fischereibuch Kaiser Maximilians I.*, F. Unterkirchner, ed. (Vienna, 1967); Franz Niederwolfsgruber, *Kaiser Maximilians I. Jagd- und Fischbücher: Jagd und Fischerei in den Alpenländern im 16. Jahrhundert* (Innsbruck, 1965), 52–61; Richard C. Hoffmann, "Fishers in Late Medieval Rural Society around Tegernsee, Bavaria," in Edwin B. DeWindt, ed., *The Salt of Common Life: Individuality and Choice in the Medieval Town, Countryside and Church; Essays Presented to J. Ambrose Raftis* . . . (Kalamazoo, Mich. [forthcoming, 1996]).

[90] Cahn, *Das Recht der Binnenfischerei*, 91–103.

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A fishmonger's stall. Marginal illumination in a 1290 French antiphonary from the monastery of Beaupré near Gramont, now in Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland, MS 759, fol. 108r. Used with permission.

of the catch made with abbey equipment, and fixed money dues.[91] But some generations earlier, fisheries belonging to the count of Namur, to Burgundian lords, and to monasteries from León to Warwickshire to Westfalia were already being rented on fixed terms for annual money dues or, rarely, a share of the catch. Revenues from leases in Picardy exceeded those from equal areas of arable. After the Black Death of 1347–1351, leases everywhere became the norm and continued their steady rise in value.[92] Having paid for the hereditary, lifelong, or terminable privilege of access to the resource, therefore, artisanal fishers lived by serving nearby markets. Their relatively small-scale technologies provided year-round supplies of a fresh local product.

Market price should represent the scarcity value of a commodity relative to effective demand for it. By the later Middle Ages, much quantitative evidence establishes fresh local wild fish as a relatively expensive item. In fifteenth-century Central European towns, for instance, fish cost three to five times more than beef.[93] Fish-producing areas in France and Poland shipped exclusively to the largest cities.

[91] Hartmann Zeibig, ed., *Urkundenbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg bis zum Ende des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1867–68), 2: 169–71.

[92] Generally on leases and their rising value, see Fossier, *La terre et les hommes*, 395–97; and Hitzbleck, *Die Bedeutung des Fisches*, 83–87. Examples include D. D. Brouwers, ed., *Cens et rentes du Comté de Namur au XIII^e siècle*, 2 vols. in 3, *L'administration et les finances du Comté de Namur du XIII^e au XV^e siècle*, Sources, vol. 1 and vol. 2: parts 1 and 2, *Documents inèdits relatifs a l'histoire de la Province de Namur publiés par ordre du Conseil Provincial* (Namur, 1910–11, 1926), 1: 105, 114, 156, and 202, and 2: 1, lxix–lii; Jean Richard, "Le commerce du poisson en Bourgogne et les étangs de la région Autunoise," *Mémoires de la Société Eduenne*, 44 (1983): 185–86; Perez-Embid Wamba, *El cister*, 178–79, 524–25; R. A. Hilton, ed., *The Stoneleigh Leger Book* (Oxford, 1960), 39, 163; Van Derveeghe, *Domaine du Val Saint-Lambert*, 110–11 and 118; Wilhelm Vahrenhold, *Kloster Marienfeld: Besitz und Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Zisterzienzerklosters Marienfeld in Westfalen (1185–1456)* (Warendorf, 1966), 128–29.

[93] Hitzbleck, *Die Bedeutung des Fisches*, 104–08.

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At festivals and entertainments of important guests, fish such as sturgeon, salmon, and pike graced the tables of papal Avignon. At least on the urban markets of which we are best informed, fresh fish was something of a luxury consumption good, or, as one poet put it, "ein herren speis."[94] Persons of power and wealth claimed preferred access to it.

As operators in what had now become commercial fisheries, fishers and fish dealers had their own interests.[95] These groups were often among the first in a community to organize for recognition by authorities and access to supplies and customers. At Ravenna and Pavia, where possibly precocious concentrations of consumers lived near good-sized rivers, groupings of fishers were recognized in agreements from as early as the tenth century; at Pavia, they were still enforcing their rights over the Ticino River in the late twelfth.[96] A monopoly of fish sales granted by the bishop of Worms to twenty-three named fishers in 1106 ranks among the oldest guild recognitions north of the Alps.[97] Organized fishers at Strasbourg are known by 1139 and had their own statute by 1315. Guilds at Paris appear in market regulations from the 1260s and those at Kraków in the 1360s.[98] Fishers' cartels sought exclusive use of fishing rights for commercial purposes and control over the sale of fresh fish in their town. At a center of market demand without major local aquatic resources, like Bologna with its many students, importing fishmongers played the same role.[99]

[94] *Heinrich Wittenwilers Ring*, Edmund Weissner, ed. (Leipzig, 1931), ll. 2905–08; George F. Jones, trans., *Wittenwiler's "Ring" and the Anonymous Scots Poem "Colkelbie Sow": Two Comic-Didactic Works from the Fifteenth Century* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1956), 38. Many more south German allusions of like tone are listed in Weissner's *Kommentar zu Heinrich Wittenwilers Ring* (Leipzig, 1936), 119. Compare Paul Perceveaux, "Essai sur l'origine des étangs de Dombes," *Bulletin de la Société des Naturalists et Archéologues de l'Ain* (1962): 81–90; Hitzbleck, *Die Bedeutung des Fisches*, 100–09; Ulf Dirlmeier, *Untersuchungen zu Einkommensverhältnissen und Lebenshaltungskosten in oberdeutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters (Mitte 14. bis Anfang 16. Jahrhundert)* (Heidelberg, 1978), 312, 376–78, 397–406; Y. Grava, "Notes martégales sur le revitaillement et la consommation du poisson a la cour pontificale d'Avignon au cours du XIV^{è} siècle," in *Manger et boire au Moyen Age*, 160; Dyer, "Consumption of Fresh-water Fish," 33–35.

[95] See in general Cahn, *Das Recht der Binnenfischerei*, 101–19; and Hitzbleck, *Die Bedeutung des Fisches*, 213–15. Compare Daniel E. Moerman, "Common Property and the Common Good: Ecological Factors among Peasant and Tribal Fishermen," in Bela Gunda, ed., *The Fishing Culture of the World: Studies in Ethnology, Cultural Ecology and Folklore*, Vol. 1 (Budapest, 1984), 49–61.

[96] Paolo Squatriti, "Marshes and Mentalities in Early Medieval Ravenna," *Viator*, 23 (1992): 12; Carl-Richard Brühl and C. Violante, eds., *Honorantie Civitatis Papiae* (Tübingen, 1983), 20; Elisa Occhipinti, "Fortuna e crisi di un patrimonio monastico: Morimondo e le sue grangie fra XII e XIV secolo," *Studi storici*, 26 (1985): 320–21. A comparable corporate group, the *scola piscatorum stagni*, is well documented from the eleventh century seeking exclusive control over the actual fishing of large estuarine ponds in the Tiber delta and then marketing the catch in Rome. The *scola* paid shares of fish to the churches that owned the fishing rights, and it had to let servants fish for the churches' own use. Vendittelli, "Diritti," 409–22.

[97] H. Boos, ed., *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms*, Vol. 1 (Berlin, 1886), no. 58, p. 50. Compare Steven A. Epstein, *Wage Labor and Guilds in Medieval Europe* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991), 42–44, 53–57.

[98] Wilhelm Dettmering, *Beiträge zur älteren Zunftgeschichte der Stadt Strassburg* (Berlin, 1903), 28, 34; Stromeyer, *Zur Geschichte*, 37; Eusèbe de Laurière, *et al.*, eds., *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race recueillés par ordre chronologique*, 21 vols. (Paris, 1723–1849), 2: 583–86; René de Lespinasse and F. Bonnardot, eds., *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris: Le livre des métiers d'Etienne Boileau* (Paris, 1879), 212–22; Stanisław Brzozowski and Mieczysław Tobiasz, "Z dziejów rybactwa małopolskiego," *Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki Polskiej*, seria B: *Historia nauk biologicznych*, vol. 9 (Warsaw, 1964), 78.

[99] Antonio I. Pini, "Pesce, pescivendoli e mercanti de pesce in Bologna medievale," *Il carrobio*, 1 (1975): 328–49. Compare the larger role of Parisian *poissonniers* and *marchands* than *pêcheurs de la Seine* in Lespinasse and Bonnardot, *Les métiers*, 212–22, and then René de Lespinasse, ed., *Les métiers*

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For consumers, medieval urban authorities took pains to ensure sufficient, safe, and fairly priced foodstuffs, and they commonly maintained relatively strict supervision over the sale of fresh fish. At Ghent and at Paris, for instance, all fish had to be inspected and then offered for immediate retail sale in certain designated areas. Purchase for resale was strictly forbidden.[100] Although high prices should have encouraged fishing pressure on the most-desired fish varieties,[101] barriers to market entry and expansion in turn curtailed it. Price differences also helped minimize direct competition between freshwater fisheries and the sale of preserved marine fishes such as salt herring or dried cod.

Next to privatization and commercialization, public regulation of inland fisheries was the third important social response of medieval Europeans to rising pressures against the resource. Seigneurial measures of this sort, as, for example, the count of St. Pol's 1225 ban on trammel nets, were common by the thirteenth century.[102] Their ambiguous concern for the lord's private supply or profit as well as for preservation and common use makes these a mere half step beyond estate management. But simultaneous royal legislation—in Sicily in 1231,[103] in France in 1268, 1289, and repeatedly thereafter—presaged four subsequent centuries of rising regulation by territorial states.[104]

et corporations de la ville de Paris, Tom. 1: *XIV–XVIII^e siècle: Ordinances Générales, Métiers de l'alimentation* (Paris, 1886), 13–20, 407–72.

[100] Lespinasse and Bonnardot, *Les métiers*, 214–18; and Lespinasse, *Les métiers*, 13–20, 448–64; David Nicholas, *The Metamorphosis of a Medieval City: Ghent in the Age of the Arteveldes 1302–1390* (Lincoln, Neb., 1987), 260–61. Compare provisions in the thirteenth-century Scottish town customs (Skene, *Regiam majestatem*, 244–46; Thomson and Innes, *Acts*, 347 red) and in Kraków's municipal ordinances of 1364 and 1408: Franciszek Piekosiński, ed., *Kodeks dyplomatyczne miasta Krakowa (1257–1506)*, 2 vols. (Kraków, 1879, 1882), nos. 262 and 299.

[101] As asserted, perhaps too categorically, by Hitzbleck, *Die Bedeutung des Fisches*, 83–87. I lack at present fully persuasive evidence that fishing for local markets by late medieval artisans itself (apart, that is, from the sheer concentration of aggregate demand in towns) caused greater damage to freshwater fish populations than did the non-market subsistence fishing of local peasants for their own consumption or that of their lords. Both groups of fishers should have known their local resource fairly well and, within the compass of that knowledge, shared comparably ambivalent incentives to maximize their catch *and* to preserve the resource for their future needs. Guild statutes simply do not countenance all-out exploitation and destruction. One could, however, argue that constriction or loss of common rights to fish left members of local peasant communities other than the "lord's fisher" or "master fisher" less solicitous of their aquatic environment and more prepared to countenance loss of habitat as well as illegal and destructive fishing. Consider the endemic (as opposed to openly rebellious) use of poisons and other unlawful methods portrayed in Bennett, *Life on the English Manor*, 94–95; McDonnell, *Inland Fisheries*, 17–18; Richard Jeřábek, "K studiu rybářství v oblasti moravskoslezských Beskyd a Javorníku," *Česky Lid*, 50 (1963): 285–91; Anne-Marie Cocula-Vaillières, *Un fleuve et des hommes: Les gens de la Dordogne au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1981), 132–34; Bela Gunda, "Fish Poisoning in the Carpathian Area and in the Balkan Peninsula," in Gunda, *Fishing Culture*, 1: 181–88.

[102] Fossier, *La terre et les hommes*, 397. In 1260, Salem Abbey obtained judicial confirmation of its legal right to regulate fisheries. X. Staiger, *Salem oder Salmansweiler, ehemaliges Reichskloster Cisterzienser-Ordens* (Constance, 1863), 90. Further examples include Léo Verriest, ed., *Corpus des records de coutumes et des lois de chefs-lieux de l'ancien Comté de Hainaut* (Mons, 1947), 4–5, 11, 42–43, 46, 56, 130, 176–77; Hilario Casado Alonso, *Señores, mercaderes y campesinos: La comarca de Burgos a fines de la edad media* (Valladolid, 1987), 207–10.

[103] *The Liber Augustalis or Constitutions of Melfi Promulgated by the Emperor Frederick II for the Kingdom of Sicily in 1231*, James M. Powell, trans. (Syracuse, N.Y., 1971), 144 (Lib. 3, tit. 72), barred fishing with herbal poisons.

[104] Exemplary or survey treatments of medieval fisheries legislation include S. B. J. Noël de la Morinière, *Histoire général des pêches anciennes et modernes, dans les mers et les fleuves des deux continens* (Paris, 1815), 369–73; Franz J. Mone, "Ueber die Flussfischerei und den Vogelfang vom 14.

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The laws openly aimed at preserving fish populations for human use by controlling that use. They typically forbade fishing during spawning season, capture or sale of fish below a minimum size, and gear or methods said to take or kill too many or too small fish. The French ordinance of April 1289, for instance, entirely ruled out nine specified kinds of nets and traps, as well as the use of two more during the months of April and May, when many river species spawn. Legitimate netting gear had to have mesh larger than a *gros tournois*, that is, about 2.5 centimeters (1 inch). Too small for a legal catch were eel worth less than a quarter denier, barbel and carp worth less than a half, and pike valued below two denier.[105] Perugia's statutes of 1342 closed all fishing for tench from May through September.[106] By the late fifteenth century, Bavarian and Austrian rulers were using hand-written, then printed, posters to show the actual smallest legal size for each variety from the Danube and its navigable tributaries.[107] Florentine statutes codified in 1322 prohibited the poisoning of fish and "the capture, sale, or killing of fry."[108] The legislative intent plainly, sometimes explicitly, was to allow desired species to reproduce and grow before human use and to prevent waste.

ON THE SURFACE, PUBLIC LAWS to control fishing dealt with social relations among humans just as much as did private claims to exclusive fishing rights or sales of fish as a market commodity. The necessarily selective protections of law, however, by their differential effects on certain fishes, also entailed semi-conscious human encroachment into natural relationships. Beyond social responses to changes in fish supplies, moreover, medieval Europeans took the further step to active and intentional manipulation of aquatic ecosystems. To serve human purposes, they built new aquatic habitats, modified the mix of fish species, and created new ecosystems, both domestic and wild. The historic vehicle was a particular form of artificial fish farming. Its development and spread both exploited and multiplied

bis 16. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 4 (1853): 67–97; Mira, *La pesca nel medioevo*, 44–55; A. Thomazi, *Histoire de la pêche* (Paris, 1947), 278–80; Grand and Delatouche, *L'agriculture au moyen âge*, 544–46; Sicard, *Les moulins de Toulouse*, 125–28; Cahn, *Das Recht der Binnenfischerei*, 57–60; Kisch, *Das Fischereirecht*, 173–83, 188–92; Willam, "Die Fischerei," 99–137, 145–46; Trexler, "Measures," 460–67; Materné, "Beroeps- en vrijetijdsvisserij," 142–43; and "Exploitatiemetoden, uitrustung en reglementering in de vlaamse binnenvisserij: Een regionale analyze; De Wase durmestreek van de late middeleeuwen tot op het einde van het ancien régime," *Annalen van de Koninklijke Oudheidkundige Kring van het Land van Waas*, 91 (1988): 219–22.

[105] Duples-Angier, "Ordonnances," 49–52; Jeulin, "L'elaboration par la monarchie," 1962–64.

[106] Mira, *La pesca nel medioevo*, 46.

[107] The patent issued for Lower Austria by Emperor Maximilian in 1506 has actual colored drawings of eight species. A published facsimile is in *Archivalien aus acht Jahrhunderten: Ausstellung des Archivs der Stadt Wien*, Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien. 15. Sonderausstellung. Dez. 1964–Febr. 1965, (Vienna, 1965), 34 and plate 8; the 52 x 55 centimeter original is Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Haupt-Archiv: Urkunden, no. 5825. Older and newer Bavarian examples, including a 42 x 60 centimeter poster printed in 1528, put the names of the fish on oblong bars of appropriate length. Ordinances from as early as 1489 and 1490 survive in Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Ältere Bestände, Staatsverwaltung, Bd. I, Nrs. rot 1608 and 1612b, and Generalregister Fasc. 444 Fischwesen Nr. 1., Nrs. 16–17, 18–19, 389–98.

[108] Trexler, "Measures," 460–61. A Scottish statute of 1318 controlled mesh size and seasons of catch to protect "salmunculi vel smolti seu fria alterius generis piscium maris vel aque dulcis" (Thomson and Innes, *Acts*, 469 red).

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what have previously been identified as unintended environmental consequences of medieval economic growth.

Artificial constructions to hold and eventually rear live fish are plainly a response to an inadequacy of natural supply, whether this was understood in nutritional or in cultural terms. Fishponds can equilibrate seasonal irregularities, supplement insufficient wild catches, or even entirely replace wild varieties with preferred domesticates. In some circles, the ponds and a supply of fresh fish for the table were also a way to display wealth and high status. Medieval European fish culture varied in intensity and sophistication along a spectrum jointly determined by growing technical expertise, entrepreneurial priorities, and resources available for investment. Simple storage tanks or cages for seasonally surplus catches were always likely to be found. Heavily capitalized and elaborately managed permanent fish farms were relatively late phenomena. What follows touches mainly on environmental aspects of their evolution.[109]

To build any fishpond is to create a new aquatic habitat. The idealized eighth-century estate of Charlemagne's capitulary *de villis* was to have artificial fishponds (*wiwaria*),[110] but two hundred years later, facilities for raising fish remained very rare, even on monastic estates.[111] Active construction of ponds for this purpose began in the eleventh century and increased rapidly in the twelfth and thirteenth. People built fishponds in regions where human populations and economies were also growing. Disputes over Picard fishponds thus enter the written record around 1100, and major projects in hydraulic engineering there date between the 1170s and 1250s, coincident with such investments in Burgundy and Berry. Across the Channel, from Wiltshire to Yorkshire and the late eleventh century to the late thirteenth, fishponds were made on estates belonging to bishops, major monasteries, and the English crown.[112]

It is important to recognize that, despite the ecclesiastical bias of the high

[109] My discussion here may differ slightly from the overview I sketched more than a decade ago: Richard Hoffmann, "Fish Ponds," in J. R. Strayer, ed., *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, vol. 5 (New York, 1985), 73–74; it is now further developed in my "Medieval Cistercian Fisheries, Natural and Artificial," in Leon Pressouyre, ed., *L'espace cistercien* (Paris, 1994), 401–14, and "*Carpes pour le duc* . . . : The Operation of Fish Ponds at La Perriére-sur-Saône, Burgundy, 1338–52," *Archaeofauna* [Madrid], 4 (1995): 33–45.

[110] "Capitulare de villis," sect. 21, 62, 65.

[111] The lack of solid evidence for early medieval fishponds and fish culture is confirmed by, for instance, Heinrich Fichtenau, *Living in the Tenth Century: Mentalities and Social Orders*, Patrick J. Geary, trans. (Chicago, 1991), 281. Likewise, the rich records of Cluny at its height of wealth and prestige up to the 1150s refer to catching and temporarily storing fish from the Saône and its tributaries but have no trace of rearing them in fishponds: Ulrich [see note 15 above]; administrative instructions, surveys, and accounts in Auguste Bernard and Alexandre Bruel, eds., *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1876–1903), nos. 3789, 3790, 4132, 4143; Georges Duby, "Le budget de l'abbaye de Cluny entre 1080 et 1155: Economie domaniale et économie monétaire," *Annales: E.S.C.*, 7 (1952): 155–71, and "Un inventaire des profits de la seigneurie clunisienne à la mort de Pierre le Vénérable," *Studia Anselmiana*, 40 (1956): 129–40 [both rpt. in his *Hommes et structures du moyen âge: Recueil d'articles* (Paris, 1973), 61–82, 87–101].

[112] G. de Gislain, "Le role des étangs dans l'alimentation medievale," in *Manger et boire au Moyen Age*, 89; Fossier, *La terre et les hommes*, 366–68; Richard, "Le commerce"; Richard, "Les étangs," 98–99; Devailly, *Le Berry*, 295–96, 556–57; McDonnell, *Inland Fisheries*, 9–12, 19–24; J. M. Steane, "The Royal Fishponds of Medieval England," in Aston, *Medieval Fish*, 1: 39–68; C. J. Bond, "Monastic Fisheries," *ibid.*, 92–95; Edward Roberts, "The Bishop of Winchester's Fishponds in Hampshire, 1150–1400: Their Development, Function and Management," *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 42 (1986): 125–38.

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medieval written record, both lay and clerical landowners built, owned, and operated fishponds in the twelfth and thirteenth-century West. About 1160, while Count Etienne of Sancerre was flooding lands of the cathedral chapter of Bourges to make himself a fishpond, Emperor Frederick Barbarossa was ordering construction of another large one at Kaiserslautern. In 1216, Simon de Joinville, seneschal of Champagne and lord of estates on the upper Meuse, made sure he exempted his fishponds when he allowed the monks of Clairvaux to fish in his river.[113] In particular, recent scholarship is no longer convinced that the Cistercians, whose waterworks became the stuff of later legend, were notably any more innovative than their lay neighbors and kin.[114]

Only later did the active building of fishponds spread vigorously eastward. The Cistercian house founded in 1133 at Waldsassen in the German-Czech frontier zone of the Egerland made its first pond about 1220.[115] A few ponds may be recorded from eleventh or twelfth-century Bohemia, but the first datable construction there was in 1263, and rapid increase came a century after that, when eighty-seven new building projects are recorded between 1347 and 1418. Large and complex hydraulic works were again undertaken by Czech lords between 1450 and 1550, resulting by the latter year in an estimated 26,000 artificial ponds covering thousands of hectares, some of them fed by rivers that had been diverted as much as 35 kilometers.[116] Pond building in southern Poland lagged a generation or so behind that in Bohemia.[117]

Whether made by collecting surface runoff, damming a spring or stream, or diverting part of a river to fill a nearby depression, fishponds are still, not moving, waters. Medieval Europeans managed the fishponds they constructed and other appropriate artificial or enhanced ponds (former river channels, millponds, moats) for production of fish varieties well adapted to lentic habitats with high nutrient levels and warmed water. Probably in the twelfth century and certainly by the thirteenth, careful management included close control over the inflow and outflow of water and a regular (three to five-year) cycle from stocking with breeders or small fish to drainage of the pond for harvest, followed by a dry season and cultivation of

[113] Devailly, *Le Berry*, 361, records the canons' protests; Rahewin's continuation of Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris*, 4: 86, trans. by Charles C. Mierow, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa* (New York, 1953), 333; M. Champollion-Figeac, *Documents historiques inédits tirés des collections manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1841–48), 1: 618, as translated in Theodore Evergates, ed. and trans., *Feudal Society in Medieval France: Documents from the County of Champagne* (Philadelphia, 1993), 142. In the summer of 1217, Joinville's lord, the dowager countess and regent of Champagne, was paying to maintain and stock the count's own fishpond at Provins. Felix Bourquelot, ed., "Fragments de Comptes du XIII^{e} siècle," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 24 (1863): 67. Etienne Fournial, *Les villes et l'économie d'échange en Forez aux XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles* (Paris, 1967), 687–90, shows like variety among pond owners in that region.

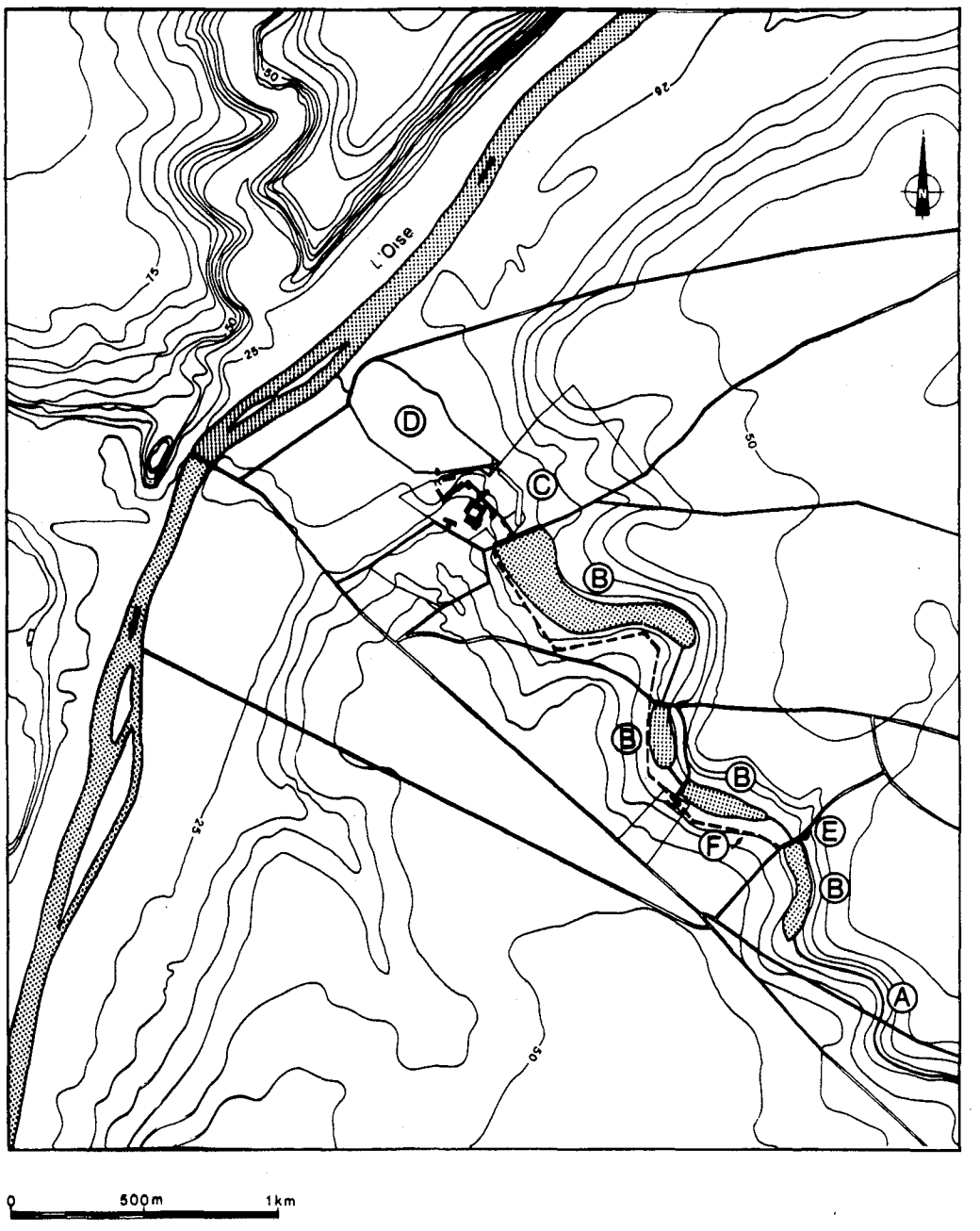
[114] Constance H. Berman, *Medieval Agriculture, the Southern French Countryside, and the Early Cistercians: A Study of Forty-three Monasteries* (Philadelphia, 1986), 89–90; Constance B. Bouchard, *Holy Entrepreneurs: Cistercians, Knights, and Economic Exchange in Twelfth-Century Burgundy* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991), 111–12, 185–98; Benoit and Wabont, "Mittelalterliche Wasserversorgung," 220–22; Hoffmann, "Medieval Cistercian Fisheries."

[115] Muggenthaler, *Kolonisatorische und wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit*, 129–31.

[116] Jirí Andreska, "Development of Fish-Pond Culture in Bohemia," in Gunda, *Fishing Culture*, 77–83; František Graus, *Dějiny venkovského lidu v čechách v době předhusitské*, 2 vols. (Prague, 1953–57), 2: 32–35, 483–86.

[117] Wojciech Szczygielski, *Z dziejów gospodarki rybnej w Polsce w XVI–XVIII wieku* (Warsaw, 1969); Hoffmann, *Land, Liberties, and Lordship*, 365–67.

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Medieval ponds and water system in the Liesse valley at the Cistercian convent, Maubuisson (Val-d'Oise), France. A = Liesse brook. B = artificial ponds. C = convent buildings. D = outflow ditches (present condition). E = spring. F = probable course of the brook in the thirteenth century. Plan by Monique Wabont and Paul Benoit. Used with permission.

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the bottom in order to raise fertility when the pond was refilled.[118] The elaborate hydraulic system built at thirteenth-century Vauclair put the fishpond where it received nutrient-laden outflow from abbey latrines, and the same arrangement fertilized five of Maulbronn's eight nearby ponds.[119]

Anadromous or cold-water fishes had no place in the pond environment. Royal and monastic ponds in thirteenth-century Yorkshire yielded bream, tench, roach, dace, and pike. In the 1384 annual catch from the millpond at Cryfield, Warwickshire, came bream, tench, roach, perch, and pike.[120] Most of the fish species recorded in medieval ponds were these western European natives with preferences for still and weedy waters. They now enjoyed much increased habitat and even deliberate human help as a consequence of medieval economic development. During the 1460s, the duke of Norfolk stocked his half-dozen fishponds with small pike, perch, roach, tench, and bream. He also put in carp. Norfolk's financial account offers the first documented presence of carp in a specific water on the British Isles.[121] The analogous record from France came earlier, so far seemingly as the hundreds of carp Count Thibaut V of Champagne had put into his ponds at Igny-le-Jard on the Marne in 1258.[122]

Carp were not native to Western and Central Europe. Arrival of this exotic species necessarily meant interaction with the ecosystems receiving it.[123] Until the early Middle Ages, all written and archaeological evidence of carp delineates a natural native range in the middle and lower Danubian watershed, where this cold-susceptible organism had been confined by the Pleistocene glaciers and whence its westward movement was curbed by fast and cold headwaters. In the upper Danube, Rhine, and Elbe systems, traces of carp first appear during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and in the Maas, Seine, and upper Rhone during the late twelfth and thirteenth. Its spread northeast to central Bohemia and southern Poland and west into the Loire and southern England occurred during the later

[118] For clear evidence of these practices on the European continent and in England, see Grand and Delatouche, *L'agriculture au moyen âge*, 541; Devailly, *Le Berry*, 561–62; Roberts, "Bishop of Winchester," 130–35; *Le polyptyque illustré dit "Veil Rentier" de messire Jehan de Pamele-Audenarde (vers 1275)*, Léo Verriest, ed. (Brussels, 1950); Brouwers, *Cens et rentes*, 2: 1, p. lii, and 2: 2, 433–34.

[119] René Courtois, "Quinze ans de fouilles à l'abbaye de Vauclair: Bilan provisoire (1966–1981)," in Chauvin, *Mélanges à la mémoire du Père Anselme Dimier*, Vol. 3 (part 1 [whole number 5]), 339–43. Grewe, "Wasserversorgung," 45–48, and figure 44, treats Maulbronn from the more detailed physical survey of Wolfgang Seidenspinner, "Das Maulbronner Wassersystem—Relikte zisterzienser Agrarwirtschaft und Wasserbautechnik im heutigen Landschaftsbild," *Denkmalpflege in Baden-Württemberg*, 18 (1989): 181–91. Compare the description of Clairvaux remarked in the text above at note 47.

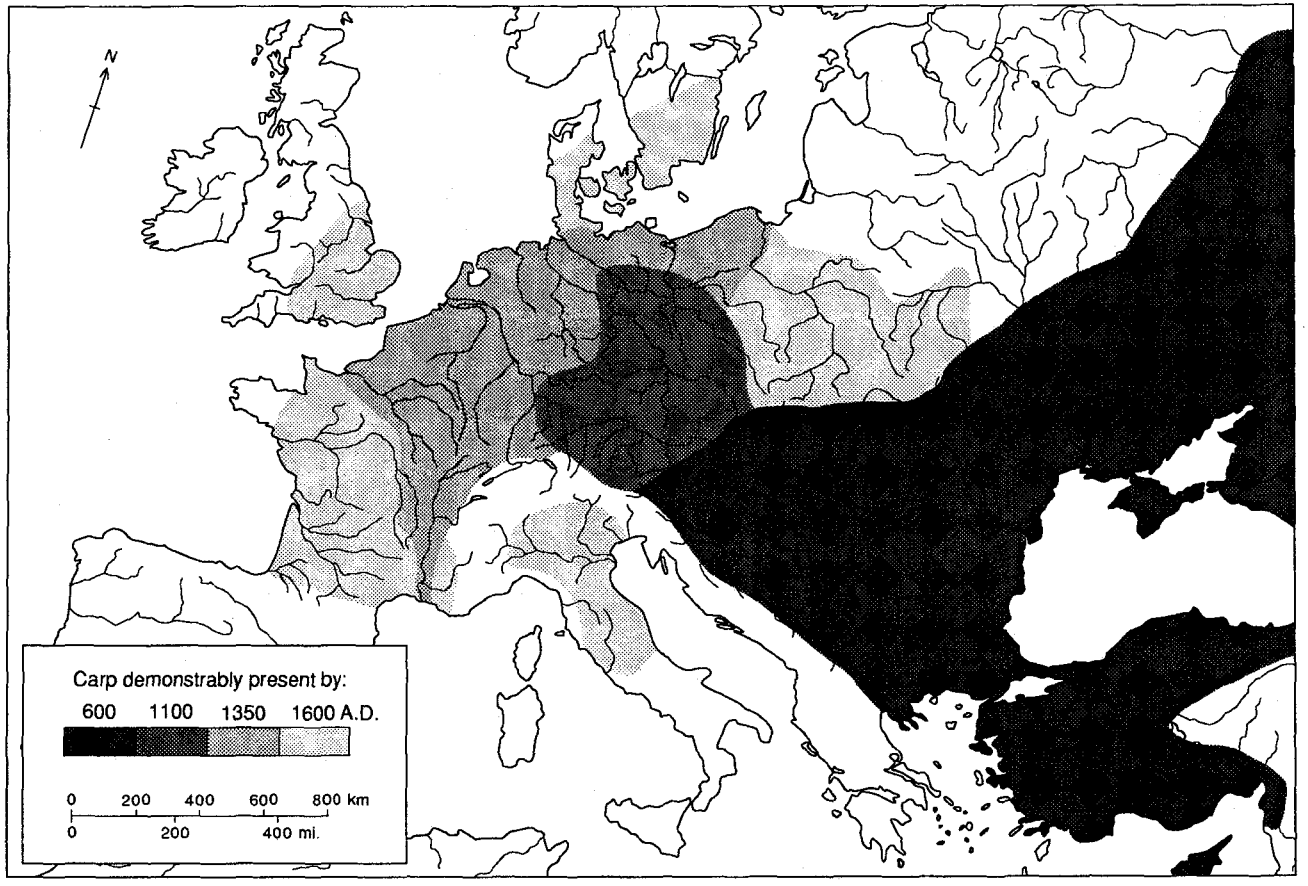
[120] McDonnell, *Inland Fisheries*, 9–12, 19–24; Hilton, *Stoneleigh Leger Book*, 220–21. All of these "grey fish" and "black fish" spawn in still, weedy waters, where trout, for instance, cannot.

[121] Turner, *Manners and Household Expenses*, 560–64; see discussion in Christopher K. Currie, "The Early History of the Carp and Its Economic Significance in England," *Agricultural History Review*, 39 (1991): 101–03 (although the passage includes incorrect assertions).

[122] Bourquelot, "Fragments de Comptes," 71–73, and identified by Grand and Delatouche, *L'agriculture au moyen âge*, 542.

[123] "Regardless of the means by which introductions are effected, successful establishment of an exotic species must necessarily precipitate changes in the physical and biological characteristics of the aquatic ecosystem receiving the introduction . . . That no effects should result from such perturbations strains one's confidence in ecological principles." Jeffrey N. Taylor, Walter R. Courtenay, Jr., and James A. McCann, "Known Impacts of Exotic Fishes in the Continental United States," in Courtenay and Jay R. Stauffer, Jr., eds., *Distribution, Biology, and Management of Exotic Fishes* (Baltimore, Md., 1984), 323, 352.

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The westward spread of the common carp in medieval Europe. A schematic simplification of information treated in Richard C. Hoffmann, "Remains and Verbal Evidence of Carp (*Cyprinus carpio*) in Medieval Europe," in Wim Van Neer, ed., *Fish Exploitation in the Past: Proceedings of the 7th Meeting of the I.C.A.Z. Fish Remains Working Group* (Tervuren, 1994), 139–50; and Hoffmann, "Environmental Change and the Culture of Common Carp in Medieval Europe," *Guelph Ichthyology Reviews*, 3 (1995): 57–85, and sources there cited. Map prepared in Cartographic Drafting Office, Department of Geography, York University.

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Middle Ages.[124] Biologists agree that this movement gained from human help. Captive carp can survive both stagnant store ponds and periods of overland transport. Carp's fecundity and rapid growth to large size attract a pond manager's attention. If, even without much conscious husbandry, medieval fish-keepers thus moved carp into new, more westerly watersheds, the fish were ready to do the rest.

Indeed, carp are remarkably well suited in habitat preferences and reproductive behavior to colonize temperate still-water environments, the very kind that economic development was proliferating in the medieval West.[125] Experiments and observations of the nineteenth-century spread of carp in North America and other territories then new to it verified the unusual ability of this species to colonize explosively in "regions with either simple or relatively fragile fish communities or which are under pressure for other reasons such as excessive fishing or environmental modification."[126] The simple fish communities of medieval Western Europe were under stress from environmental changes and human predation. The foraging behavior of carp, which uproots vegetation and releases nutrients from substrate organisms into the water, accelerated the processes that were altering the environment to the disadvantage of native clear-water species. Competition for food and carp predation on eggs further reduced population densities and species diversity in the native fauna.[127]

By the early fourteenth century, if not before, the best fish culturists on the European continent were emphasizing carp with a "side-crop" of pike. Their standard managerial practices were well documented in many financial accounts kept by estate administrators. The main stock were put in as young fish, whether caught from the wild or spawned by specially selected brood stock, and reared together until ready for harvest as a single age class.[128] Pike of suitable size went

[124] I first inventoried the evidence for westward diffusion in Richard C. Hoffmann, "Remains and Verbal Evidence of Carp (*Cyprinus carpio*) in Medieval Europe," in Van Neer, *Fish Exploitation*, 139–50, and sketched a broader context in "Environmental Change and the Culture of Common Carp in Medieval Europe," *Guelph Ichthyology Reviews*, 3 (1995): 57–85, where I noted some biologists' uncritical use of historical information. For England, compare Currie, "Early History of the Carp." Biological issues in the domestication of this species are most recently summarized in Eugene K. Balon, "The Common Carp, *Cyprinus carpio*: Its Wild Origin, Domestication in Aquaculture, and Selection as Coloured Nishikigoi," *Guelph Ichthyology Reviews*, 3 (1995): 1–55; and, from the perspective of population dynamics, in Jay R. Stauffer, Jr., "Colonization Theory Relative to Introduced Populations," in Courtenay and Stauffer, *Exotic Fishes*, 8–21.

[125] Wheeler, *Fishes of the British Isles*, 178–79. For much more detail, see Otto Heuschmann, *Die Weißfische (Cyprinidae)*, in R. Demoll and H. N. Maier, eds., *Handbuch der Binnenfischerei Mitteleuropas*, Bd. 3, Lfg. 8 (Stuttgart, 1957), 53–63. Regier, "Rehabilitation," 94, lists genus *Cyprinus* as typical "grey fish."

[126] R. L. Welcomme, "International Transfers of Inland Fish Species," in Courtenay and Stauffer, *Exotic Fishes*, 36. See also the discussion and many references in Taylor, Courtenay, and McCann, "Known Impacts," 324–26.

[127] Welcomme, "International Transfers," 33–36. Taylor, Courtenay, and McCann, "Known Impacts," classify the ecological effects of exotic fish introductions (324–26) and then repeatedly specify the known effects of carp (335, 336, 342, 345, 349).

[128] For clearly documented early examples, see Pierre Gresser and J. Hintzy, "Les étangs du domaine comtal en Franche-Comté d'après les comptes de gruerie du XIV^{e} siècle," in *Société d'émulation du Jura: Travaux 1975–1976* (Dole, 1978), 138–46; Isabella Guérin, *La vie rurale en Sologne aux XIV^{e} et XV^{e} siècles* (Paris, 1960), 137–40; Richard, "Les étangs," 99–100; Hoffmann, "*Carpes pour le duc*"; Nuremberg, Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Rep. 400: IV, Klosterverwalteramt Heilsbronn: Rechnungen, Salbücher und Partikulare, Nr. 1: Jahresrechnungen 1338–1374; A. Heidacher, *Die Entstehungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Klosters Heilsbronn bis zum Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts: Gründung, Gründer, Wirtschafts und Verfassungsgeschichte* (Bonn, 1955), 119. In 1289, the count of Namur had "queil vivier

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into the finishing pond to eat offspring of sexually precocious carp before the fry competed for food with their parents.[129] In well-managed fishponds, therefore, humans had created a complex, domesticated stillwater ecosystem new to Western Europe, while feral offspring of the pond carp joined in the reshaping of wild aquatic ecosystems as well. French writers of the mid-thirteenth century knew carp as both a domestic pond fish and a wild river fish, and so did the first to describe carp in the Polish vernacular, the early sixteenth-century Kraków scholar Stefan Falimirz.[130]

NOT ONLY FISH WERE CAUGHT UP in effects of medieval economic expansion. Unintended changes in habitat and conscious human efforts to eliminate competition and obtain useful food and fur drove down populations of Western Europe's largest aquatic mammals, the herbivorous beaver (*Castor fiber*) and the carnivorous otter (*Lutra lutra*). Drainage of wetland habitats and clearance of the river banks for arable or hay meadows reduced food supply for beaver and availability of denning sites for both species. More turbid water could hamper the otter's ability to detect and capture fish, its principal prey.

Both animals were subject to conscious human predation for consumption and "pest control."[131] As water dwellers, and in view of the shape of the beaver's tail, they were classified as "fish" and thus as acceptable food even during periods of abstinence. Ekkehard IV put *fiber piscis* on his monastic table, and early medieval food waste from both Bavaria and East-Central Europe contains remains of these species. Far more than the beaver's meat or fur, its glands in the groin that secret an oil used in medicines and cosmetics (*castoreum*) made it a valuable quarry.[132]

on a mis d'an en an [carpes] de chief et kewe por rapissonner les autres viviers" (Brouwers, *Cens et rentes*, 2: 2, p. 433), and in 1378 a Bohemian judge mentioned "magnis carponibus, qui ad prolificandum sunt missi in fossatum ibidem" (Augustin Neumann, *Prameny k dějinàm duchovenstva v době předhusitské a Husově* [Olomouc, 1926], 130–33).

The same managerial practices were much later prescribed as the best state of the art in the two definitive sixteenth-century handbooks on fish culture published by a Czech churchman and a Polish pond-master: Jan Dubravius, *De piscinis* (Wrocław, 1547), with a modern edition by Anežka Schmidtovà in *Sbornik filologický ČSAV*, 1, supplement 1 (1953): 11–45, and a facsimile reproduction of the 1599 English translation in *Three Books on Fishing (1599–1659)*, J. Milton French, ed. (Gainesville, Fla., 1962); Olbrycht Strumieński, *O sprawie, sypaniu, wymierzaniu i rybnieniu stawów* (Kraków, 1573) and 2d edn. (Kraków, 1897). An authoritative modern treatment is Stefan Inglot and Aleksander Nyrek, "Jana Dubraviusa i Olbrychta Strumieńskiego działa o gospodarce rybnej: Studium porównawcze," in Ewa and Karol Maleczyński, eds., *Studia z dziejów polskich i czechosłowackich*, Vol. 1 (Wrocław, 1960), 249–82. Andreska, "Development of Fish-Pond Culture," 83–85, errs on dating.

Carp came late to England, so mid-thirteenth-century ponds of lay and clerical magnates there were stocked with "bremas matrices," pike, and sometimes also perch and roach (McDonnell, *Inland Fisheries*, 11, 26; Steane, "Royal Fishponds," 45–46; Roberts, "Bishop of Winchester," 130–31).

[129] Bourquelot, "Fragments de Comptes," 71, and Fossier, *La terre et les hommes*, 396, may document expectations of this arrangement in northern French ponds as early as 1258 and 1276, respectively.

[130] Bourquelot, "Fragments de Comptes," 71; Lespinasse and Bonnardot, *Les métiers*, 212–18; Józef Rostafiński, *Średniowieczna historia naturalna w Polsce: Symbola ad historia naturalna medii aevi*, 2 vols. (Kraków, 1900), 1: 70.

[131] Most of what follows is in Delort, *Commerce des fourrures*, 108–17; compare Jäger, *Einführung*, 155–58.

[132] Ekkehard, *Benedictiones*; Angela von den Driesch and J. Boessneck, "Haustierhaltung, Jagd und Fischfang bei den Bajuwaren," in Herrmann Dannheimer and Heinz Dopsch, eds., *Die Bajuwaren: Von*

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Cistercian monks and Teutonic Knights alike made sure to gain privileges to hunt beaver in thirteenth-century Poland and Prussia. Further west and earlier, the natural dam and house-building habits of this creature so thwarted regionally important efforts of land drainage that it was thought a nuisance. In consequence, the beaver was virtually extirpated from Western Europe by the fourteenth century.[133]

Predators at the top of the food chain make up less biomass and fewer individuals than plant eaters, and the otter, which lived alone, drew less attention than the communal beaver. Otters were thought too few, fierce, and clever for an easy supply of furs, so their usefulness ranked well behind their nuisance role as motive for their pursuit. Otters found proliferating fishponds and their populations of slow, fat stillwater fishes much to their liking. Throughout the later Middle Ages, pond and fisheries owners from the Pyrenees to Prussia hired many a professional otter hunter to protect their property. Despite their efforts, all the good new habitat kept the otters fairly common in the West.[134] Ecological interrelatedness means induced environmental change includes unintended ironies.

BEAVERS AS VICTIMS OF EUROPEAN MARKETS and ecosystems transformed by European settlers are rather a cliché of North American history. Is anyone still unaware of the environmental price paid in North America for two centuries of capitalist and industrial growth? Human numbers exploded, and so did those of their exotic plants and animals—carp among them—at the cost of indigenous peoples, ecosystems, and organisms. Woodlands and grasslands became simplified agricultural ecosystems. Waters were plundered, befouled, and degraded.

Human use and transformation of natural environments is not confined to these recent events or a "New World." The great economic expansion of medieval Europe, which helped establish the identity of that civilization on that subcontinent, took place with demonstrable environmental impact and among complex interactions between human societies and their neighboring ecosystems. Human numbers and the grain lands and mills needed to feed them brought unintended and long, scarcely seen changes to Europe's watercourses. Culturally formed and socially structured demand stressed stocks of preferred food fishes. When medieval Europeans were alerted by local or regional scarcities, they contested individual

Severin bis Tassilo 488–788 (Salzburg, 1988), 203; Daniel Makowiecki, "Materiał kostny zwierząt z grodziska wczesnośredniowiecznego w Lembargu, woj. toruńskie," *Roczniki Akademii Rolniczej w Poznaniu*, 206 [*Archaeozoologia*, 14] (1990): 27–40. In the medieval bestiaries, the beaver bites off its testicles to escape. Willene B. Clark, "The Aviary-Bestiary at the Houghton Library, Harvard," in Willene B. Clark and Meradith T. McMunn, eds., *Beasts and Birds in the Middle Ages: The Bestiary and Its Legacy* (Philadelphia, 1989), 30.

[133] Cornelia Becker, "Die Nutzung von Tieren im Mittelalter zwischen Elbe und Oder," in Herrmann, *Umwelt in der Geschichte*, 13–14; Józef Mitkowski, *Początki klasztoru Cystersów w Sulejowie: Studia nad dokumentami, fundacją i rozwojem uposażenia do końca XIII wieku* (Poznań, 1949), 232–37; Willam, "Fischerei," 74; Bryony Coles, "Further Thoughts on the Impact of Beaver on Temperate Landscapes," in Needham and Macklin, *Alluvial Archaeology*, 92–98.

[134] Delort, *Le commerce des fourrures*, 115–17, 180–81; Joseph Balon, "La pêche et le commerce du poisson dans le comté de Namur au Moyen âge," *Namurcum*, 19 (1942): 29; Erich Joachim, ed., *Das Marienburger Tresslerbuch der Jahre 1399–1409* (Königsberg, 1896), 467.

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and collective claims to fisheries and grasped at both market and state mechanisms to allocate or control their demands. Where long familiarity gave good knowledge of the resource, power or common interests could forestall the worst predictions of a self-destructive "tragedy of the commons," though not save every local value or anything resembling equity of access.

By the end of the Middle Ages, indeed, by some time in the thirteenth century, members of European culture had become accustomed to the economic manipulation and transformation of aquatic organisms and ecosystems. They recognized at least some of the unintended consequences of their productive activities, exploiting some and seeking to minimize other environmental changes they had brought about. With conscious and informed purpose, they undertook further to modify physical and biological elements of the aquatic ecosystem. Not everything worked the way they thought it might: recall the over-optimistic fishers of the Pinzgauer Zellersee. Not all eventual outcomes penetrated medieval consciousness: nothing suggests any contemporary awareness of reasons for the collapse of sturgeon catches. But, by and large, later medieval Europeans behaved as if they thought they were somehow in control and able to channel fresh waters to meet human needs. It is now hard to find them verbalizing this capacity but not all that hard to find them exercising it.

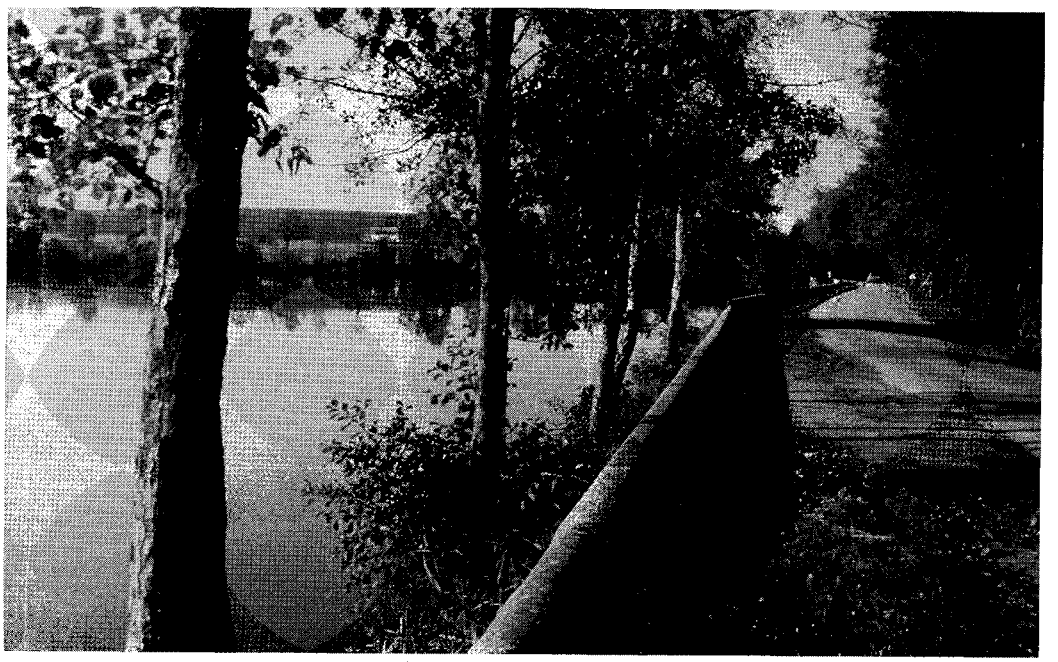
In recent years, Denis Cosgrove has argued the importance of Italian Renaissance engineers (and their patrons) in establishing and articulating a new human control over water and the landscapes shaped by it.[135] Cosgrove's assertion is representative of more general scholarly claims that the Renaissance formed a new, unequal relationship between European culture and natural environments, a relationship in which humankind dominated Nature.[136] The evidence here described argues that, where Europeans dealt with water and aquatic life, this relationship was a good deal older than the Renaissance and had evolved in cultural strata quite untouched by Renaissance humanism. One easy, perhaps slightly mythologized, line of development goes back to those twelfth-century Cistercian monks.

Another, arguably more telling, line runs through unlettered but not unthinking generations of peasant pond masters, men with long and cumulative knowledge of fish, water, and ways to bring them to serve human wants. Start, in retrospect, with Stěpánek Netolicky, pond master during 1515–1530 for the Třebon (Wittingau) estate of the Lords Rožmberk in southern Bohemia, who laid out and constructed the 45-kilometer Zlata Stoka ("Golden Drain") to feed nine large and thirty-seven small ponds. Stěpánek consulted on ponds and waterworks for the archbishop of Salzburg and for Count Nicholas of Salm, while a generation earlier, his predeces-

[135] Denis Cosgrove, "An Elemental Division: Water Control and Engineered Landscape," and "Platonism and Practicality: Hydrology, Engineering and Landscape in Sixteenth-Century Venice," in Cosgrove, *Water, Engineering, and Landscape*, 1–11, 35–53; Denis Cosgrove, *The Palladian Landscape: Geographical Change and Its Cultural Representations in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Leicester, 1993), 135–62.

[136] Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500–1800* (London, 1983); John Opie, "Renaissance Origins of the Environmental Crisis," *Environmental Review*, 11 (1987): 2–17; Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution*, rev. edn. (San Francisco, 1989), 42–191.

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Étang de Chaumont, one of a series of medieval ponds surviving at La Trappe Abbey (Orne), Normandy, France. The modern road runs on top of the medieval dam. Photograph by Terryl Kinder. Used with permission.

sor, Żelísko, went to advise the count palatine on the Rhine and the bishop of Passau.[137] Before that and elsewhere, in 1416/17 on the Yorkshire Ouse, one John Copyn had charge of the men who rebuilt a salmon weir at Rosscars for the Benedictines of Selby.[138] Regnault le Tarroillon led work teams on the duke of Burgundy's ponds and fisheries between Dijon and the Saône during 1338–1352; paid by the day or by the job, he and his men stocked and harvested fish by the tens of thousands and constructed sluice gates, overflow channels, and temporary storage tanks.[139] Occasionally, we can even trace such skilled managers back long before the Black Death. Pipe rolls from 1244–1262 record Nicholas "the Fisherman" traveling to supervise local crews working on all the bishop of Winchester's ponds.[140] An older contemporary, William "the King's Fisherman," inspected, advised, and coordinated royal ponds from Westminster to Northampton to York between 1226 and 1272.[141] Might, somewhere on the muddy roads of mid-

[137] Andreska, "Development of Fish-Pond Culture," 80–83; Josef Šusta, *Fünf Jahrhunderte der Teichwirtschaft zu Wittingau: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Fischzucht mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Gegenwart* (Stettin, 1898), 3–15.

[138] John H. Tillotson, ed. and trans., *Monastery and Society in the Late Middle Ages: Selected Account Rolls from Selby Abbey, Yorkshire, 1398–1537* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1988), 170–71.

[139] Regnault is documented in two contemporary castellans' accounts, Dijon: Archives Departmentales de la Côte-d'Or, B 5051 bis and B 5052, and his activities are reconstructed in Hoffmann, "*Carpes pour le duc*."

[140] Roberts, "Bishop of Winchester," 130–35.

[141] McDonnell, *Inland Fisheries*, 19–20; Steane, "Royal Fishponds," 46. We might suspect a French counterpart in Hugh Bernard, who in the autumn of 1258 was handling the stocking of at least three of the count of Champagne's ponds at Igny-le-Jard with carp, chub, and unspecified fishes (Bourquelot, "Fragments de Comptes," 73).

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thirteenth-century England, Nicholas and William have met to exchange expertise? How did long unwritten knowledge of pond design pass eastward and of carp pass westward? In medieval Europe, economic exploitation, ecological impact, and environmental mastery were, for good or ill, deeds of human agents.

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FIGURE 1: Cagayous of Algiers by Assus. Often reproduced, this caricature was first published in *Le Turco*, October 10, 1895, accompanied by the following commentary in the character's voice. "This dirty, rotten Assus . . . I kept saying to him to make me look good, handsome, so that the girls would like me, and look what he did to me! . . . You know, this isn't the way I look: ask the others. My God, I get so pissed off when I look at the ugly mug that this shitty Assus has made." Frontispiece to Auguste Robinet [Musette], *Cagayous: Ses meilleures histoires* (Paris, 1931).

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History as Literature, Literature as History: Cagayous of Algiers

DAVID PROCHASKA

WHAT IS STRIKING about the recent efflorescence of postcolonial studies is the degree to which the intellectual lead has been taken not by historians but by other academics, especially literature specialists. The foundational text in the field, *Orientalism*, was written by a literary critic, Edward Said.[1] The two leading anthologies in the field were compiled by literary critics; in one, "History" is listed among fourteen other subsections.[2] Literary critic Robert Young identifies the "holy trinity" of postcolonial studies as Said, Gayatri Spivak, and Homi Bhabha—all literature specialists.[3] These disciplinary developments stand in stark contrast to earlier historiographical trends such as the now aging "new social history" in which historians were in the methodological forefront. While there may be a tendency for historians to conflate postcolonial literary analyses with postcolonial studies per se and to dismiss both, this would be to throw out the baby—the postcolonial studies resuscitation of colonialism as a central area of scholarly inquiry—with the bathwater—the relatively greater emphasis on literary texts within postcolonial studies. That literature specialists stake out different positions on writers such as Frantz Fanon and Albert Camus points to certain controversies within the field and some possible openings for historians.

Three decades after his death, Fanon has been canonized by postcolonial studies; in the field of literary criticism, he is at the center. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., identifies a number of issues that arise in reading Fanon and more generally in the field.[4] Gates begins by discussing Said on Fanon and points out that, while Said situates

I thank Marilyn Booth, Edmund Burke III, Huguette Cohen, Ken Cuno, Jean Déjeux, Michael Gilmore, Mary Harper, Fred Jaher, Youenn Kervennic, Harry Liebersohn, Louis P. Montoy, Sally Prunty, David L. Ransel, Jerrold Siegel, and Ron Toby for helpful comments; audiences at Princeton University, the University of Chicago, and the University of Illinois (Social History Group and Cultural Studies Group), who responded to earlier versions; the staffs of the Bibliothèque Nationale and New York Public Library; and the University of California, Berkeley, and University of Illinois for research support. I dedicate this essay to Natalie Zemon Davis.

[1] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).

[2] See Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, eds., *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader* (New York, 1993); and Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, eds., *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (New York, 1995), where "History" is the eleventh section. See also Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, and Margaret Iversen, eds., *Colonial Discourse/Postcolonial Theory* (New York, 1994); and two collective volumes edited by historians, Nicholas B. Dirks, ed., *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1992); and Gyan Prakash, ed., *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements* (Princeton, N.J., 1995).

[3] Robert Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* (New York, 1990), chaps. 7–9.

[4] Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "Critical Fanonism," *Critical Inquiry*, 17 (1991): 457–70.

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Fanon's writing as an instance of resistance literature, this discussion of resistance occurs later and separately from the all-encompassing embrace of *Orientalism*. Gates then turns to Homi Bhabha, who, writing on Said, argues that Said's inability to deal in the same text with both colonial power and resistance is a problem that runs throughout his work. "There is always, in Said," writes Bhabha, "the suggestion that colonial power and discourse is possessed entirely by the coloniser which is a historical and theoretical simplification."[5] Where Bhabha has gone on to open up colonial texts imaginatively by stressing their ambivalent, hybrid nature, Gates moves next to Abdul JanMohamed, who criticizes Bhabha for restoring a spurious "unity of the 'colonial subject (both coloniser and colonised)' . . . Though he cites Fanon, Bhabha completely ignores Fanon's definition of the conqueror/native relation as a 'Manichean' struggle—a definition that is not a fanciful metaphoric caricature but an accurate representation of a profound conflict."[6] Next, Gates rehearses Benita Parry's criticism of JanMohamed. "Absent from JanMohamed's exposition," for Parry, "is Fanon's grasp of the paradoxes and pitfalls of 'rediscovering tradition' and re-presenting it within a western system of meanings."[7]

Issues of power, resistance, and, by extension, agency—bread-and-butter issues for historians—are certainly central here in these different readings of Fanon, but Gates argues that literary theorists often find themselves in the following double bind: "You can empower discursively the native and open yourself to charges of downplaying the epistemic (and literal) violence of colonialism; or play up the absolute nature of colonial domination, thus textually replicating the repressive operations of colonialism."[8] In Gayatri Spivak's work, informed by Jacques Derrida, Gates contends that a slippage occurs whereby colonialism becomes the discourse of colonialism. "What Jacques Derrida calls writing, Spivak, in a brilliant reversal, has renamed colonial discourse . . . The Derridian *mot*, that there is

[5] Homi Bhabha, "The Other Question: The Stereotype and Colonial Discourse," in John Caughie, ed., *The Sexual Subject: A Screen Reader in Sexuality* (New York, 1992), 318. Compare Gates, "Critical Fanonism," 459; and Edward Said, "Representing the Colonized: Anthropology's Interlocutors," *Critical Inquiry*, 15 (1989): 205–25. Bhabha's essay is a revised version of "Difference, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism," in Francis Barker, *et al.*, eds., *The Politics of Theory* (Colchester, 1983), 194–211. As "The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism," it has now been reprinted in Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York, 1994), but without the sentence quoted here; see page 72. His "Remembering Fanon: Self, Psyche and the Colonial Condition" was published as the introduction to Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967; London, 1986). It has been revised as "Interrogating Identity: Frantz Fanon" and reprinted in *Location of Culture*.

[6] Abdul JanMohamed, "The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature," in Henry Louis Gates, Jr., ed., *"Race," Writing, and Difference* (Chicago, 1986), 78–79. Compare Gates, "Critical Fanonism," 462. JanMohamed's use of the term "unity" is inaccurate, for what Bhabha was pointing to was "the repertoire of positions of power and resistance, domination and dependence that constructs the colonial subject (both colonizer and colonized)." Bhabha, "Other Question," 313, in Caughie, *Sexual Subject*. See Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 67, where for "the colonial subject" Bhabha has substituted the clumsy locution "colonial identification subject."

[7] See Benita Parry, "Problems in Current Theories of Colonial Discourse," *Oxford Literary Review*, 9 (1987): 47. Compare Gates, "Critical Fanonism," 464. Gates sums up his discussion by saying, "If Said made of Fanon an advocate of post-postmodern counternarratives of liberation; if JanMohamed made of Fanon a Manichean theorist of colonialism as absolute negation; and if Bhabha cloned, from Fanon's *theoria*, another Third World post-structuralist, Parry's Fanon . . . turns out to confirm her own rather optimistic vision of literature and social action." Gates, "Critical Fanonism," 465.

[8] Gates, "Critical Fanonism," 462.

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nothing outside the text, is reprised as the argument that there is nothing outside (the discourse of) colonialism."[9]

Significantly, only in a footnote does Gates explicitly call for Fanon to be "historicized."[10] Without taking anything away from these and other literary critics, as a historian I would like to see the historicization of Fanon taken much further; to see the emphasis on his book *Black Skins, White Masks* and the psychological dynamics of colonialism supplemented with more attention paid to his *Wretched of the Earth* and the context of the Algerian Revolution (1954–1962); to trace the unraveling of the revolution from the 1988 riots in Algiers to the civil war raging in Algeria today, in addition to applauding Fanon's participation in the revolution; to consider whether Fanon's Manichean view of colonialism is more applicable to French settler colonialism in Algeria than to other colonial situations before universalizing and applying it globally.[11]

Interestingly enough, Fanon has moved to the center of the literary field as Albert Camus has moved toward the margins; not so long ago, Camus was enshrined at the center—postwar existentialism, Jean-Paul Sartre, and *L'étranger* (1942), the Nazi occupation of France and *La peste* (1947), Cold War anticommunism and *L'homme revolte* (1951).[12] Alongside the critical literature on Camus, which tends to detach him from the historical context of colonial Algeria and concentrate instead on literary form and philosophical ideas, I would point in particular to the work of Conor Cruise O'Brien and Said, which emphasizes the historical and political context of Camus' fictions.[13] Said, for instance, bypasses the canonical texts to look at the story collection *L'exil et le royaume*, where he zeroes in on one scene in one story, "La femme adultère."[14] "Janine, the protagonist, leaves her husband's bed-

[9] Gates, "Critical Fanonism," 466. "The course we've been plotting leads us, then, to what is, in part, Spivak's critique of Parry's critique of JanMohamed's critique of Bhabha's critique of Said's critique of colonial discourse." Gates, "Critical Fanonism," 465.

[10] Moreover, it is significant that "to begin to sketch out" the path such historicization should take, Gates suggests that "a properly contextualized reading" of Fanon's book *Black Skins, White Masks* "should situate it in respect to" such works as Jean-Paul Sartre, *Réflexions sur la question juive* (Paris, 1946), and Dominique O. Mannoni, *Psychologie de la colonisation* (Paris, 1950). Gates, "Critical Fanonism," 458, n. 2.

[11] Frantz Fanon, *Peau noire, masques blancs* (Paris, 1952), trans. as *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York, 1967); and Fanon, *Les damnés de la terre* (Paris, 1961), trans. as *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963; New York, 1968). On *The Wretched of the Earth*, see the perceptive essay by Edmund Burke III, "Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*," *Daedalus*, 105 (1976): 127–35. Regarding the psychological dynamics of colonialism, note that one of the earliest references to Jacques Lacan in postcolonial studies is found in *Black Skin, White Masks*, 161–64, n. 25. For the unraveling of the revolution, see, for orientation, Charles-Robert Ageron, *Modern Algeria: A History from 1830 to the Present*, Michael Brett, trans. (Trenton, N.J., 1991), 129–44; John Ruedy, *Modern Algeria: The Origins and Development of a Nation* (Bloomington, Ind., 1992), 195–256; Benjamin Stora, *La gangrène et l'oubli: La mémoire de la guerre d'Algérie* (Paris, 1992); special issue, "Algeria/Algérie," *Mediterraneans/Méditerranéens*, no. 4 (Summer 1993); special issue, "L'Algérie en contrechamp," *Peuples Méditerranéens/Mediterranean Peoples*, nos. 70–71 (January–June 1995); and Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, 148–205. On rereading Fanon in relation to Algeria today, see the end of this article.

[12] Albert Camus, *L'étranger* (Paris, 1942), trans. as *The Stranger* (New York, 1946); *La peste* (Paris, 1947), trans. as *The Plague* (New York, 1948); *L'homme revolte* (Paris, 1951), trans. as *The Rebel* (New York, 1954).

[13] Conor Cruise O'Brien, *Camus* (London, 1970); Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, 1993), 169–85. Although Said acknowledges and builds on Cruise O'Brien's earlier pioneering study, he takes it further.

[14] In Albert Camus, *L'exil et le royaume* (Paris, 1957), trans. as "The Adulterous Woman," *Exile and the Kingdom* (New York, 1957).

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side during a sleepless night in a small hotel in the Algerian countryside . . . The climax of the story is a remarkable, almost pantheistic communion she has with the sky and the desert . . . Camus's intention is to present the relationship between woman and geography in sexual terms."[15] Significantly, Janine achieves communion not with an Algerian but with the land of Algeria.

In this story collection, Camus comes closest to staging the colonial encounter, the relations between Europeans and Algerians, but he does not inquire into the origins or history of colonialism in Algeria.[16] According to Said, "Camus neither disputes nor dissents from the campaigns for sovereignty waged against the Algerian Muslims for over a hundred years." Said grants that Camus was "a moral man in an immoral situation," but this very even-handedness makes Said's final verdict all the more damning. "Because there was always the more difficult and challenging alternative of first judging, then refusing France's territorial seizure and political sovereignty, blocking as it did a compassionate, shared understanding of Algerian nationalism, Camus's limitations seem unacceptably paralyzing."[17]

Said on Camus constitutes one example of how historical and literary perspectives together can illuminate a colonial text. Another example is Cagayous of Algiers.

THE LITERARY CHARACTER Cagayous constitutes one of the primary, if not the primary, European representations of Algeria. Standing on the docks of Algiers with a mosque outlined in the background, Cagayous attired in his trademark cap strikes a truculent pose (Figure 1). While Cagayous' literary relatives include such picaresque figures as Rabelais' Panurge and Victor Hugo's Gavroche, in colonial Algeria Cagayous was the most popular of these types.[18] And I will argue that he provides the greatest insight into the colonial society that spawned him. The publication of the Cagayous tales between 1894 and 1920 coincides with the emergence of the Algerian *roman colonial* or colonial novel.[19] Albert Camus is the best-known writer produced by colonial Algeria, yet there was a whole series of practitioners in Algeria of the colonial novel. One theme of these writers is,

[15] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 176.

[16] But see his unfinished novel published posthumously, *Le premier homme* (Paris, 1994). Earlier, Camus had flatly asserted, "There has never yet been an Algerian nation," reprising the famous debate between Ferhat Abbas and Ben Badis in the 1930s, yet Said argues that such a declaration presumes "that the ravages of French policy had wiped the slate clean." Albert Camus, *Essais* (Paris, 1965), 1012–13, quoted in Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 179.

[17] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 181, 174, 185.

[18] Pierre Mille, "Quand Panurge ressuscita," *Cahiers de la quinzaine*, Ser. 9, cahier 16 (June 30, 1908): 146–56; Mille, "L'illustre Cagayous," *Les nouvelles littéraires* (April 17, 1930); Mille, "Sur Musette, l'auteur de 'Cagayous,'" *La dépêche coloniale* (October 28, 1930): 1; Lilian Husson, "Cagayous, Fils de Bab el Oued" (typewritten manuscript in possession of the author, 1947); Aimé Dupuy, "Les enfances Cagayous," *Journal des Instituteurs de l'Afrique du Nord*, no. 5 (November 22, 1947): 66–67, 79; Dupuy, "Les 'écoles' de Cagayous," *Journal des Instituteurs de l'Afrique du Nord*, no. 7 (December 20, 1947): 98–99; and Gabriel Audisio, introduction, Auguste Robinet [Musette], *Cagayous: Ses meilleures histoires* (Paris, 1931), 7–40.

[19] On the colonial novel, see Alain Calmes, *Le roman colonial en Algérie avant 1914* (Paris, 1984); Hubert Gourdon, Jean-Robert Henry, and Françoise Henry-Lorcerie, "Roman colonial et idéologie coloniale en Algérie," *Revue algérienne des sciences juridiques, économiques et politiques*, 11 (1974): 7–252; and Jean Déjeux, *La littérature algérienne contemporaine* (Paris, 1975).

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significantly, the birth of a "new race," by which they refer to the *pieds noirs*, the amalgam of Europeans that formed a settler society.[20] But the Algerians are absent; most colonial novels feature the better-off native French. By contrast, the Cagayous tales highlight the lower-class *pieds noirs*—generally Spanish, Italians, Maltese—the *petits blancs*, poor whites.[21] Particularly revealing is that Cagayous and his cronies speak *pataouète*, the French dialect invented by the European settlers in Algeria.[22] As the colonial society of Algeria formed late in the nineteenth century, so, too, did the language its members increasingly spoke.

Historically, the characters of the Cagayous tales exemplify the formation of a distinctive settler colonial society in Algeria between 1890 and 1914. As I have argued elsewhere, French colonialism in Algeria took the form of settler colonialism.[23] Colonial Algerian society included French, Spanish, Italian, Maltese, and other European settlers but excluded Jews, as well as native Arabs and Berbers. Algerians outnumbered Europeans six to one in Algeria as a whole, but in the area along the Mediterranean coast where the European settlers concentrated in the largest Algerian cities, there were two Europeans for each Algerian.[24] In the Algiers of Cagayous, Europeans outnumbered Algerians three to one in a total population of 145,280.[25] Together, the port cities of Algiers, Oran, and Bône played a dis-

[20] Numerous visitors to Algeria at the time noted the birth of a "new race," including André Gide. See his *Amyntas* (Paris, 1905), 123–24. The political history of the term *pied noir* lies at the center of my concerns in this essay. Since it did not come into general use until around World War II, to use it earlier is technically anachronistic. Cagayous and the European settlers often described themselves as "Algerians," and they termed the Algerians *indigènes* (indigenous peoples). Only with the rise of Algerian nationalism in the 1920s and 1930s was "Algerian" increasingly applied to Algerians and *pied noir* to the Europeans. Although *pied noir* has been interpreted as somewhat disparaging, I use it interchangeably with "settler" in this essay, because it is the single most widely used term for the European settlers of colonial Algeria.

[21] Besides Robinet, only Louis Bertrand and John Antoine Nau featured the *petits blancs*. Others who worked the picaresque vein include Stephen Chaseray and Paul Achard.

[22] On *pataouète*, see Albert Lanly, *Le Français d'Afrique du nord: Etude linguistique* (Paris, 1962); Roland Bacri, *Trésors des racines pataouètes* (Paris, 1983); Bacri, "Le pataouète," in Lucien and Myriam Elia, eds., *Les pieds-noirs* (Paris, 1982), 89–96; Aimé Dupuy, "Le Français d'Afrique du Nord," *Vie et langage* (January 1960): 2–11; and Pierre Pérégo, "Quelques remarques à propos du français parlé en Algérie," *La pensée* (January–February 1960): 90–95.

[23] David Prochaska, *Making Algeria French: Colonialism in Bône, 1870–1920* (New York, 1990); Prochaska, "Making Algeria French and Unmaking French Algeria," *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 3 (1990): 305–28; and Prochaska, "Tales of the City: Between *Algérie française* and *Algérie algérienne*," in Daniel Segal, ed., *Crossing Cultures: Essays in the Displacement of "Western Civilization"* (Tucson, Ariz., 1992), 182–225.

[24] By 1900, 60 percent of all Europeans lived in towns. On colonial Oran, see René Lespès, *Oran: Etude de géographie et d'histoire urbaine* (Paris, 1938), Graphique V; on colonial Bône, see Prochaska, *Making Algeria French*; and on colonial Algiers, note 31 below. By way of contrast, only 2 percent of the population of colonial Delhi was European in 1921, only 5 percent of colonial Cairo in 1897, and 20–35 percent of colonial Casablanca during the period 1913–1952. Anthony D. King, *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power, and Environment* (London, 1976), 232; Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious* (Princeton, N.J., 1971), 98; André Adam, *Casablanca*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1972), 149.

[25] Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie, *Tableau général des communes de l'Algérie* (Algiers, 1908), 2–3. In 1907, Algerians numbered 33,250 (23 percent). Fanon imagined no more Manichean a site than colonial cities like Algiers. "The colonial world is a world cut in two . . . The zone where the natives live is not complementary to the zone inhabited by the settlers . . . The settlers' town is a strongly built town, all made of stone and steel. It is a brightly lit town; the streets are covered with asphalt, and the garbage cans swallow all the leavings . . . The town belonging to the colonized people, or at least the native town, the Negro village, the medina, the reservation is a place of ill fame, peopled by men of evil repute. They

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FIGURE 2: "Alger" (B.F., Paris). (All postcards are from the author's collection.) In the background of this view of the port stands the Djama el Kebir, the main mosque in Algiers. Signed on the front by the sender, this card was mailed October 31, 1904, to a correspondent in Paris.

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proportionately large role in assuring settler predominance throughout Algeria. An early twentieth-century postcard clearly underscores activity at the port of Algiers (Figure 2). Settler colonialism in Algeria was, therefore, the necessary but not sufficient prerequisite for the creation of settler colonial culture; in turn, colonial culture contributed to the formation of settler society.

CAGAYOUS' CREATOR WAS AUGUSTE ROBINET (1862–1930). His background is sketchy. Born and died in Algiers. Both parents French. Nothing known about mother. Father a typesetter and Arabic translator. Orphaned at an early age. Thanks to a benevolent uncle, he attended secondary school, where he displayed an interest in philology and earned a reputation as "a walking encyclopedia."[26]

Robinet came from one of the oldest areas of Algiers, the Marine and former Préfecture districts; he was born just off the central Place du Gouvernement (renamed by the Algerians Place des Martyrs). The map in Figure 3 shows how the European city grew up around, very nearly surrounding, the Algerian quarter, the Casbah. After they invaded in 1830, the French commandeered mostly Moorish-style buildings for administrative offices in the Marine and other downtown districts. The French did not take over the Mosquée de la Pêcherie (Djama el Djedid), but they did establish their central square, the Place du Gouvernement, contiguous to it. An equestrian statue in the square of the duke of Orléans, King Louis Philippe's son who had fought in Algeria, symbolically inscribed French hegemony at what had been the center of Muslim Algiers (Figure 4).[27] At the time of Robinet's birth, therefore, central Algiers was still an ethnic potpourri in which different groups lived alongside but apart from each other. The postcard view (Figure 5) of the beginning of the Rue de la Marine suggests this, with the corner of the Mosquée de la Pêcherie in the right foreground and the twin European edifices standing at the beginning of the block and next to the mosque. The Marine and former Préfecture districts were the most heavily Italian neighborhoods of Algiers.[28] Yet the fountain for ablutions was used by Muslims for ritual washing prior to performing prayers (Figure 6).

Colonial Algiers grew by radiating outward from these downtown port districts. As outlying neighborhoods took on particular ethnic colorations, so the population mix of the downtown areas also changed. Initially, the Italian Marine district bor-

are born there, it matters little where or how; they die there, it matters not where or how." *Wretched of the Earth*, 38–39.

[26] Max Lamouche, "Un publiciste sociologue algérois: Musette," *Revue de la Méditerranée*, 4 (1947): 545.

[27] The symbolic significance with which these hunks of stone were imbued certainly rubbed off on the Algerians. Fanon understood; he writes that the colonial world is "a world of statues: the statue of the general who carried out the conquest, the statue of the engineer who built the bridge; a world which is sure of itself, which crushes with its stones the backs flayed by whips." *Wretched of the Earth*, 51–52.

[28] In walking "this labyrinth of a quarter, you encountered the speech, mores, and odors of the lower parts [*bassi*], warehouses [*fondaci*], and alleys [*vicoli*] of Naples." René Lespès, *Alger: Etude de géographie et d'histoire urbaines* (Paris, 1930), 578. For more recent studies, see Farouk Benatia, *Alger: Agrégat ou cité; L'intégration citadine à Alger* (Algiers, 1980); Djaffar Lesbet, *La Casbah d'Alger* (Algiers, 1985); and Maria Sgroi-Dufresne, *Alger 1830–1984* (Paris, 1986), esp. chap. 1.

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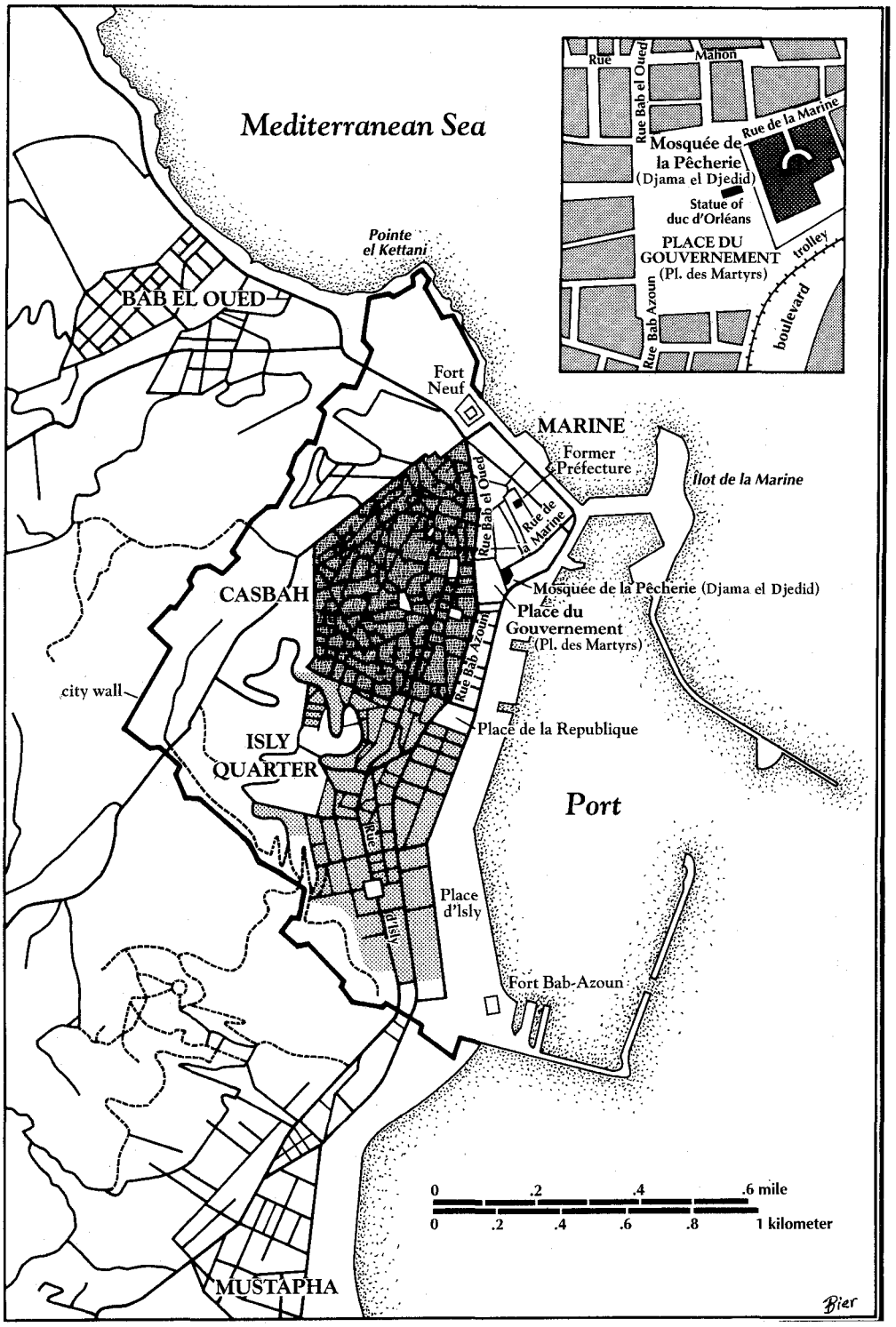


FIGURE 3: A map of Algiers *circa* 1900, cartographer James A. Bier. The center of colonial Algiers was the Place du Gouvernement, bordered on one side by the Mosquée de la Pêcherie (Djama el Djedid). The Marine district, birthplace of Auguste Robinet, and the Muslim Casbah were the oldest parts of the city. As Algiers grew in population, it expanded south, where the mostly French Isly quarter contrasted starkly with the Casbah, and to the northwest, where the working-class European Bab el Oued neighborhood arose.

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FIGURE 4: "9. Alger.—La Place du Gouvernement" (Neurdein Frères, Paris). View of the central square, with the Mosquée de la Pêcherie on the right, European-style buildings on the left, and an equestrian statue of the duke of Orléans in the center. Neurdein Frères was one of the largest postcard publishers of the time. Issued before 1904, this view was no. 9 of the 170 postcard views and 9 panoramas of Algiers—including no less than 13 of the Place du Gouvernement—available from Neurdein in 1904–1905.

dered the Muslim Casbah to the west. From the northwest corner of the Place du Gouvernement, the Rue Bab el Oued led to the neighborhood of the same name, located to the north and heavily Spanish in composition (see Figure 3). South from the southwest side of the Place du Gouvernement began the Rue Bab Azoun, along which the Jews clustered. This street terminated at the Place de la République (today, Square Port Said). Not far to the southwest of this square could be found the Rue d'Isly (today, Rue Ben M'Hidi Larbi), which gave its name to this predominantly French quarter.[29]

The move outward from the original city was already under way at the time of Robinet's birth, as the city's business center gravitated south toward Rue Bab Azoun and northwest toward Rue Bab el Oued. The commercial nature of Rue Bab Azoun is clearly evident in the postcard view of the street, with advertising signs on

[29] In one of the key defeats of the Algerian resistance led by Abd al Qadir, General Thomas Robert Bugeaud won the battle of the Wadi (River) Isly in 1844 and was later raised to the peerage as duke of Isly. After independence in 1962, the Algerians changed the name of the Rue d'Isly and renamed the Place Bugeaud the "Place Amir Abd al Qadir."

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FIGURE 5: "190 Alger.—Entrée de la rue de la Marine" (J. Geiser, Algiers). Looking northwest toward the harbor, the Mosquée de la Pêcherie is on the right, and the Djama el Kebir can be seen in the left background. Note the mix of people, from the European woman in the right foreground to the two Muslim men on the far left. J. Geiser was a photographer based in Algiers who consistently produced high-quality work. The "entrée de la rue de la Marine" was one of numerous stock views that turn up on postcards produced by other publishers.

the façade of the building on the left and the goods for purchase along the arcade of the building in the right foreground (Figure 7). As Europeans fled the city center, even more Algerians moved in to replace them. Thus Italians rubbed shoulders

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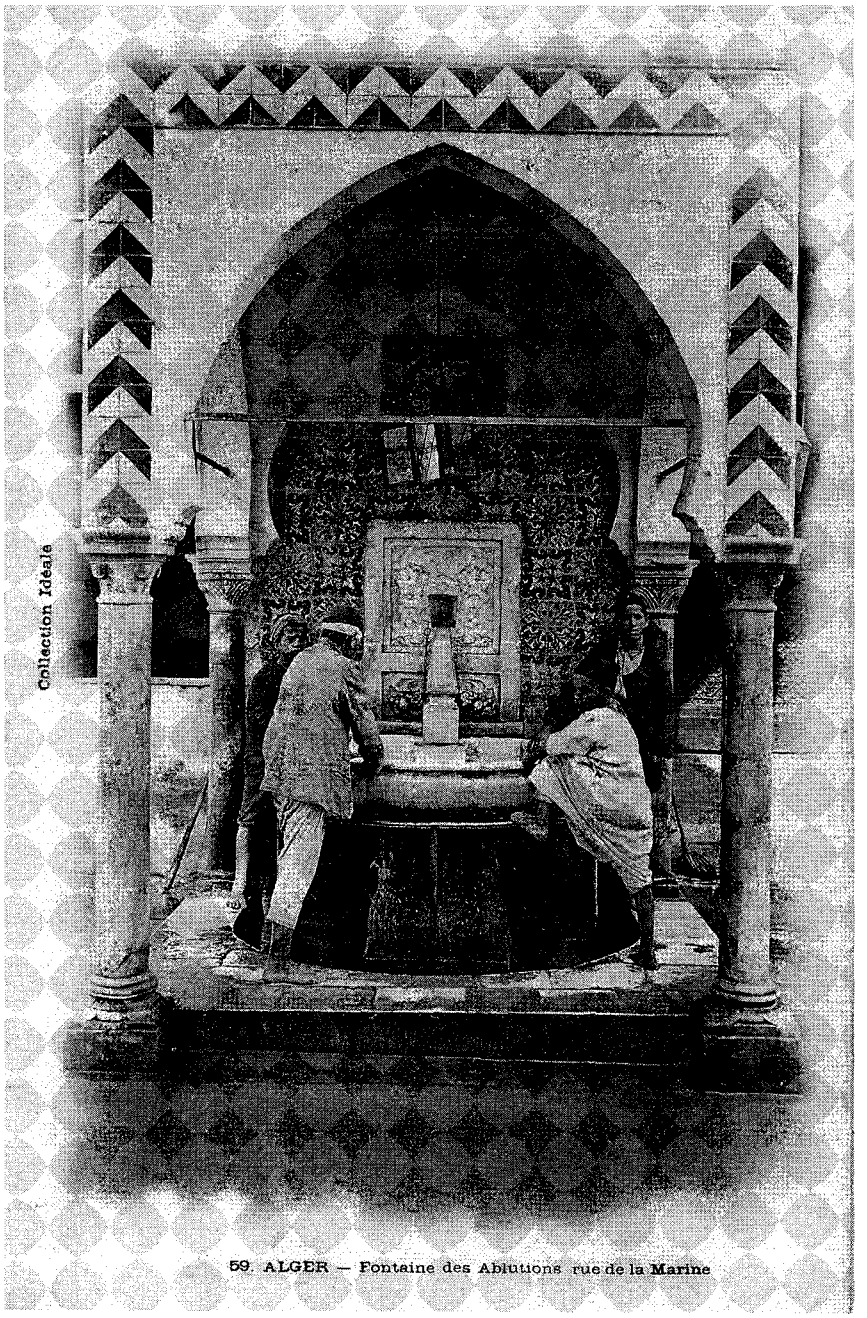


FIGURE 6: "59. Alger.—Fontaine des Ablutions rue de la Marine" (Collection Idéale). Such fountains were not found on public streets, as the caption here suggests, but inside the mosque compound, which is considered a sanctuary (*haram*). Note the vaulted arches and wall tiles. Of more than a hundred publishers of colonial Algerian postcards, Collection Idéale was among the ten most prominent. This card was produced before 1904.

increasingly with Algerians, all living in "deplorable conditions of hygiene."[30] While Europeans increased 44 percent between 1901 and 1926 in the Marine and former

[30] Lespès, *Alger: Etude de géographie*, 578.

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Préfecture quarters, Algerians burgeoned 139 percent. Population density climbed until it was second only to that of the Casbah.[31] In the Casbah, the stepped streets, residential architecture, and dress of the inhabitants all differed from the European neighborhoods (Figure 8).

Upon finishing school in Algiers, Robinet joined the colonial administration. After a stint in Constantine, the leading city of eastern Algeria, he was named inspector of foundlings for the *département* of Algiers, a position he held until retirement. His job brought him into daily contact with the predominantly Spanish population of Bab el Oued. Soon he moved to that neighborhood, and later he wrote about the *pieds noirs* who lived there.[32] Thus Robinet's successive moves in Algiers recapitulated the city's expansion. At first, Bab el Oued was physically isolated, and its reputation was as poor as its population. What turned the area around was the growing commercial and industrial prosperity of the capital. As the colonial economy expanded, Europeans, especially working-class Spanish, moved to Bab el Oued.[33] Central Algiers grew 43 percent in population from 1896 to 1926, but Bab el Oued jumped 103 percent.[34] Much later, during the Algerian Revolution, Bab el Oued became the home ground of the infamous Organisation de l'Armée Secrète, French Algeria diehards who mounted a last-ditch stand against Algerians fighting for independence.

Beyond the fact that Robinet earned a living independent of writing—a career pattern reminiscent of other artists, such as Wallace Stevens and Charles Ives—we know little about his non-literary activities.[35] An early biographer asks all the right questions: "Should we relate this invention [Cagayous] to the author's professional interest in foundlings? Should we attribute it to the impressions of a childhood spent two steps from the Place du Gouvernement, at the time the vital center of Algiers, intersection of the five great French, Jewish, Muslim, Spanish and Italian-Maltese neighborhoods?"[36] Surely there are connections, but we cannot spell them out with precision. What is clear is that Robinet began writing at the same time he was becoming a career civil servant. From age twenty, he contributed short pieces to an Algiers newspaper, which he signed "Tête d'âne" (Donkey Head). In 1888, one of the leading figures in colonial Algerian journalism, Ernest Mallebay, founded a newspaper and made Robinet responsible for a column, which he wrote under the pseudonym "Rob." Robinet later followed Mallebay to *Le Turco*,

[31] Lespès, *Alger: Etude de géographie*, 405–06, 409, 524–26, 560, 578, 785. Percentage increases during 1901–1926 are for the first district (*arrondissement*), which includes the areas of the Marine, former Préfecture, and Rue Bab el Oued. In this district in 1881, 304 people lived per hectare, in 1901, 596, and in 1926, 871. In the densest parts of the quarter, there were 1,376 individuals per hectare in 1926.

[32] Lamouche, "Un publiciste: Musette," 543; René Lespès, *Alger: Esquisse de géographie urbaine* (Algiers, 1925), graph 2, 89; Lespès, *Alger: Etude de géographie*, 558, 566–67. A mere 800 Algerians, or 3 percent, lived in Bab el Oued in 1926. Furthermore, Bab el Oued was 26 percent French in 1906, compared to 59 percent of central Algiers and 69 percent of the predominantly French d'Isly quarter.

[33] Whereas old Algiers hands termed the Marine quarter *le petit Naples*, Bab el Oued was referred to as *la petite Espagne*. Lespès, *Alger: Etude de géographie*, 573.

[34] Lespès, *Alger: Etude de géographie*, 344, 384–85, 405–06, 500, 530, 532.

[35] Robinet played the piano and flute, and composed on occasion. He was a *bricoleur* (handyman); he maintained a fully equipped shop and was a founding member of "L'Automobile Club d'Alger." Lamouche, "Un publiciste: Musette," 546.

[36] Lamouche, "Un publiciste: Musette," 543–44, quote on 544.

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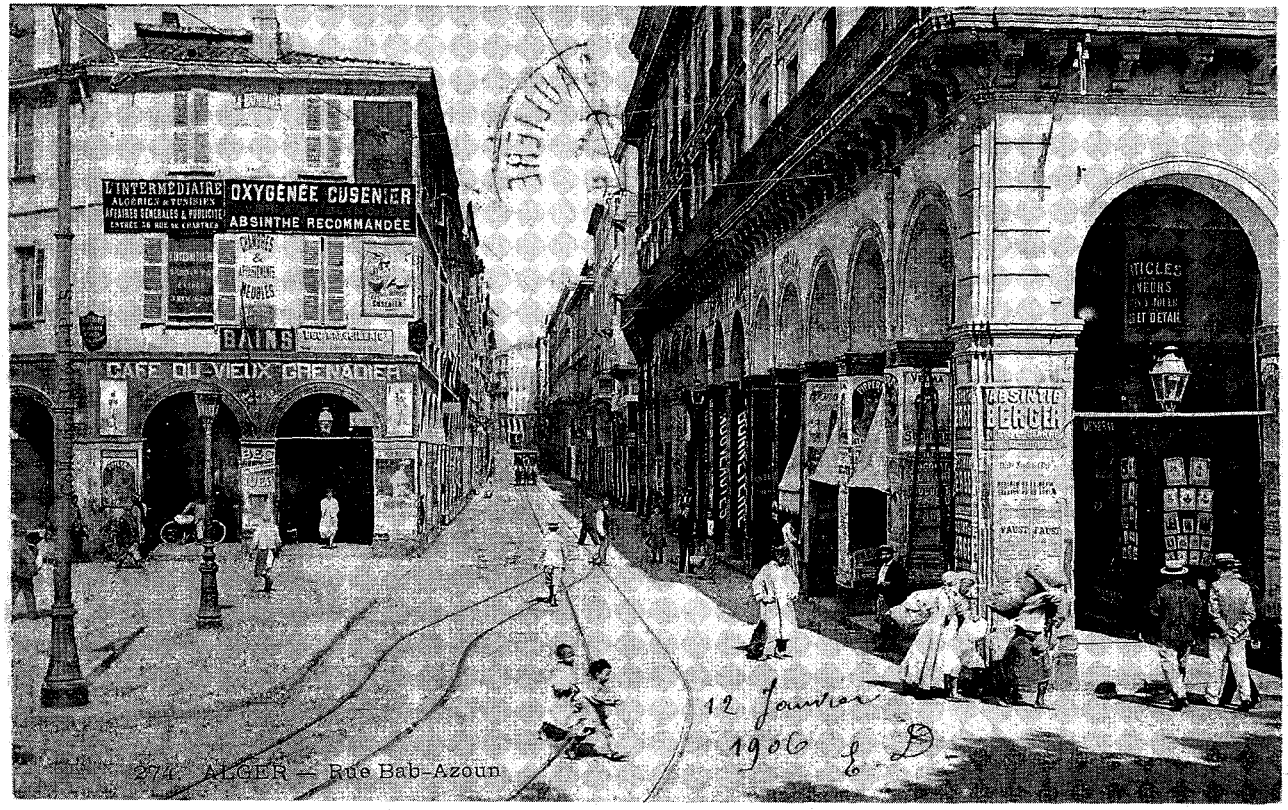


FIGURE 7: "274. Alger.—Rue Bab-Azoun" (Collection Idéale). The sender has written his initials and the date, January 12, 1906. There is no mention of the scene depicted on the postcard.

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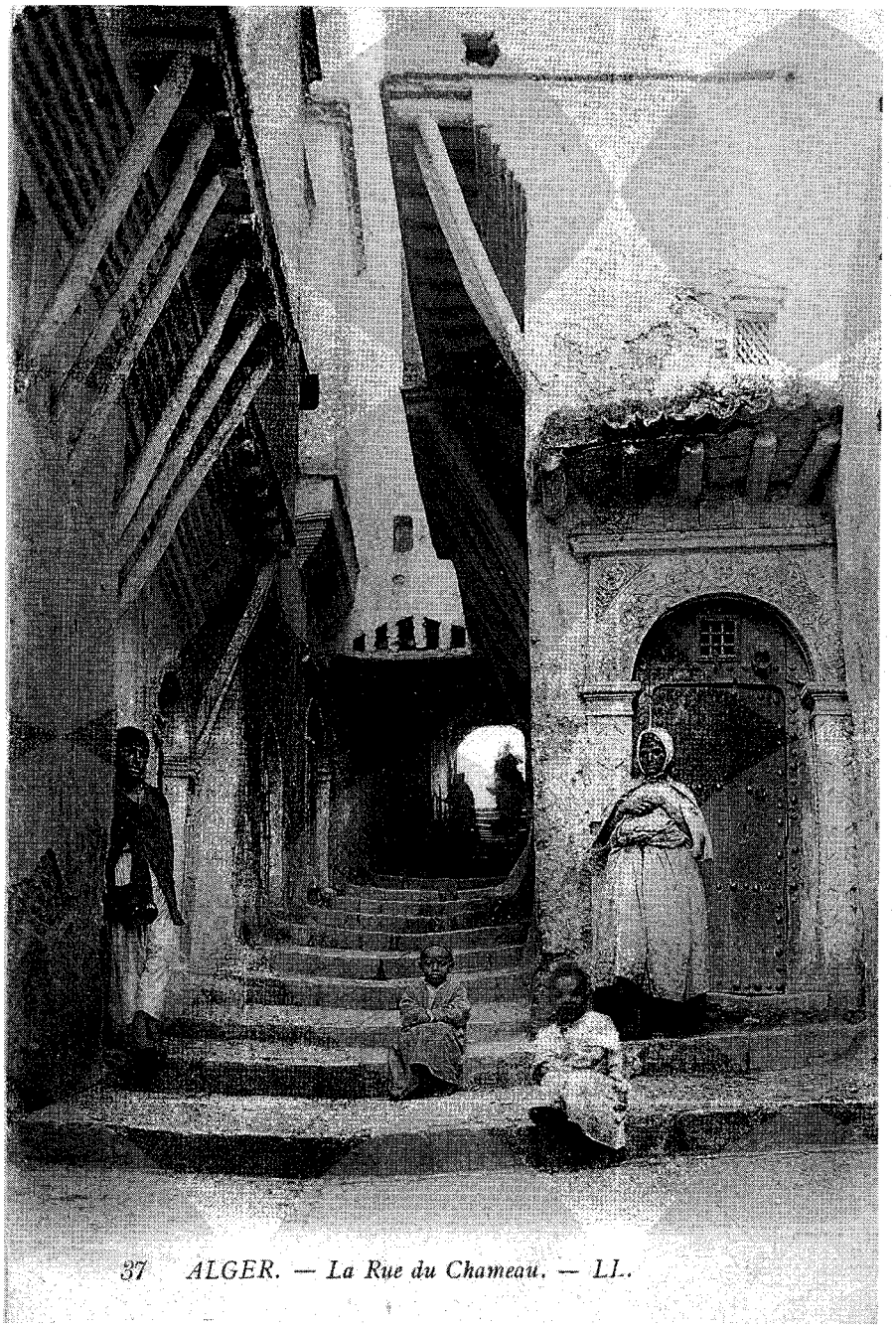


FIGURE 8: "37 Alger.—La Rue du Chameau" (L. Levy, Paris). Upper stories corbeled over the stepped street provide additional living space. L. Levy, one of the top two or three French postcard publishers by volume, is also notable for its high-quality work.

the leading satirical journal of the day.[37] He contributed to several publications

[37] Mallebay (1859–1939) was a professor of history at the College of Blida until 1887, when he went into journalism, founding *La revue algérienne* and *Le Turco*. Mallebay was a Radical Republican and anti-Semite. Louis Montoy, "La presse dans le département de Constantine (1870–1918)," 3 vols.

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and employed a number of pseudonyms: Musette (his best-known), Rob, Jean de l'Agha, and Piccolo.

As for the choice of the definitive pseudonym "Musette," no one knows the motives. Perhaps the rustic musical instrument of the same name symbolized the rude character of the puppets which he brought to life for his readers and his own diversion? Perhaps it evoked the bucolic charm of the life he dreamt of as an artist?[38]

Again, we do not know. What we do know is that the first Cagayous adventure appeared on March 3, 1895, in *Le Turco*, and the first collection came out the same year. Successive tales appeared until 1920, published first either as newspaper serials or as sixteen-page chapbooks and then reissued in collections.[39] Often sold out in bookstores, they were unavailable for a time from libraries in the capital. These tales, which "everyone reads and no one keeps," were immediately and continuously popular, a "wild success."[40] In 1896, 12,000 copies of one adventure were sold in a single afternoon. "Eyewitnesses recall that long lines formed at kiosks waiting for the delivery of the serials, which rapidly sold out."[41] As a result, the Cagayous character soon passed into popular mythology: Cagayous caps were marketed, the popular theater mounted Cagayous skits, and popular songs celebrated him. In one column, Cagayous reports that a tobacco seller has asked his permission to put Cagayous' name and picture on cigarettes.[42] Cagayous was worked into ads in which he endorsed anisette: "I only drink Anis-Capo!"[43] In an exchange in the newspaper, a group of wine cellarmen (*cavistes*) wrote that they wanted to meet Cagayous, the editor in turn "contacted" Cagayous, "Cagayous" accepted their invitation, and their get-together was staged in the following issue.[44] In short, "the popularity [of Cagayous] is incontestable . . . In colonial Algerian literature, the case of Musette is unique: he was the only author to have a public at the core of the settler colony [*colonie de peuplement*] and a real audience."[45]

ONE REASON FOR THE POPULARITY OF CAGAYOUS was the language he spoke, *pataouète*. The name *pataouètes*, or potato eaters, referred to Spanish immigrants to Algiers.[46] A dialect of French, *pataouète* was quintessentially a language of the cities

(Thèse de doctorat, Université de Provence, 1982), 1: 766, 2: 1099, 1267. Lamouche states incorrectly that Robinet moved to *Le Turco* in 1896, whereas the first Cagayous pieces were already appearing there in 1895. See Lamouche, "Un publiciste: Musette," 543.

[38] Lamouche, "Un publiciste: Musette," 545. A *musette* is a small, bellows-filled bagpipe popular especially in the eighteenth century.

[39] See Appendix: Cagayous Publication Data in Chronological Order at the end of this article.

[40] Emile-Félix Gautier, "Les émeutes antijuives en Algérie," in *L'Algérie et la métropole* (Paris, 1920), 203; and Audisio, introduction, Robinet, *Cagayous*, 15.

[41] Interview with Edmond Charlot cited in Paul Siblot, "Pères spirituels et mythes fondateurs de l'Algérianisme," in Martine Mathieu, ed., *Le roman colonial* (Paris, 1987), 52.

[42] "Pochades algériennes: Cigarettes Cagayous," *Le Turco* (October 30, 1896).

[43] Auguste Robinet, *Le mariage de Cagayous* (Algiers, 1906), advertisement before 49.

[44] "Pochades algériennes: Bibliographie," *Le Turco* (May 5, 1895); "Pochades algériennes: Cagayous au caveau," *Le Turco* (May 12, 1895).

[45] Siblot, "Pères spirituels," 52–53.

[46] "Not so many years ago, many [Spanish] immigrants came [to Algiers] on fishing boats [*balancelles*] transporting water jugs. They disembarked carrying an enormous bag; in local parlance they were

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rather than the countryside, and of the colonial port cities besides. Algerian ports were not the only Mediterranean ones that developed a distinctive lingua franca, but the Algerian case is distinctive because the European settler community was sufficiently large and long lived to develop its own dialect of French. Elsewhere, the lingua franca was referred to most often as *sabir*, which originated much earlier and mixed French, Spanish, Italian, and Arabic in a way that facilitated communication in Algeria and elsewhere in the Mediterranean, typically between Muslim and Christian.[47] The language of power, the power of language: as French colonialism took root, French replaced *sabir*, fewer and fewer Europeans spoke less and less Arabic, but, instead of mastering French, the *pieds noirs* invented *pataouète*.

In Algeria, *pataouète* differed in different parts of the country—from Algiers and Oran in the west, where Spanish predominated, to the east, where Italian was heard most often in the ports of Stora, Philippeville, and especially Bône. It differed by social group, too. As one commentator remarks, "The colony being constituted little by little into classes and castes, fairly serious differences are revealed between these classes and castes by language."[48] It is no coincidence that *pataouète* developed first as a spoken language and only later came to be written down. When it was, dictionaries and glossaries were frequently appended to the texts to facilitate comprehension. Emile-Félix Gautier, a historian at the University of Algiers and early fan of Cagayous, argued that Robinet transcribed onto paper what he had heard on the streets of Bab el Oued. "He [Robinet] has, if one can say so, phonographed [*phonographiée*] these plebeians."[49] Further, *pataouète* is a language of gestures; it cannot be fully comprehended without the gesticulations that accompany the words and complete the thoughts.[50]

named 'snails.' More crudely, they were referred to as 'potato eaters.'" Lespès, *Alger: Etude de géographie*, 571, n. 1.

[47] Lanly, *Le Français d'Afrique du nord*. On Algerian *sabir*, see M. Hadj Sadok, "Dialects arabes et francisation linguistique en Algérie," *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales* (Algiers, 1955), 61–97; and Louis Brunot, "Sabirs," *Journal des Instituteurs d'Afrique du Nord*, 1 (April 1948): 209–10.

[48] Dupuy, "Le Français d'Afrique du Nord," 5. In a rough-and-ready manner, Dupuy distinguishes the *pataouète* spoken by fishermen, truck drivers, farmers, Jews, and the urban working class. He refers to Cagayous' *pataouète*, rooted in such working-class neighborhoods as the Calère in Oran and the Cantera and Bab el Oued in Algiers, as "le langage cagayoussien." Other commentators reserve the term *pataouète* for the heavily Spanish version spoken in western Algeria and refer to the Italian-dominated Bône variant as "le Bônois." Although I follow most commentators in using *pataouète* here for the versions of French spoken in Algeria, insufficient attention is generally paid in the literature to geographical, ethnic, socioeconomic, and especially oral versus written differences. In the most substantial book-length study, *Le Français d'Afrique du nord*, Lanly notes but does not systematically pursue such variations and, more serious, uses later published tests as data of earlier oral practices despite the fact that, as Siblot points out, "literary texts cannot furnish *linguistic facts*, but only *facts of linguistic representation*." Paul Siblot, "Mises en texte de la pluriglossie dans la littérature coloniale," *Cahiers de praxématique* (Montpellier), no. 5 (1985): 108, emphasis in original.

[49] Gautier, "Les émeutes antijuives," 199. For glossaries, see Bacri, "Dictionnaire," *Trésors*, 20–183; Audisio, "Lexique," in Robinet, *Cagayous*, 251–65; Edmond Brua, "Petit glossaire," in *Fables bônoises* (Paris, 1972), 209–13; Louis Lafourcade, "Glossaire," in *Harmonies bônoises* (Algiers, n.d.), 35–44; and Husson, "Petit lexique pour non avertis," in "Cagayous," 45–46.

[50] Audisio writes, for example, that "when a personage cries 'Tiens!' every good Mediterranean *sees* the obscene presentation of the arm, of the hand, or of the finger which corresponds to those fruits symbolic in every regard to the people who live on the coast of the Latin sea; the fig and the olive." Audisio, introduction, Robinet, *Cagayous*, 23, emphasis in original. For the northern shore of the Mediterranean, see Laurence Wylie, *Beaux Gestes: A Guide to French Body Talk* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977).

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Cagayous' language borrows heavily from Arabic, Spanish, and Italian.[51] Of 600 foreign words, 210 are from Arabic, 180 from Spanish, 60 from Italian, and 70 from the patois, or dialect, spoken in southern France from Provence to Languedoc. From Spanish, Italian, and Arabic, Cagayous borrowed exclamations and obscenities first and foremost. Cagayous has a dirty mouth. Throughout the Mediterranean, the fig and the tomato are used figuratively for a woman's genitalia, and the *pataouète* Cagayous speaks plays on this. Algiers borders on the sea, and Cagayous borrows vocabulary from Mediterranean languages for fish, fishing gear, boats, bait, winds, and maneuvers. In addition to using nautical terms, Cagayous expresses himself in nautical images. He does not sew a button, he lashes it. Instead of *prendre racine*, to take root, he says *prendre mouillage*, to drop anchor.

Cagayous alters words to render them intelligible to his friends, deforming and disfiguring French in the process. *Celui-là* becomes *çuilà*; *voilà* becomes *oilà*; *avec* becomes *vec*. Cagayous collapses syllables and words together, as in *Bablouette* for *Bab el Oued*, *domoizan* for *donne-moi-s'en*, *danse sanguide* for *danse de Saint-Guy*. More important, *pataouète* modifies French grammar and syntax. Cagayous often changes transitive verbs to pronominal ones, which emphasize that he is the one performing some activity, for example, *se penser* for *penser*, *se manger* for *manger*. He uses the active voice and avoids the passive, conditional, and subjunctive whenever possible. Living in the here and now, he avoids the past and future tenses and opts for the present. Better to express himself, he inverts proper subject-verb order to place the object or attribute of a verb at the beginning of a sentence. Thus he says "fool that I am" instead of "I am a fool." Lastly, Cagayous uses run-on sentences, maybe because he knows no better but perhaps merely because he wants to, as in the following. "Another girl who was fourteen or fifteen years old around there and who all the time she moves, she jumps up and down, she goes through so many antics that she makes a fish squirming in a basket seem like nothing, her mother had more than ten doctors come to see what was the matter and they all told her it was St. Vitus' dance, that's all!"[52]

Cagayous' language can be interpreted as the untutored, broken French of a lower-class person with little formal schooling. But it can also be seen as exemplifying many of the character traits often ascribed collectively to the *pieds noirs*. They are said to have a strong sense of the concrete; sensual by nature, they seek pleasure, *faire le kif*, especially in the sun and sea—themes established in the colonial novel long before Camus' *L'étranger*. They are full of pride, both in the sense of feeling superior to the Algerians and in the virile pride associated with Mediterranean machismo, the male member at its crudest, the whole complex of honor and shame.[53] Although such stereotypes are just that, many of these traits do

[51] On Cagayous' language, see Lanly, *Le Français d'Afrique du nord*; Audisio, introduction, Robinet, *Cagayous*, 7–40, 251–65; and Bacri, *Trésors*.

[52] Auguste Robinet, *Au miracle* (Algiers, 1905), 2. "Une aute fille qu'elle a 14–15 ans comme ça et que tout le temps elle bouge, elle saute, elle fait des galipettes qu'une girelle dedans le couffin c'est rien, sa mère elle y a porté pluss de dix médicins pour voir ça que c'est et tous on l'y a dit que c'est la danse sanguide basta!"

[53] See, among other works, J. Davis, *People of the Mediterranean: An Essay in Comparative Social Anthropology* (London, 1977); J. G. Peristiany, ed., *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society* (London, 1965); and Jane Schneider, "Of Vigilance and Virgins: Honor, Shame and Access to Resources in Mediterranean Societies," *Ethnology*, 10 (1971): 1–24.

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resonate in Cagayous' language. Pronominal verbs and subject-verb inversions make discourse more energetic. The present indicative lends more vivacity to speech. Certainly, there seems to be an elective affinity between Cagayous' *pataouète* speech and his literary persona.

SO WHO IS CAGAYOUS? He is "the biggest *voyou* [hustler] of Algiers."[54] He is his name. "Cagayous" is a portmanteau word consisting of *lagagnous* blended with *cagaille*. *Lagagnous* (Languedocian; in Spanish, *leganoso*) means rheumy or gummy and is applied to Cagayous "because he had stuff in his eyes." *Cagaille* (Provençal, *cagaioun*, or little turd) is the runs, the shits.[55]

It should be clear by now, Cagayous is firmly anchored in Algiers; he cannot be understood aside from his particular place. As pointed out above, Algiers was not an Algerian but a European city, in which European colonizers outnumbered colonized Algerians three to one between 1881 and 1926.[56] Yet Cagayous' Algiers is not coterminous with Algiers the largest city in Algeria, the capital and headquarters of the colonial administration. As a *petit blanc*, Cagayous is from the predominantly working-class and Spanish Bab el Oued quarter, where in 1921 Spaniards comprised 25 percent of the population compared to their city-wide proportion of 10 percent. European in architecture, shade trees dotting the sidewalks, suburban Bab el Oued was linked with downtown Algiers by trolley car (Figure 9).

In the Cagayous adventures, Cagayous and his friends drift away from Bab el Oued toward the downtown districts, the Marine, the port, and the Place du Gouvernement. He has little occasion to venture into the districts built up on the hillsides farther away from the city center, where the fashionable French villas and sprawling embassy complexes are located today. Moreover, he visits the Casbah only infrequently, although it is closer. For Cagayous and his buddies, the Casbah is a place they make sorties into, but it is not a place they come from or spend much time in.

Cagayous' space *par excellence* is not the workplace, not the family home, but the street. We learn relatively little about the work he does—presumably because it is of little importance—and he spends little time at home. Instead, what fascinates him most is the street and what goes on there, the scams, inexpensive amusements, and free diversions the street offers. Cagayous' Algiers is a highly individualized city. By deemphasizing certain parts of the city and accentuating others, he practices his own sort of spatial segregation, which complements the prevailing residential segregation.[57] Cagayous defines social space thereby and creates social distance.

[54] Mille, "Quand Panurge ressuscita," 146.

[55] Audisio, introduction, Robinet, *Cagayous*, 9.

[56] Lespès, *Alger: Etude de géographie*, 494, 506, 517, 565, 570, 585. At certain times, the ratio was even more lopsided. In 1907, for example, the population consisted of 50,996 native French, 12,490 Jews, 26,305 naturalized French, 12,354 Spanish, 9,885 other Europeans, and 33,250 Algerians. Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie, *Tableau général des communes de l'Algérie*, 2–3.

[57] For a detailed study of residential segregation in another Algerian port city, see David Prochaska, "La ségrégation résidentielle en société coloniale: Le cas de Bône en Algérie de 1872 à 1954," *Cahiers d'histoire*, 25 (1980): 53–74.

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FIGURE 9: "133. Bab-El-Oued. Avenue des Consulats" (Collection Idéale). The Bab el Oued quarter, where Auguste Robinet moved, and where his character Cagayous lived. This card was mailed from Algiers to Paris and dated June 7. The year is not discernible on the postmark, but it would be after 1904. No mention is made of the postcard photograph.

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Cagayous spends little time with people other than his peers. Of his mother we hear little, of his father only that he is blind. With his sister Chicanelle, he spends more time, the two of them abusing each other verbally. Cagayous spends the bulk of his time with his friends, his gang. There is "Un qu'on lui dit l'haricot," the one called the bean, because he is always farting; Calcidone, the one with the big feet; Zérofranc, so named because he never has the money to pay for his round of drinks; Mecieu (Messieur) Hoc, a retired postman and the only native Frenchman in Cagayous' circle; Solipane, literally "sun and bread"; Embrouilloun, from the Algerian argot for filching, petty theft; and "Un qu'on l'appelle La Tomate," the one called the tomato.[58] The proliferation of nicknames parallels the elaboration of walking the street; the names evoke the shared experiences, the exploits of Cagayous and his band.

Cagayous works only in order to "hang out" on the street. He does not have a career like the French who come from France. Instead, he drifts from job to job, from garbage collector to street sweeper to chauffeur to journalist. From collecting garbage to running for political office is but a jump, which Cagayous executes with his customary panache, as we shall see. On the job, a fight with a boss over a point of honor and he is fired, lack of work and he is laid off. No matter, he simply finds something else, no doubt through a friend or a friend of a friend. The work he does and the occupations he practices are treated cursorily and in little detail as befits a picaresque figure.

Manual labor, mostly unskilled, rapid job turnover—these features of Cagayous' jobs are characteristic of his friends' world of work as well. His buddy Mallard had been an officer in the army ambulance corps, then a public letter writer (*écrivain public*). "Then he worked as a charcoal burner, then he was a waiter in a restaurant in the repair yards, then he became a caulker [*calafat*] and scraped the bottoms of barges, then he sifted through the trash at Bablouette beach for iron and coins, then he dug for sand fleas with an old shovel and made fishing bait and lures with them [*koukra*], then he ran errands, then he worked on board a fishing boat, then he sold newspapers, then he sold *calentita* [a kind of pastry] from a pushcart, then he was an undertaker's assistant, then he went back to hospital work."[59]

For comic effect, Robinet exaggerates Mallard's occupational history—but not by much. Behind such a catalogue lay the economic history of colonial Algiers. The close connection between agriculture and industry meant that manufacturing arose primarily to process agricultural goods. As late as 1879, the sum total of Bab el Oued's industrial base consisted of "one flour mill, one foundry, one lime kiln, two soap and candle works, one absinthe distillery."[60] Then agricultural growth spurred port construction to export agricultural products, which in turn led to a construction boom, which created an entire neighborhood in Bab el Oued, *le quartier des Carrières* or in Spanish, *Cantera*. It was tobacco, however, that made Bab el Oued's economic fortune. Tobacco manufacture was the most successful industry born of

[58] Mille, "Quand Panurge ressuscita," 151–52; Auguste Robinet, *Cagayous candidat* (1902), rpt. in Robinet, *Cagayous*, 113–14. Compare also Robinet, *Cagayous*, 254, 256, 262.

[59] Quoted in Mille, "Quand Panurge ressuscita," 150–51.

[60] Charles Gouillon, *Annuaire administratif et commercial des trois départements de l'Algérie* (Algiers, 1877), 176–77, quoted in Lespès, *Alger: Etude de géographie*, 759.

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Algerian agriculture, and Bab el Oued was the locus of the industry from the 1870s, especially from 1900.[61]

Just as Robinet exaggerated Mallard's succession of jobs, he also dwelled disproportionately on the bottom rungs of the occupational ladder. Even in Cagayous' poor-white milieu, however, there was a crude sort of socioeconomic pecking order. At the bottom of the bottom were the pickpockets (*sacatrapes*), the limeburners (*fourachaux*), and those who eked out a bare existence (*les fout-la-faim*). This is where you would find Robert Bresson's pickpocket as well as Nathaniel Hawthorne's limeburner Ethan Brand. One rung up the ladder were dockers such as the one named Chameleon, because he kept changing his color depending on what he was loading or unloading. At the top of Cagayous' occupational world were the petty shopkeepers such as his mother-in-law, Mme. Solano, who owned a small grocery. Despite its recent expansion, Bab el Oued still preserved in Cagayous' time the character of a small provincial town "where retail commerce was practiced almost exclusively in boutiques devoid of pretention."[62] When Mme. Solano refuses to advance credit to Cagayous' sister, Chicanelle takes it as the insult it is intended to be. Providing credit is as important as selling merchandise in this small-scale commercial milieu. It is one of the primary means by which economic position is translated into political patronage, by which petty retailers become political brokers. And in the world of Cagayous, Mme. Solano, by virtue of her grocery, "belonged therefore to the aristocracy of this *peuple de gagne-petit* [petty wage earners]."[63]

Cagayous' main occupation, however, is as the boss of his fellows. He is their acknowledged leader, the leader or mother (*mère*) of the pack. In the first place, walking down the street is an art; knowing when to brush taunts aside and when to challenge someone's manhood requires skill, a delicate reading of character, of intent. Cagayous will advise you when to pick a fight and when not to, and when you do he will counsel you on how to win. Violence is rife in Cagayous' world. Verbal violence mostly, but there is physical violence as well. Mostly, it is minor violence of the street-scrapping variety. Cagayous talks tough and he swings often enough, but he seems to draw the line at using a knife or other weapon. To an outsider, much of the street swagger is reminiscent of nothing so much as cocks strutting in a barnyard, of staking out territory.[64] Clearly, when walking down the street is

[61] Lespès, *Alger: Etude de géographie*, 413, 442, 573, 575, 758, 763–64, 778–79. In 1930, sixteen firms employed 1,800 workers, 1,000 of them women, 1,425 of them Spanish or Spanish naturalized French.

[62] Lespès, *Alger: Etude de géographie*, 785. Robert Bresson's film *Pickpocket* was made in 1959.

[63] Mille, "Quand Panurge ressuscita," 152. On political patronage and corruption in Algeria, see Prochaska, *Making Algeria French*, 180–205; and David Prochaska, "The Political Culture of Settler Colonialism in Algeria: Politics in Bône, 1870–1920," *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée*, nos. 48–49 (1988): 293–311. For a Moroccan case of economic power and political brokerage, see John Waterbury, *North for the Trade: The Life and Times of a Berber Merchant* (Berkeley, Calif., 1972).

[64] Albert Camus captures this street-swaggering stance in the following passage written, moreover, in *pataouète*. "Alors Coco y s'avance et y lui dit: 'Arrête un peu, arrête.' L'autre y dit: 'Qu'est-ce qu'y a?' Alors Coco y lui dit: 'Je vas te donner des coups.—A moi tu vas donner des coups?' Alors y met la main derrière [à la poche-revolver] mais c'était scousa. Alors Coco y lui dit: 'Mets pas la main darrière, parce qu'après j'te choppe le 6–35 et t'y mangeras des coups quand même.'" Camus, *Noces* (Paris, 1950), 66. "Then Coco goes up and says to him: 'Wait a minute, wait.' The other one says: 'What is it?' Then Coco says to him: 'I'm going to slug you.'—'You're gonna slug me?' Then he reached in his hip pocket, but it was only a pretext. Then Coco said to him: 'Don't reach for it, because after I hit you with the 6–35 you're going to eat it anyway.'"

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elaborated this complexly, it is singularly important to those who are doing the sauntering, the preening.[65]

Negotiating the street can be an end in itself; the process is more important than the destination. However, there are destinations as well as diversions. Cagayous and his friends go frequently to the popular theaters. The curtain opens and a woman with flour splashed on her face and body comes out and sings an obscene song. The Casbah itself offers a number of diversions.[66] In addition to visiting prostitutes, Cagayous' band goes to the Casbah to play dominoes or cards in a Moorish café, to eat couscous in a cheap restaurant, or *beignets arabs*, a sort of fritter, and *zlabia*, gooey, deep fat–fried sweets sold in stalls or from street vendors.[67] In the Casbah, Cagayous and his band could easily have run into a person like the Muslim in Figure 10.

Cagayous' street life is interrupted temporarily by marriage. One day, he chases away an Algerian who is attacking Mme. Solano and her daughter Thérésine. From this scarcely auspicious meeting, he drifts into marriage with Thérésine, letting the women arrange it and putting up only passive resistance. The street may belong to Cagayous and his friends, but the home, family, children, and marriage matters lie within the domain of women. The day of Cagayous' marriage is the one occasion in his life when he dresses up and acts like the rich. It takes exactly one month for his wife, who earlier resembled the Holy Virgin in Cagayous' eyes, to become "meaner than a [Berber] Kabyle dog." The problem, it seems, is the proverbial mother-in-law. Mme. Solano has moved in, and the three of them are locked in a power struggle for control of the household. The climax comes one afternoon when Cagayous returns early from work, starts arguing with them both, and his wife challenges him to hit her "if you are a man." It ends only when everyone troops down to the police station to lodge a formal complaint.[68]

After his erstwhile mother-in-law hires a lawyer and files for a divorce, Cagayous sees a lawyer, too, who is a Frenchman from France, as were the vast majority of those who practiced the liberal professions. The lawyer, M. Lelaitier (literally, the milkman), initiates Cagayous into the mysteries of the law.

> "The one who loses pays."
> "And the one who wins?"
> "The one who wins also pays. What do you think!"
> "And why do they say justice is free?"
> "Justice itself is free; but those who work don't do it on the house."[69]

[65] Michel de Certeau elaborates a rhetoric of walking in which he compares turns of phrase or stylistic figures to the art of composing a path. See his chapter "Walking in the City," in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Steven F. Randall, trans. (Berkeley, Calif., 1984), esp. 99–100.

[66] "A la casbah," in Auguste Robinet, *Cagayous antijuif* (Algiers, 1898), 157–61.

[67] "Virility and relationships with prostitutes play such a role that with certain authors the Casbah becomes a gigantic whorehouse." Gourdon, *et al.*, "Roman colonial," 153. They are referring to Louis Bertrand, Lucienne Favre, R.-H. de Vandelbourg, and Robert Randau, but their comments apply equally to Robinet.

[68] Robinet, *Le mariage de Cagayous*, 147.

[69] Auguste Robinet, *Le divorce de Cagayous* (Algiers, 1906), 42. "—Çuilà qui perd y paye. —Et çuilà qui gagne? —Çuilà qui gagne aussi y paye. Alorss quoi! —Et pourquoi qu'on dit que la Justice ça doit être battel pour tout le monde? —La Justice elle est battel; mais ceuss-là qu'on travaille vec elle y marchent pas à l'oeil."

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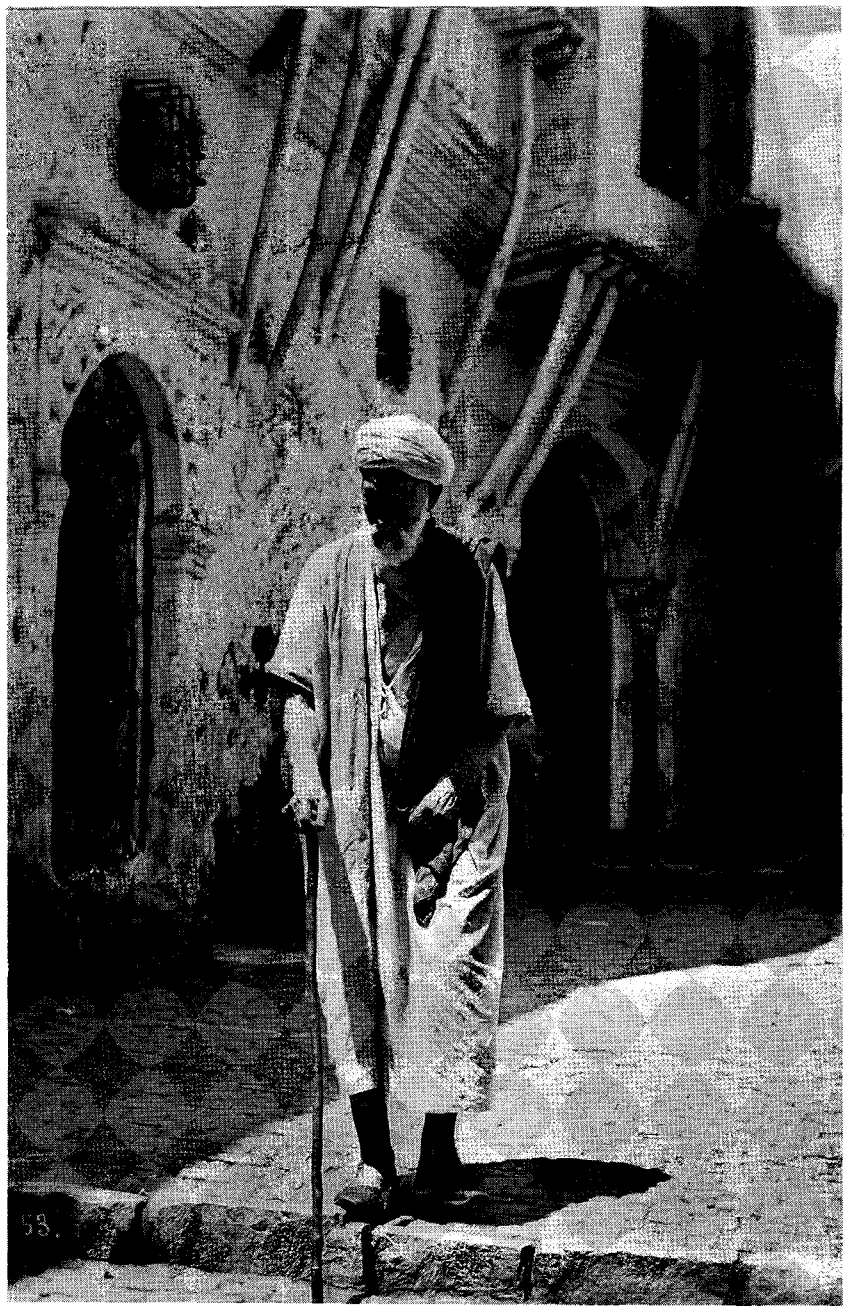


FIGURE 10: "53 Alger.—Casbah, rue de la Mer Rouge" (Vollenweider, Algiers). The main Muslim quarter, the Casbah was a source of diversion for Cagayous and his friends. Despite the caption on the back, this is more of a "scenes and types" than a view card. No doubt the shabbily dressed Muslim has been paid to pose for a "picturesque" scene in which his "old" clothing is linked to the "old" building façade on the left. Vollenweider produced photographs as well as postcards. I have a similar card in my collection, captioned "26. Alger.—Casbah, rue de la Mer Rouge," and it appears that both were taken on the same day on the same street and marketed as "typical" scenes of Muslim Algiers.

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At this point, Cagayous decides to take justice into his own hands. An anonymous letter has informed him that his estranged wife has taken a lover. Cagayous and a friend decide to stake out the Solano house. Cagayous "knows a native," an Algerian who lends him a burnoose to wear as a disguise, and in the middle of the night they surprise not his wife but his mother-in-law and *her* lover. Thanks to the highly developed social networks in this community, news of the scandal soon spreads.[70] As a result, the divorce is granted and Cagayous returns to the street.

Note that we meet Cagayous' wife and his sister Chicanelle, but the only woman whom Cagayous is forced to take seriously is Mme. Solano. And even she constitutes only a temporary barrier to be overcome before Cagayous can return to the street. Women, relatively absent in the Cagayous adventures, occupy separate and unequal spheres from men: the interior, domestic world of home, family, and marriage versus the outside world of work and power.

WHAT ABOUT CAGAYOUS' POLITICS? During the anti-Semitic agitation and riots that peaked between 1898 and 1901 in Algeria at the same time as the Dreyfus Affair in France, Cagayous manifests his rabid anti-Semitism. Here is Cagayous:

> All the time, the Jews dabble in the affairs of the government. The French, who are very similar to ants, are content to work, and at every moment the Jews are pulling something which leads to misery, war or disputes . . . The Jews are the same as bugs. If you say nothing, if you don't use strong insecticide, they pump you for all that you have in your pocket, in your stomach, in your head, and in the skin of . . . that which we have in our pants . . .
>
> Down, down with the Jews!
>
> That's my opinion, mine![71]

And here is Fernand Grégoire, one of the leading anti-Semites of the day:

> Unhealthy parasite, the Jew has introduced decay into our social milieu. Worshiper of the golden calf, he exercises economic power over us, he has infected us with his cult of money . . . It is above all in Algeria that the Jewish "malaria" [lit., bad air] blows.[72]

Certainly, Cagayous' virulent anti-Semitism employs similar images of insects, parasites, disease, decomposition, and degeneracy; it utilizes comparable rhetorical

[70] Robinet, *Le divorce de Cagayous*, 64: "With Anaïs who tells Fifine, Chicanelle who tells Lina and Mecieu Hoc who tells everyone he can lay his hands on, there are enough that all of the Cantère, Algiers, Mustapha, Boufarik, Blida, everyone knows that Félisque has become the lover of Mme. Solano. *Aïe*, what a laugh!" Cantère and Mustapha are outlying suburbs of Algiers; Boufarik and Blida are nearby towns.

[71] Robinet, *Cagayous antijuif*, 24, 28–29. "Tout le temps les juifs y barbotent dedans les affaires du Gouvernement. Les Français qui sont beaucoup pareils les fourmis, y restent tranquilles à travailler, et les juifs chaque instant y sortent un truc pour qui vient la misère, ou la guerre, ou les disputes . . . Les juifs c'est la même chose les punaises. Si vous disez rien, si vous y jetez pas de la poudre secticile forte, y vous pompent tout ça que vous avez dedans la poche, dedans la potrine, dedans la tête et dedans la peau de . . . ça que nous avons dedans le patalon . . . En bas, en bas les juifs! Ça c'est mon opinion, à moi!" The terms *antijuif/antijudaisme* and anti-Semite/anti-Semitism are used interchangeably in the Algerian case. The former is technically more accurate, since the Algerians are also Semitic peoples in a cultural sense, but "anti-Semitism" has the advantage of explicitly linking anti-Semitism in Algeria to that in France and elsewhere.

[72] "Parasite morbifère, le juif a porté la décomposition dans notre milieu social. Adorateur du veau d'or, il nous tient par l'or, il nous a, par contagion, conquis à son culte . . . C'est en Algérie surtout que souffle la *Mal'aria* juive." Fernand Grégoire, *La juiverie algérienne* (Algiers, 1888), 5–6.

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strategies whereby the Jews are reduced to a lower-than-human order of life; and it results in a text every bit as vile and disgusting as those produced by the leading anti-Semitic ideologues.[73]

Key to understanding Cagayous' anti-Semitism, and how anti-Semitism in Algeria differed from that in France during the Dreyfus Affair, is seeing how it intertwined with the formation of settler colonial society occurring at this time. Initially an electoral phenomenon, Algerian anti-Semitism can be dated from the 1870 Crémieux decree, which enfranchised en masse the Jews of Algeria.[74] The Crémieux decree became a lightning rod that focused European resentment of the Jews. More like the native Algerians in language, dress, and culture, the Jews angered the Europeans by their ability to swing close elections between Opportunist and Radical Republicans, especially since they tended to vote in a bloc. In 1907, Jews comprised 8 percent of the Algiers population, and in 1926 10 percent.[75]

The Jewish question thus became entangled with electoral politics. Most of the time, most of colonial Algeria constituted an Opportunist Republican stronghold, typified by Parti Colonial leader Eugène Etienne, deputy from the *département* of Oran, and the colorless Gaston Thomson, deputy from the *département* of Constantine and the longest sitting member of parliament during the Third Republic. The Opportunists drew major support from the native French, the minority Radical Republicans from the Spanish, Italians, and Maltese naturalized French. The Radicals were not above using anti-Semitism as a stick with which to beat the Opportunists, linking the political Left with anti-Semitism in the process. The Spanish, Maltese, and Italian *petits blancs* proved particularly susceptible to anti-Semitic calls laced with anti-capitalist rhetoric that portrayed the Jews as unscrupulous moneylenders and the like.

Then in 1889, a naturalization law was passed that automatically made the children of European settlers like Cagayous and his kind into French citizens. Why was such a law enacted? Algerians outnumbered Europeans and were increasing at a higher rate, and non-French Europeans outnumbered native French and were increasing at a higher rate. To shore up their hegemony over colonial Algeria in the face of insufficient French immigration, therefore, the French decided to enlarge their ranks with other Europeans. But what made good demographic sense fueled an already divisive politics of resentment.

Although anti-Semitic outbursts occurred in the 1870s and 1880s, anti-Semitism at the turn of the century went well beyond earlier outbreaks. Though by no means

[73] For contemporary works on anti-Semitism in colonial Algeria, mostly by anti-Semites, see in particular Joseph-François Aumerat, *L'anti-sémitisme à Alger* (Algiers, 1885); Louis Durieu, *Le prolétariat juif en Algérie* (Paris, 1899); Durieu, *Les juifs algériens (1870–1901)* (Paris, 1902); Georges Meynié, *L'Algérie juive* (Paris, 1887); Eugène Bey, *La vérité sur les émeutes d'Alger de janvier 1898* (Algiers, 1898); Fernand Grégoire, *La juiverie algérienne*; anon., *L'oeuvre des antijuifs d'Alger* (Algiers, 1899); Jacques Defrance, *L'expulsion des juifs* (Algiers, 1898); and Defrance, *Drumont: Sa vie, son oeuvre, son programme* (Algiers, 1898).

[74] Adolphe Crémieux was minister of justice in Léon Gambetta's Government of National Defense and as such had purview over Algeria. The decree conferring French citizenship on all Jews in Algeria was promulgated by Crémieux on October 24, 1870, at the very beginning of the Third Republic.

[75] Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie, *Tableau général des communes d'Algérie*, 2–3; Lespès, *Alger: Etude de géographie*, 494. See also Claude Martin, *Les israélites algériens de 1830 à 1902* (Paris, 1936), 288–90.

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limited to Algiers, anti-Semitism went furthest there.[76] Max Régis, son of an Italian father who had been naturalized French, emerged as the darling of the anti-Semitic movement. Elected mayor of Algiers at the age of twenty-six, Régis incited five days of rioting in January 1898 with inflammatory language in reaction to the publication of Emile Zola's *J'accuse*. Jewish shops and residences were attacked, two people were killed, 100 injured, and 700 arrested.[77]

In *Cagayous antijuif*, Robinet wrote a scene, "Drumont Arrives," in which the fictional Cagayous and his buddies go to the port to greet the real-life French anti-Semitic leader, Edouard Drumont, upon his arrival in Algiers on April 3, 1898. "The boulevard was full of people, and down below on the quay, the carriages were crammed with Max Régis . . . and other anti-Jewish leaders that I didn't know." Drumont gives a speech, at the conclusion of which he is given "wreaths, bouquets, palm branches."[78]

> Well, when I saw that, I grabbed the palm branch that Bacora was carrying, and I walked up to Drumont. Watch out, everyone! Make way!
>
> —Which one is Drumont? I asked.
>
> —I am, a gentleman answered, laughing. He had a full head of hair, a beard, and was wearing glasses.
>
> —Good. Me, I'm Cagayous![79]

In the May 1898 French parliamentary elections, four of the six deputies elected from Algeria were avowed anti-Semites, including Drumont, who was chosen to represent the *département* of Algiers in Paris.[80]

Sociologist of the street, Cagayous observes that the *petits blancs*, whether naturalized French or not, are more anti-Semitic than the native French and the women more strongly anti-Semitic than the men. "Listen, I'll lend you [Bacora] some money and with it you can buy a photograph of Max Régis. Take that to your girlfriend. Tonight she'll let you mount her."[81]

Such unflattering, sexist scenes, as well as the 1898 Algiers riots, suggest that there was more to anti-Semitism than electoral politics. Anti-Semitism fueled the

[76] On Oran, see Geneviève Dermenjian, *La crise anti-juive oranaise (1895–1905): L'antisémitisme dans l'Algérie coloniale* (Paris, 1986); and on Bône, see Prochaska, *Making Algeria French*, 201–05. See also Martin, *Les israélites algériens*, 299.

[77] Martin, *Les israélites algériens*, 295–300; Charles-Robert Ageron, *Les algériens musulmans et la France*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1968), 595–96; and C. Iancu, "Du nouveau sur les troubles antijuifs en Algérie à la fin du XIX^{ème} siècle," in Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, *Relations entre juifs et musulmans en Afrique du Nord XIX^{e}–XX^{e} siècles* (Paris, 1980), 179–82. See also Dermenjian, *La crise anti-juive oranaise*, 74–89.

[78] Robinet, *Cagayous antijuif*, 89–90. Algiers greeted Drumont "with unbelievable outbursts of enthusiasm." Martin, *Les israélites algériens*, 305; see also 303–06. On *Cagayous antijuif*, see Paul Siblot, "'Cagayous antijuif': Un discours colonial en proie à la racisation," *Mots*, 15 (1987): 59–75.

[79] Robinet, *Cagayous antijuif*, 90. "Alors quand je vois ça, j'empoigne la branche du palmier qui se portait Bacora, et je marche en devant Drumont. Gardez de là vous autres! Place! —Qui c'est Drumont? je parle. —C'est moi qui me répond en riant un meçieu qu'il a les grands cheveux, la barbe et les lunettes. —Ça va bien. Moi je suis Cagayous!"

[80] Drumont received 11,557 votes, versus 4,069 for his two opponents. Martin, *Les israélites algériens*, 306.

[81] Robinet, *Cagayous antijuif*, 78. "Attends, moi je te [Bacora] prête deux ronds et ça fait que tu peux t'acheter la photographie de Max Régis. Porte-z-y à te gonzesse. Ce soir elle laisse que te montes." Charles-Robert Ageron describes Régis sitting in his carriage drawn by an enthusiastic crowd, "the women of the Algiers *petit peuple* throwing flowers, offering palms to their idol." Ageron, *Les algériens musulmans*, 583. See also Martin, *Les israélites algériens*, 297, 299, 304.

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larger movement for autonomy if not outright separation from France, which in turn constituted a crucial stage in the formation of settler colonial society. Beyond simply an electoral phenomenon in *fin-de-siècle* Algeria, racial anti-Semitism functioned as a lightning rod that collected a range of resentments. First, it displaced European fears of the Algerians onto the Jews: "This is what it would be like if the Arabs could vote."[82] Second, the better-off native French settlers, aware that the metropole viewed them as inferior, feared being overwhelmed both by the Algerians and the Spanish, Italian, and Maltese poor whites, whom they considered a "foreign peril." Third, Cagayous and the other *petits blancs* themselves came down with a classic case of status anxiety. Ethnically, they were colonizers; economically, however, they were frequently little better off than the colonized Algerians, let alone the Jews. And was not Cagayous' sexism fueled by the threat to his masculinity posed by strong women such as his shopkeeper mother-in-law, Mme. Solano? Added to this was class resentment directed toward the native French who ran the colony and pulled the political strings. Robinet has Cagayous say a good deal about the accumulated resentments lower-class *pieds noirs* had felt and were now expressing for the first time toward their economic and social superiors. At heart, Cagayous remains unconvinced of the necessity to hire a French lawyer; he obtains his divorce his own way. "In the colonial Algerian psyche we witness a transference of racial hostility from the Muslim to the Jew," one scholar writes. "Shared by the ensemble of Europeans, it seems it was strongest among the *petits blancs*."[83] And stronger among female than male *petits blancs*, if we are to believe Cagayous.

The Algerians posed relatively little threat at this time seventy years after the French invasion and some two decades before the rise of Algerian nationalism, and the European settlers were able thereby to redirect their racism from the Algerians to the Jews; nothing demonstrates more clearly the growing self-confidence, not to mention self-importance, of this settler colonial society-in-formation. The denouement of the anti-Semitic crisis in Algeria turned on developments in France. At the height of the Dreyfus Affair, a besieged Third Republic needed all the support it could get and eventually caved in to the settlers' more moderate demands in exchange for their support against the anti-Dreyfusards. These concessions satisfied all but the most uncompromising anti-Semites; tensions lessened from the end of 1898, and by the parliamentary elections of 1902 Algeria returned to the Opportunist fold.

In the Cagayous saga, what is striking is the fact that Robinet follows *Cagayous antijuif*—which commentators generally regard as factual and cite extensively—with *Cagayous antitout*—which is more clearly a fictional invention and generally goes unmentioned. From anti-Semitism, Cagayous moves to his own idiosyncratic form of *antitoutisme*, anti-everythingness. The shift from anti-Semitism to autonomy and separatism is transmuted by Robinet into a fantasy: What if the *petits blancs* came to power in Algeria?

Fed up with politicians who have failed to deliver, Cagayous puts his political

[82] "In effect the Jew with French citizenship is an Algerian [*indigène*] who has been given the right to vote." Gourdon, *et al.*, "Roman colonial," 151.

[83] Iancu, "Du nouveau sur les troubles antijuifs," 175.

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beliefs, or rather lack of beliefs, into practice and runs for a seat in the Paris National Assembly to represent Bablouette. The quintessential populist candidate, Cagayous holds a wide-open electoral meeting. He is questioned by a sweeper and his family who have no bathroom; whenever the family eats bean soup, they have to use a field in the middle of the night, where they have to compete with the Maltese goats and Kabyle dogs. Cagayous asks how many latrines are needed. One with two places, no more. Cagayous promises to interpellate the government about *les chiottes de le peuple*, the shithouses of the people.

Due to massive electoral fraud, however, Cagayous loses. Undaunted, he runs for city council in Algiers. He drafts a campaign platform that reads like a declaration of the rights of the people of Bablouette.

> Citizens anti-everything, . . .
> Me, who is anti-everything, if you ever give me the job, I'll change everything here . . .
> What I want, me, is that the country may be rich and that the people may be happy and me deputy.[84]

He organizes an electoral slate, the most distinguished member of which is a retired postman. He composes a *Marseillaise antitoute*. He even starts a newspaper that is in actuality an electoral broadsheet, as were so many papers in colonial Algeria. All to no avail, for he inexplicably loses again. *Cagayous antitout* constitutes Robinet's literary reworking of the settlers' calls for autonomy, and when Cagayous loses his campaign for office Cagayous returns from public life to the streets, just as Algeria lapsed into political quiescence after the concessions conferred by France in 1902.

THESE ARE THE ADVENTURES, especially *Cagayous antijuif*, that made Cagayous so popular. How exactly do we account for his popularity? In creating Cagayous, Robinet clearly touched a chord that reverberates to this day among the *pieds noirs*. Cagayous no doubt appealed directly to those from his same *petit blanc* milieu—assuming they could read. In addition, Cagayous spoke to the European settlers more generally, his humor smoothing over class differences and resentments rather than stirring them up. To be sure, Cagayous was considered "lowbrow," or "popular"; reading him smacked of literary slumming—you had better not admit you enjoyed it. Thus it was news in 1920 when a "big" professor at the University of Algiers wrote an essay in which he took the Cagayous tales seriously.[85]

Given their evident popularity, what do we make of the Cagayous tales as literature? How do they work as writing? In the Cagayous newspaper serials, Robinet held up a mirror to the *petits blancs* and the *pieds noirs* more generally. One chief strategy he employed was a documentary, "you are there" approach in which

[84] Robinet, *Cagayous candidat*, quoted in Robinet, *Cagayous*, 125–26. "Citoyens antitout, . . . Moi que je suis antitout, si jamais vous me donnez la place, je sange tout ça qu'y a ici . . . Ça que je veux moi, c'est que le pays y soye riche et que le monde y soye content et moi député."

[85] Gautier, "Les émeutes antijuives." See n. 40 above. There are numerous fascinating parallels—writing, newspapers, music, philology, politics—between Robinet and Aristide Bruant, one of the most colorful characters of *fin-de-siècle* Paris. See Jerrold Seigel, *Bohemian Paris: Culture, Politics, and the Boundaries of Bourgeois Life, 1830–1930* (New York, 1986), 235–40, and the references cited there.

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he blurred fact and fiction. In *Cagayous antijuif*, Cagayous met Edouard Drumont and talked to him. Many observers at the time and since have considered Cagayous a documentary, factual, objective source. To some, *Cagayous antijuif* constitutes an "incomparable philological and historical document . . . 1895–1905, the period of the anti-Semitic troubles, is fixed in it for all time."[86] Another notes the "admirable fidelity" found in Cagayous of "a French dialect in formation . . . [T]he patois of Bab-el-Oued is born under our eyes."[87]

However, such observers have bought into Robinet's conflation of fact and fiction. A slippage occurs, and fiction becomes fact. The writer who introduces *Les amours de Cagayous* tells us that "Cagayous was born at the age of ten . . . [H]e made the acquaintance of a littérateur named Musette, a sort of long-haired, intelligent, artistic, spiritual bohemian . . . who was to become his good genie and godfather."[88] This was followed a number of years later in a survey of North African literature by the comment, "Cagayous is the representation of a type that exists, that we have seen act and heard speak."[89] A year after Robinet's death and more than a decade after the last Cagayous serial, another critic wrote that Cagayous "lives, he has even survived his author and he is assured of living for a long time to come."[90]

Robinet's strategy of writing fiction that looked like fact, combined with its publication originally as newspaper serials, suggests that one genre the Cagayous adventures resemble is serial novels (*romans feuilletons*). *Feuilletons* appeared in newspaper installments primarily in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Like Robinet's stories, they were replete with cartoonish characterizations and had paper-thin plots. Written to meet the structural exigencies of journalism rather than the demands of literature, such mass-market fictions privileged action over description, and abbreviated description at that; numerous cues, thumbnail sketches, and plot summaries were used to ensnare new readers; and the episodes continued as long as the paper sold. Yet newspaper serials were rarely written in the first person, as was Cagayous, and even more rarely in dialect, because to do so limited readership by definition.[91]

[86] Audisio, introduction, Robinet, *Cagayous*, 14. Compare Calmes, *Le roman colonial*, 68–77; and Gautier, "Les émeutes antijuives."

[87] Gautier, "Les émeutes antijuives," 204.

[88] Auguste Robinet, *Les amours de Cagayous: Pochades algériennes* (Algiers, 1896), introduction, 11–12, written by "Fly" (pseud.), a member of the group around Robinet at *Le Turco*.

[89] Arthur Pellegrin, *La littérature nord-africaine* (Tunis, 1920), 76.

[90] Audisio, in Robinet, *Cagayous*, 249; compare 14. I, of course, understand that Cagayous is fiction, not fact, that despite Robinet's writing strategy of conflating fact and fiction to achieve a documentary, lifelike effect, Cagayous *was* the creation of his author. The following description of a caricature of Robinet makes this clear: "The 'Automobile Club of Algiers,' of which Robinet was a founding member, conserves in its gallery a magisterial caricature by Herzig which represents our author dressed as a shepherd, . . . wearing a pointed hat with a wide brim, manipulating to the sound of his *musette* a miniscule Cagayous, castanets in hand." Lamouche, "Un publiciste: Musette," 546.

[91] The topic of subliterary genres, or what the French call *paralittérature*, is too vast to enter into here, but it ranges from serial novels to comic strips and other formula fiction, all of which are intimately connected to the rise of a capitalist mass reading public in the last two centuries. See in general Jean Tortel, *et al.*, *Entretiens sur la paralittérature* (Paris, 1970); and the special issue of *Europe*, 52, no. 542 (1974). On formula fiction, see John Cawelti, *Adventure, Mystery, and Romance: Formula Stories as Art and Popular Culture* (Chicago, 1976); and on comic strips, Francis Lacassin, *Pour un neuvième art: La bande dessinée* (Paris, 1971). Compare Slim [pseud. of Menouard Merabtene], *Zid Ya Bouzid: Les meilleures bandes dessinées de Slim* (Algiers, 1980). See also, on proletarian literature, Michel Radon,

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More suggestive still is the number of critics who describe Cagayous as a picaro and situate his adventures in the picaresque genre, although there are problems here, too, as we shall see.[92] Already in 1896 with the publication of *Cagayous: Pochades algériennes*, the connection was made in the pages of *Le Turco* between Cagayous and Gavroche, Victor Hugo's famous Parisian gamin in *Les misérables* (1862).[93] That Robinet drew on conventions of the picaresque is clear. Usually written in the first person, a picaresque novel recounts the adventures of a lower-class rogue who copes with the world through his wile and guile but largely fails to learn from it, in a form that embodies the satirical perspective of a lower-class person looking up and often unmasking the foibles of his putative social betters.[94] Little if any character development occurs in a picaresque novel; it is not a *Bildungsroman*. A picaroon learns but does not change or mature; he wakes up every morning as though it were the first day of his life.[95] Cagayous learns about the legal profession, he gets married and divorced, but he returns to the street fundamentally unchanged. Cagayous' position in the life cycle does not alter; he does not age. He is not born, he does not die; he is a perpetual single adult. He hovers as if in a timeless limbo somewhere after adolescence but before middle age. He has no firm social ties—no wife, no family responsibilities—instead, he is on the road, on the street. Lack of character development also accounts for the episodic construction of the picaresque novel: one tale follows another. Succession replaces development. Hence the picaresque author faces the technical problem of closure: there is no reason intrinsic to the narrative why it should stop.

Cagayous is a rogue in sixteenth-century parlance, a street-fighting man in twentieth. He swaggers down the street like a street tough, but Cagayous and his kind are not hard-core criminals. It is by his wits that Cagayous and his picaroon literary kin live. Cagayous' attitude toward his social position consists of one part fatalistic acceptance and one part celebration of personal freedom. Picaros are economically dependent. Cagayous does not mind collecting garbage; no social opprobrium attaches to his lowly occupational status as far as he is concerned. Picaros typically turn occupational servitude to their advantage. With nothing to lose economically and no social pretensions to maintain, the picaro sees right through bourgeois claims of respectability to the hypocrisy they are. Cagayous views his upper-class, native French lawyer skeptically. Thus the picaroon hero claims to tell the truth; the picaresque novel creates situations in which the picaro induces his putative social betters to unmask themselves, revealing the foibles and pretensions

Histoire de la littérature prolétarienne de langue française: Littérature ouvrière, littérature paysanne, littérature d'expression populaire (1974; rpt. edn., Paris, 1986), esp. 10–25. I thank Mary Harper for helpful discussions.

[92] Audisio, introduction, Robinet, *Cagayous*, 13; Calmes, *Le roman colonial*, 68–77.

[93] "Cagayous appears today, . . . who, with Assus, has made the success of our newspaper . . . Cagayous is popular from Nemours to Tunis and from Algiers to Ouargla . . . The fantasy of Musette will live from now on in Algeria in the same degree as V. Hugo's Gavroche. He is our very own Gavroche, funnier perhaps than his Parisian cousin, more beloved as well." *Le Turco* (January 30, 1896).

[94] On the picaresque, see, among other works, Barbara A. Babcock, " 'Liberty's a Whore': Inversions, Marginalia, and Picaresque Narrative," in Babcock, ed., *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1978), 95–116; and Robert Alter, *Rogue's Progress: Studies in the Picaresque Novel* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964).

[95] Alter, *Rogue's Progress*, 32–33.

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of society in the process. Mme. Solano attempts to take Cagayous for all he is worth, but Cagayous reveals her extramarital hanky-panky.

Humor constitutes one of the chief pleasures of these texts; it arises in the gap that separates lower from upper class, *petit blanc* from better-off native French, *pieds noirs* from rich Parisians. Cagayous' *modus vivendi* is humor, the joke, often the dirty one at that. His scatological humor rakes up social dirt, pollutes the colonial order, vents class tensions. The joker "lightens for everyone the oppressiveness of social reality, demonstrates its arbitrariness by making light of formality in general."[96] A symbolic play on social form, a joke offers an alternative; it undercuts the validity of the existing order. In Cagayous, the dirty joke, the dirty mouth, and the dirty work all come together.

Cagayous the picaro shares much in common with the trickster.[97] Both are social outsiders, both rely on humor, both are liminal figures. Like the trickster, Cagayous lives at the bottom of the social heap. He leads a relatively unsettled work life and prefers to "hang out" on the street. He involves himself in a succession of scatological episodes, which allow him to express his overactive libido. He is more often apolitical than political—*Cagayous antitout* follows *Cagayous antijuif*—and asocial, defiant of authority and social norms. Despite his sexual swaggering, he engages in no lasting female relationship, with no procreative outcome. Cagayous the trickster levels the colonial social hierarchy, reverses social statuses, breaks the rules of the social game. As a literary creation, however, Cagayous did not threaten the colonial hierarchy in actuality; he disturbs the social order, inverts it, but only symbolically.

Those critics who argue that Cagayous exemplifies the picaresque cite his family resemblances to other literary characters, ranging from Panurge, Karagöz, Guignol, Till Eulenspiegel, John Bull, and Gavroche to Jacques Bonhomme, Gianduja, Stenterello, Marius, Olive, and Charlot.[98] Although a far, far cry from Rabelais in literary quality, Cagayous has a Rabelaisian tone that recalls Panurge. Certainly, there are echoes and more of Mikhail Bakhtin's description of the carnivalesque in Rabelais also to be found in Cagayous, not least Bakhtin's emphasis on orality.[99] Similarities also exist between Cagayous and Till Eulenspiegel.[100] However, it is

[96] Mary Douglas, "The Social Control of Cognition: Some Factors in Joke Perception," *Man*, n.s., 3 (1968): 372.

[97] On the trickster, see, among other works, Barbara Babcock-Abrahams, "'A Tolerated Margin of Mess': The Trickster and His Tales Reconsidered," *Journal of the Folklore Institute*, 11 (1975): 147–86; and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Davy Crockett as Trickster: Pornography, Liminality, and Symbolic Inversion in Victorian America," in her *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York, 1985).

[98] Audisio, introduction, Robinet, *Cagayous*, 7–8; Mille, "Quand Panurge ressuscita," 152. To this list, I would add Pepe le Moko, played by Jean Gabin in the film of the same name (director, Julien Duvivier, 1937), remade as *Algiers*, starring Charles Boyer and Hedy Lamarr (director, John Cromwell, 1938).

[99] In addition to Rabelais, *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (1532, 1534), see Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, Helene Iswolsky, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), esp. 11–30.

[100] Like Cagayous, Till Eulenspeigel delights in language, and he uses it to make a fool of his boss, typically by following his orders literally. Ordered to boil some hops, he boils a dog named "Hops." In a bathhouse advertised as a "House of Cleansing," he enjoys an enormous bowel movement. Again like Cagayous, he has no mature relationship with a woman, in or out of marriage, but "he delights in shit." Paul Oppenheimer, trans., *A Pleasant Vintage of Till Eulenspiegel* (Middletown, Conn., 1972), xx.

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Victor Hugo's famous picaro, Gavroche, to whom Cagayous is most often compared by some colonial commentators.[101]

Cagayous' literary relatives abound on the other side of the Mediterranean as well. Ottoman puppet theater takes its name from the chief marionette, Karagöz, which is Turkish for "black eye."[102] In the nineteenth century, Théophile Gauthier, Gérard Nerval, and Pierre Loti, among other French writers and travelers, all viewed performances in which Karagöz satirized current conditions from the perspective of the common people in a manner that combined humor and obscenity.[103] In Egypt, the medieval genre of *maqama*, sketches in which a trickster character repeatedly wins out over his adversaries, was revived and reworked by journalist Muhammad al-Muwaylihi in serialized episodes published in his father's periodical in 1898–1899.[104] Then there is that mythical trickster, the righter of moral wrongs known as Juha in most of the Arab world, J'ha in Morocco, and Djoha in Algeria, who turns the tables on the haughty and the high-born on behalf of the Muslim salt of the earth.[105] The contemporary Algerian comic-strip cult figure, Bouzid, has also been compared to Djoha. His creator, Slim, the pseudonym of Menouard Merabtene, drew a cartoon shortly after Algerian independence in 1962 when the Front de Libération National (FLN) was establishing single-party rule. One character says, "A single party is not fun." Another responds, "Yes, thank God we have only one."[106]

RANSACKING LITERARY GENRES and searching for literary likenesses, however suggestive, risks moving so far away from late nineteenth and early twentieth-century colonial Algiers that we lose sight of Cagayous, the object of our study. Rather than gauging Cagayous in terms of the documentary and picaresque generally, I now want to ask how literary critics have assessed Cagayous within

[101] Audisio, introduction, Robinet, *Cagayous*, 7–8.

[102] Also known as Karakouz, Karagouz, and Garagouz. On Karagöz, see Jean Déjeux, *Djoh'a: Héros de la tradition orale arabo-berbère; Hier et aujourd'hui* (Sherbrooke, Quebec, 1978), 91–112; and Sabri Esat Siavusgil, "Karagöz: Théâtre d'ombres turcs," *Les cahiers de l'Oronte*, no. 2 (1965): 15–32.

[103] Where Cagayous merely mouths obscenities, Karagöz wields his giant phallus in a number of ways including as a weapon. In an 1835 performance in Algiers, Karagöz uses his member to drive off a French army contingent; in Tunis at the beginning of the twentieth century, he sodomized, successively, a Jew, a British tourist, and a French consul. No wonder Nerval compared the Karagöz skits to Rabelais' ribald tales.

[104] On Muhammad al Muwaylihi and the *maqama*, see Marilyn Booth, *Bayram al Tunisi's Egypt: Social Criticism and Narrative Strategies* (Exeter, 1990), chap. 4, esp. 345–47, 350–53, and the references cited there.

[105] On Djoha, see Auguste Mouliéras, *Les fouberies de Si Djeh'a* (Paris, 1892); and Déjeux, *Djoh'a*. Central to the enduring quality of these literary types is the way they are worked and reworked. Richard Strauss's orchestral poem, *Till Eulenspeigel* (Opus 28), was performed first in 1895. The Algerian writers Mohammed Dib (*Au café*, 1955), Kateb Yacine (*La poudre d'intelligence*, 1959), and Rachid Boudjedra (*L'insolation*, 1972) all rework the Djoha theme.

[106] Slim, *Zid Ya Bouzid*; Déjeux, *Djoh'a*, 34; and Youssef M. Ibrahim, "Algerian-in-Exile's Pen Wielded for Home Front," *New York Times* (March 19, 1995): 8. Critical of both the FLN generals—"a collection of banana republic brass"—and fundamentalists of the Front Islamique de Salut (FIS)—"I am part of the silent Algerian majority which is against religious fascism and for a free modern Algeria"—Merabtene left Algeria for Morocco as a result of death threats in September 1992 and has lived in Paris since the end of 1994 (Ibrahim, "Algerian-in-Exile"). Thanks to Edmund Burke III for first bringing Slim to my attention.

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colonial Algerian literature.[107] The context of the Cagayous tales is the colonial Algerian novel, written primarily by Europeans of Algeria in French. Within the colonial novel, Cagayous is viewed as what I would term a "primitive," both in the sense that he came a little early chronologically and that he is *fruste*, rough around the edges, especially given his predilection for *pataouète*—his low class origins again scraping against the more highbrow pretensions of the *roman colonial*.

This becomes clearer if we place Cagayous more precisely within the development of the colonial novel. Here I follow one of the leading critics of colonial Algerian literature, Jean Déjeux, who distinguishes three periods or stages of the *roman colonial*.[108] During the first period, from 1830 to 1900, mostly French travelers and writers—Gustave Flaubert, Alphonse Daudet, Guy de Maupassant, André Gide, Eugène Fromentin—saw in Algeria a "new Orient" and produced what can be termed a *littérature d'escale*, a "port-of-call" literature. In a second stage, 1900 to 1935, which corresponds to the heyday of settler colonialism, *pied noir* writers led by Louis Bertrand and Robert Randau claimed to witness the origins of a "new race," called themselves "Algerianists," and championed "Algerianism" as their literary approach, by which colonial Algeria would achieve artistic autonomy from metropolitan French cultural hegemony. As Randau put it, "There must be a North African literature because a people which has its own life must also have its own language and literature."[109] In the third period, from 1935 to the outbreak of the revolution in 1954, Camus put his stamp on the trend that became known as "Mediterraneanism," a celebration of the Mediterranean sea and sun. To these three periods, a fourth needs to be added, from 1954 to the present, a period characterized not so much by the political rupture of Algerian independence as by the continuity for the former *pieds noirs* who have returned to France (*rapatriés*) of colonial nostalgia—"nostalgérie," nostalgia for Algeria—and apologias for French Algeria.[110]

Increasingly, scholarly opinion regards the Algerian *roman colonial* as "minor" literature.[111] In this perspective, Camus is the only world-class writer produced by colonial Algeria; the others are not only of second rank but progressively forgotten. As for the "Algerianist" trend within the *roman colonial*, "aesthetically speaking," it "offers hardly any interest."[112] Since Algerian independence in 1962, there has been both extensive discussion and striking unanimity among postcolonial critics on why this is so. What has been termed the myth of the colonial novel corresponds to the myth of French Algeria, namely, that not only was assimilation between

[107] My starting point here is a 1977 study of the colonial novel: "Political and/or literary essays . . . 1894. First installments of *Cagayous*, by MUSETTE (the genre of which is difficult to define, but which had an important influence on all colonial literature in Algeria)." Gourdon, *et al.*, "Roman colonial," 83. And thus I want to ask, in what sense is Cagayous political?

[108] Déjeux, *La littérature algérienne contemporaine*, 13–53.

[109] Quoted in Déjeux, *La littérature algérienne contemporaine*, 27.

[110] Jean-Claude Vatin aptly describes the outpouring of apologias as "French pleas for the defense of 'tearjerkers'" (*les plaidoyers ou 'larmoyers' français*)." Vatin, *L'Algérie politique: Histoire et société* (Paris, 1974), 309, quoted in Philip Dine, *Images of the Algerian War: French Fiction and Film, 1954–1992* (New York, 1994), 153. See also Dine, 149–50; and Stora, *La gangrène et l'oubli*.

[111] This point is made by Martine Mathieu, in "Présentation," Mathieu, *Le roman colonial*, 9. The *roman colonial* generally is characterized here as "minor" in a collection devoted not only to colonial Algeria but also Madagascar and Réunion.

[112] Déjeux, *La littérature algérienne contemporaine*, 33. See also Siblot, "Pères spirituels," 29.

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Europeans and Algerians possible but that it had occurred.[113] The myth of integration was a myth because it excluded the Algerians and the Jews at the turn of the twentieth century. Yet the *pieds noirs* did constitute themselves as a settler colonial society, although not exactly a "new race."

Note how the general line of criticism of the colonial novel dovetails with Cagayous' historical context in which I have emphasized French settler colonialism. By unmasking the myths of the *roman colonial* and of integration to show that the colonial novel effectively excludes Algerians and Jews in varying degrees, these literary critics demonstrate the racism of the Algerian *roman colonial* in a settler colonial context.[114]

To return now to Cagayous, we may say that within the *roman colonial* Robinet clearly fits into the category of "Algerianism" between 1900 and 1930, but the important point is that he does not fit easily. First, he comes so early that he is a premature "Algerianist"; he is alternately considered a precursor and a "forgotten ancestor."[115] Second, even within this "minor" literature, Robinet is viewed as minor. In the four primary studies that discuss the "Algerianist" stage of the colonial novel, for example, the first mentions but does not analyze Cagayous, the second devotes a single paragraph to the tales, the third cites Cagayous' adventures extensively but "accompanies the illustrations with a constant condemnation," and the fourth uses Robinet as a way of introducing the first chapter.[116]

Yet the Cagayous tales were and are undeniably popular not only among a reading public but among at least some colonial critics.[117] The key point is, however, that it was commentators in colonial Algeria directly or indirectly influenced by "Algerianism" who characterized the Cagayous tales as picaresque. Once the link between Cagayous and the picaresque was initially made, it was continually repeated; as a "flattering reference," it lent an aesthetic sheen to the tales.[118]

[113] "Contacts between the races . . . are described . . . as if . . . Algeria was France and [as if] the races were already mixed." Déjeux, *La littérature algérienne contemporaine*, 32. In contrast, French-language literature of the Maghreb constitutes for Albert Memmi "a literature of separation," which in effect leaves out the native Arabs and Berbers. See Memmi, "Une littérature de la separation," in Albert Memmi, ed., *Anthologie des écrivains français du Maghreb* (Paris, 1969), 11–21. In Memmi's view, therefore, "Camus's *The Stranger* is in the first place about Camus as a stranger in his native land" (p. 17). For Déjeux, "The myth of integration leads to exclusion . . . If the Latins [i.e., Europeans] are integrated, the 'others' are not: *integration and exclusion*." Jean Déjeux, "De l'éternel méditerranéen à l'éternel Jugurtha," *Revue algérienne des sciences juridiques, politiques et économiques*, 14 (1977): 674, emphasis in original.

[114] See, among others, Déjeux, *La littérature algérienne contemporaine*, 21–22, 30, 51–52.

[115] The term "forgotten ancestor" is Siblot's. "Pères spirituels," 48–54. Calmes treates Robinet as a precursor to the "grand roman colonial." *Le roman colonial*, 67–77.

[116] Jean Déjeux, *Bibliographie de la littérature "algérienne" des Français* (Paris, 1978); Gourdon, *et al.*, "Roman colonial"; Calmes, *Le roman colonial*; and Fadhila Yahiaoui, *Roman et société coloniale dans l'Algérie de l'entre-deux-guerres* (Algiers, 1985). I am following here the line of argument developed in Siblot, "Pères spirituels," precisely because he first establishes the position of these four critical works within the literature on the *roman colonial* and "Algerianism," then proceeds to gauge the position of the Cagayous tales within them (see 55, n. 4). Déjeux characterizes Robinet as "local production that hardly makes it across the Mediterranean." *La littérature algérienne contemporaine*, 23.

[117] For testimonials from Pierre Mille, Arthur Pellegrin, Jules Roy, and Pierre Martino, see Siblot, "Pères spirituels," 49. Jules Roy, for example, writes, "I am an African; these unsophisticated pages have brought back the times of my youth." Quoted in Yahiaoui, *Roman et société coloniale*, 18.

[118] Paul Siblot, "Un essai d'élaboration identitaire en société coloniale: Cagayous," in Robert Lafont, ed., *La production d'identité* (Montpellier, 1986), 219.

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In making such a move, colonial critics simultaneously aestheticized Cagayous—assimilated him into serious or "high" literature in keeping with general "Algerianist" goals—and dehistoricized him—occluded his specifically French Algerian context. To locate Cagayous' kind among such exemplars of the picaresque as Rabelais and Hugo tends both to valorize Cagayous as art—art by association—and to downplay his documentary aspects that link him to colonial Algiers.

I want, therefore, to resist this critical turn to the picaresque and return instead to colonial Algiers, to argue that Robinet's texts, far from passively reflecting their milieu, actively contributed to the formation of settler colonial society in Algeria. Cagayous documents the preoccupations of the European settlers, of the nascent *pied noir* community, but as striking as the presence of the Europeans is the absence of the Jews and Algerians. The Cagayous adventures record only one side of the colonial Algerian equation. For Cagayous, colonial Algerian society comprises a clear-cut ethnic and racial hierarchy. On top sit the native French; under them come the naturalized French, then the Spanish, Italians, Maltese, and other Europeans. Beyond the colonial pale are the Jews and Algerians. More than the linguistic and class differences that pull the Europeans apart, a shared history, culture, and religion push them together. Two additional, negative ties bind them: their shared antipathy for the Jews and Algerians. Rather than mirroring *pied noir* reality, Robinet constructed in the Cagayous saga a literary text "invested with ideology"; he produced for them a "fable of identity."[119]

This is especially clear at the level of language, *pataouète*. If we distinguish between linguistic practice—spoken *pataouète*—and the literary representation of that practice—the Cagayous tales—then the argument that Robinet somehow unproblematically "phonographed" the *pataouète* he heard is untenable. Whereas the Algerianists wanted to see in *pataouète* the genesis of a new language, which symbolized for them the formation of a new people, I follow critic Paul Siblot, who argues that "*pataouète* never constituted a stable linguistic system formed from languages in contact. It is a literary elaboration, a deliberate construction by Musette which homogenizes and normalizes individual, variable idiolects" spoken in Algiers at the time.[120]

In conclusion, therefore, society and culture developed dialectically to shape settler colonialism in Algeria. Not simply formed in this period, this colonial society

[119] Siblot, "Mises en texte de la pluriglossie dans la littérature coloniale," 133; and Siblot, "Un essai d'élaboration identitaire," 231. To clinch his argument that "the construction [of the text] was motivated by a sense of the collective identity that it in fact helped to promote," Siblot uses as an example an official speech Gautier delivered in 1930 in his capacity as rector of the University of Algiers as part of the celebrations of the centennial of the French conquest. Gautier celebrated the settlers as a "new race," using as his example the "admirable fidelity" of Cagayous' *pataouète* to that spoken by the settlers. Siblot rejects Gautier's argument, contending that Gautier mistook the *pataouète* actually spoken with its literary representation in the Cagayous texts. I agree with Siblot's argument, but he has his dates wrong. While the essay containing Gautier's remarks was indeed published in his collection, Emile-Felix Gautier, *Un siècle de colonisation* (Paris, 1930), in the centennial series, it was first published ten years earlier in Gautier's *L'Algérie et le métropole* and merely reprinted in 1930. See Siblot, "Mises en texte de la pluriglossie dans la littérature coloniale," 133; and Siblot, "Un essai d'élaboration identitaire," 230–31.

[120] Paul Siblot, "L'Algérianisme: Fonctions et dysfonctions d'une littérature coloniale," in Jean-Louis Joubert, ed., *Le roman colonial (Suite)* (Paris, 1990), 88.

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formed itself; it became conscious of itself. In Algiers and elsewhere, people began to refer to the "Algerian people," to "the Algerians" around the turn of the twentieth century. And by "Algerians," they meant the European community taken together, the native and naturalized French, the Spanish, Italians, and Maltese who had or were in the process of giving up one collective identity and assuming another. Thus, at one blow, the *pieds noirs* asserted their dominance self-consciously and at the same time neatly obliterated both Algerians and Jews in the very terms they used to describe themselves. When Cagayous is asked, "Are you French?" he answers, "We are Algerians!"[121]

This is where Cagayous fits in historical and literary terms. Cagayous passed into the popular imagination and contributed thereby to what was becoming *pied noir* identity. Cagayous presented to the nascent *pieds noirs* an image of their collectivity; in recognizing themselves in him, they recognized their colonial kin. Surely such cultural productions and literary artifacts contributed substantially to just the sort of collective identity that the *pieds noirs* manifested at the turn of the century when they clamored for increasing autonomy if not outright separation from France.

IT IS HARD NOT TO LIKE CAGAYOUS. But beware the seduction of the text, "the pleasures of imperialism," in Edward Said's phrase. The more we laugh with Cagayous, the more we gloss over, the less we engage his politics. Yet how must Algerians reading him at the time—surely there were some—have reacted? What were their responses as they tried and failed to locate themselves in tales set in the Casbah as well as Bab el Oued?

It is one thing to laugh with Cagayous—this *petit blanc* getting back at his social superiors. But it is quite another, and rather more sobering, to acknowledge the racist family resemblance between Cagayous and other practitioners of the colonial novel, to consider the light Cagayous sheds on the occlusions of Camus, for example. Within the field of the colonial Algerian novel, the silences, the absences, of both Cagayous and Camus begin to make all too much sense: why the Algerian whom Meursault kills in *The Stranger* is nameless; why in *The Plague* the Algerians tend to disappear in a fable allegedly about totalitarianism in Europe. Likewise, who purchased the 1931 Gallimard collection of the tales, published one year after the centennial of the French invasion of Algeria, that "public relations campaign of dithyrambs and clichés"?[122] And who bought the 1972 republication of the 1931 collection, ten years after Algerian independence in 1962? Surely the same people who bought and continue to buy products of the market in colonial nostalgia, the colonial detritus of French Algeria, would find the Cagayous tales a valued addition to their collection of "nostalgérie."

Today, some of these same people also subscribe to the views of political parties

[121] Quoted in Gabriel Audisio, *Jeunesse de la Méditerranée* (Paris, 1935), 113; Yahiaoui, *Roman et société coloniale*, 17; Siblot, "Pères spirituels," 52; Siblot, "Un essai d'élaboration identitaire," 227; and Déjeux, *La littérature algérienne contemporaine*, 18–19.

[122] Charles-Robert Ageron, *Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine*, Vol. 2 (1871–1954) (Paris, 1979), 407. See also Jacques Berque, *French North Africa: The Maghrib between Two World Wars*, Jean Stewart, trans. (New York, 1967), 222–24.

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such as Jean-Marie Le Pen's Front National (FN).[123] To be sure, only a number of former settlers remain diehard supporters of French Algeria; only a fraction of them vote FN. Yet the overlaps are striking. Allegations that Le Pen tortured two Algerians during his tour of duty in Algeria in 1956–1957 continue to dog him. Although Le Pen directs his attacks at immigrants in general, it is clear that "immigrants" functions as a codeword for "non-Europeans," that "non-Europeans" stands for "North Africans," that "North Africans" stands for "Algerians."[124] In Le Pen's FN, we see manifested not only racism directed at Algerians specifically and non-European immigrants generally but also anti-Semitism.[125]

Benjamin Stora characterizes the present attitude of the French toward the war that brought Algeria independence as *l'oubli*, forgetting, and that of the Algerians as *la gangrène*, the festering sore.[126] If Fanon were alive today, what would he say about Algeria, about the civil war raging there that has killed an estimated 50,000 people since 1992?[127]

After the uprising of 1988 when for a brief period other parties were allowed, Slim drew a cartoon depicting a continuing decline for Algeria: a peasant soldier who fought against the French during the Revolution stands on a pedestal; next to him and lower is a general, symbolizing the less favorable military regime now in power; still lower is a bearded Islamic fundamentalist and member of the now banned *Front islamique du salut* (FIS); and finally, a hole in the ground represents a grave for Algeria.[128]

Surely Fanon would have much to say today, since already in 1961 he discussed at length the "national bourgeoisie" in a postcolonial, post-independence situation:

> it is absolutely necessary to oppose vigorously and definitively the birth of a national bourgeoisie and a privileged caste.
>
> the bourgeoisie chooses the solution that seems to it the easiest, that of the single party . . . The single party is the modern form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, unmasked, unpainted, unscrupulous, and cynical.
>
> The bourgeois leaders . . . imprison national consciousness in sterile formalism . . . The living expression of the nation is the moving consciousness of the whole of the people . . .

[123] "In recent years, there has been much talk about racism and anti-racism . . . This racism feeds primarily on the defeat of a people, of a nation. The [French] invaders saw in their victory clear proof of their superiority. It even became rational to occupy a country and subdue the inhabitants, since they were to be 'civilized.' . . . The National Front of Jean-Marie Le Pen . . . reactivates this kind of colonial racism." Stora, *La gangrène et l'oubli*, 288–89.

[124] As Benjamin Stora puts it, "The problem of immigration lays bare an obsessive conflict that has never been resolved. Behind the 'Arab,' the 'North African' and behind the 'North African,' the 'Algerian.'" Stora, *La gangrène et l'oubli*, 286. On the electoral sociology of the FN, see Nonna Mayer and Pascal Perrineau, eds., *Le Front national à découvert* (Paris, 1989), esp. 38, 43–44, 50, 96, 148, 163–64, 230–32, 251, 311. On Le Pen and torture in Algeria, see Edwy Plenel and Alain Rollat, eds., *La République menacée: Dix ans d'effet Le Pen* (Paris, 1992), 225; Jonathan Marcus, *The National Front and French Politics: The Resistible Rise of Jean-Marie Le Pen* (New York, 1995), 31–32, 34; and Stora, *La gangrène et l'oubli*, 290–91.

[125] Marcus, *National Front and French Politics*, 125–29. Olivier d'Ormesson left the FN in 1987 when he realized that Le Pen believed in "historical revisionism," namely that the Holocaust had never taken place.

[126] Stora, *La gangrène et l'oubli*.

[127] In addition to the references at note 11 above, contemporary news about Algeria is available on-line from Azzedine Layachi at layachi@acf2.nyu.edu.

[128] Ibrahim, "Algerian-in-Exile," 8.

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The national government, if it wants to be national, ought to govern by the people and for the people, for the outcasts and by the outcasts.[129]

Imagining Fanon on Algeria today opens up the possibility of rereading Fanon on Algeria before his death in 1961.

[129] Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, 200, 164–65, 204–05. "It is in his study of the national bourgeoisie that we can see Fanon most clearly as a revolutionary, not merely an anti-colonialist. For him, the new leaders of Africa were notable chiefly for their ability to manipulate slogans, the better to enable them to profit from the perquisites of power." Edmund Burke III, "Frantz Fanon: A Retrospective Review," orig. ms., 13–14. (I thank Edmund Burke for giving me a copy of this manuscript, the published version of which, "Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*," "was unfortunately mangled in the editorial process.")

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Appendix

Cagayous Publication Data in Chronological Order

"Les histoires de Cagayous," newspaper columns that appeared in *Le Turco*, March 3, 1895–June 18, 1896, and in *La revue algérienne* beginning February 1, 1896.

Cagayous: Pochades algériennes (Algiers: Imprimerie de la Revue Algérienne, 1896), 160 pp. Includes the majority of pieces previously published in *Le Turco* and *La revue algérienne*. This volume went on sale January 30, 1896.

Les amours de Cagayous: Pochades algériennes (Algiers: Imprimerie de la Revue Algérienne, 1896), 133 pp. Includes pieces previously published in *Le Turco* beginning with the issue of November 28, 1895. This volume went through two editions.

Cagayous antijuif (Algiers: Ernest Mallebay, 1898), 164 pp. This volume went through two editions. After this volume, most of the Cagayous tales were published in sixteen-page chapbooks, which went on sale each Wednesday for 10 centimes.

La sortie de Barberousse (1896), chapbook, included in *Cagayous partout* (Algiers: Imprimerie Victor Rollet, November 25, 1905).

Cagayous à la caserne (Algiers: Imprimerie Joseph Angelini, 1899), 207 pp. Consists of fourteen chapbooks published separately and now bound together.

Cagayous à l'Exposition (Algiers: Imprimerie Joseph Angelini, 1901), 224 pp. Consists of fourteen chapbooks previously published October 3, 1900–January 2, 1901.

La lanterne de Cagayous (Algiers: Imprimerie Joseph Angelini, 1901), 224 pp. Consists of fourteen chapbooks previously published June 20, 1901–September 18, 1901. Cagayous' *antitout* newspaper.

Cagayous candidat (1902). A chapbook included in *Cagayous partout*. Cagayous runs for election as a deputy to parliament.

Cagayous à la mairie (Algiers: Imprimerie Joseph Angelini, May 1902). A chapbook included in *Cagayous partout*. The tale concerns the municipal elections of June 1, 1902.

Cagayous et la guerre (Algiers: Imprimerie Victor Rollet, February 25, 1904). A chapbook included in *Cagayous partout*. The war in the title is the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905.

Cagayous à la fête (Algiers: Imprimerie Victor Rollet, April 23, 1905). A chapbook included in *Cagayous partout*. Concerns the visit of King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra of England.

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Cagayous à la course (Algiers: Imprimerie Victor Rollet, May 4, 1905). A chapbook included in *Cagayous partout*. Published on the occasion of the Algiers-Toulon motorboat race organized by *Le matin*.

Au miracle (Algiers: Imprimerie Victor Rollet, 1905). A chapbook included in *Cagayous partout*. Concerns a celebrated healer named Pons.

Cagayous partout (Algiers: Imprimerie Victor Rollet, November 25, 1905), 112 pp. Groups together the following seven chapbooks published previously: *La sortie de Barberousse*, *Cagayous candidat*, *Cagayous à la mairie*, *Cagayous et la guerre*, *Cagayous à la fête*, *Cagayous à la course*, and *Au miracle*.

Le mariage de Cagayous (Algiers: Imprimerie Victor Rollet, 1906), 224 pp. Consists of fourteen chapbooks.

Le divorce de Cagayous (Algiers: Imprimerie Victor Rollet, 1906), 208 pp. Consists of thirteen chapbooks originally published February 27–May 23, 1906.

Cagayous philosophe (Algiers: Imprimerie Victor Rollet, February 27, 1906), 27 pp. Sold for 1.5 francs.

Cagayous à la lutte (Algiers: Papeterie Gojosso, March 2, 1909), chapbook.

Cagayous et Pickman (Algiers: Papeterie Gojosso, March 14, 1909), chapbook.

Cagayous chauffeur (Algiers: Papeterie Gojosso, 1909), 192 pp. Consists of twelve chapbooks originally published March 21, 1909–June 5, 1909.

Cagayous aviateur (Algiers: Papeterie Gojosso, November 28, 1909), chapbook.

"Cagayous poilu," a thirty-two-installment newspaper serial that appeared in *L'écho d'Alger*, March 5, 1919–May 11, 1920, but that was never published as a collection.

Le mariage de Cagayous (Algiers: Imprimerie administrative Franck et Solal, 1927). Reprint of 1906 edition.

Cagayous: Ses meilleures histoires (Paris: Gallimard, 1931).

Les amours de Cagayous (Algiers: Imprimerie Nord-Africaine, 1949). Reprint edition of 3,520 copies.

Le mariage de Cagayous (Algiers: Baconnier, 1949). Reprint edition of 3,520 copies.

Cagayous à la caserne (Algiers: Imprimerie Nord-Africaine, 1950). Reprint edition of 3,520 copies.

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SOURCES FOR APPENDIX: Gabriel Audisio, introduction, in Auguste Robinet [Musette], *Cagayous: Ses meilleures histoires* (Paris, 1931); Alain Calmes, *Le roman colonial en Algérie avant 1914* (Paris, 1984); Jean Déjeux, *Djoh'a: Héros de la tradition orale arabo-berbère* (Sherbrooke, Quebec, 1978); and Marcel Philibert, "Bibliographie des 'Cagayous' de Musette," in Lilian Husson, "Cagayous, Fils de Bab el Oued" (typewritten manuscript in author's possession, 1947), i–vii.

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The Dancing Lamas of Everest: Cinema, Orientalism, and Anglo-Tibetan Relations in the 1920s

PETER H. HANSEN

IN MARCH 1925, THE CAREER CIVIL SERVANTS of the India Office in London became film critics. Several mandarins left their offices in Whitehall for the cinemas of the West End to see John Noel's silent film *The Epic of Everest*. Although the film reaches its climax when George Mallory and Andrew Irvine disappear into the clouds near the summit, the India Office officials were there to judge the depiction of Tibet. Much of the film was devoted to the expedition's contact with Tibet. Before each screening, a group of Tibetan lamas—Buddhist monks—performed music, chants, and dances. The official program claimed this was "the first time in history that *real* Tibetan Lamas have come to Europe" and added, "The ceremonies of the lamas, their deep chanting, the blasts of their great trumpets, the beat of their drums and the clashing of their cymbals in the weird and fantastic music will convey to the people in England a feeling of the mysticism and romance of Tibet."[1]

The Tibetan government had lodged official protests against scenes in the film and the performances of the "dancing lamas." To the Tibetans, Mt. Everest was a sacred place, and the lamas' dances were sacred ceremonies. Although the British officials who went to see the film for themselves were concerned with the finer points of Anglo-Tibetan relations, the diplomatic controversy over the dancing lamas raises broader issues concerning the intersection of the cinema, "Orientalism," cross-cultural encounters, and diplomatic policy. After attending a performance, Sir Arthur Hirtzel, the permanent undersecretary of state for India, wrote:

> I suppose I must be very thick skinned, but the performance did not shock me in the very least. It was unspeakably boring—more so than most things Oriental—but not, I should have thought, capable, even in its lightest moments, of causing anything more than that smile of kindly superiority which we generally assume when we see or hear of strange customs. The

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[1] Program for *The Epic of Everest* (1924), 4, in L/P&S/11/244, British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections, London (hereafter, OIOC). Although only one of the "dancing lamas" was a lama in the literal sense of a senior religious teacher—the rest appear to have been ordinary monks—this article follows the 1920s accounts in referring to the group as a whole as "lamas."

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audience were informed that there was nothing of a religious nature about the dance. I think the whole thing sounds a great deal worse than it looked; and to that extent I sympathise with the Tibetan authorities.

Although he had not yet seen the film, L. D. Wakely, an undersecretary of state, argued that the Tibetans were right to object to a "vulgar and indecent" scene in which a Tibetan man carefully delouses a boy and then appears to eat the lice. "It is as if in some foreign country," Wakely continued, "a film purporting to show British customs, gave a picture of a man expectorating on the pavement or the floor of a railway carriage, a sight which can be seen any day unfortunately in London, and, to complete the comparison, an unfrocked clergyman performed on a mouth organ during the proceedings."[2]

But these reservations were not widely shared in England. The filmmakers, the popular press, and the expedition organizers at the Royal Geographical Society (RGS) were all disposed to see the film and the Tibetan performances as amusing representations of a primitive and backward people. Indeed, this "Orientalist" view of the lamas' visit has enjoyed surprising longevity. In a recent account, Walt Unsworth misinterprets the "affair of the dancing lamas" by uncritically accepting the view of the filmmakers that the Tibetan dancers were "more curious than exciting and hardly the sort of thing likely to cause a breach of diplomatic relations." Even a scholarly account of the British Everest expeditions by Gordon Stewart perpetuates this myth. Stewart reconstructs a teleological "master narrative" of Everest and empire that remained unchallenged, he argues, from the 1890s to 1953.[3] In fact, Tibetans challenged British representations of the ascent throughout the 1920s, and the "dancing lamas" disrupted Anglo-Tibetan relations for nearly a decade. Like the climbers of the 1920s, Unsworth and Stewart deny any independent agency to the Tibetans. Unsworth suggests that the fiasco was manufactured by careerist British diplomats. Yet these government officials—who shared many of the same "Orientalist" assumptions as the rest of the lamas' London audience—were able to override their prejudices in order to maintain cordial relations with Tibet.

Diplomatic negotiations and cultural encounters are too often considered in isolation. The "dancing lamas" of Everest controversy illustrates the possibilities, but also the limitations, of recent approaches to the diplomatic history of Anglo-Tibetan relations in particular and to cultural encounters in the empire in general. Diplomatic historians have reassessed the nature of British "power" in the twentieth century, but they still have difficulty incorporating cultural encounters into the institutional frameworks of foreign policy.[4] Alastair Lamb and other scholars of

[2] Arthur Hirtzel, Minute, March 14, 1925, L. D. Wakely to Hirtzel, March 12, 1925, L/P&S/10/778, OIOC. Wakely later saw the film in Wimbledon and found only a few things open to objection. See Wakely, Minute, May 27, 1925, L/P&S/10/778, OIOC.

[3] Walt Unsworth, *Everest* (London, 1991), 151; Gordon T. Stewart, "Tenzing's Two Wrist-Watches: The Conquest of Everest and Late Imperial Culture in Britain, 1921–1953," *Past and Present*, 149 (1995): 170–97. See also Peter H. Hansen, "Can the Subaltern Climb? Tenzing, Everest, and Post-Colonial Culture, 1921–1953" (unpublished essay in possession of the author).

[4] David Reynolds, *Britannia Overruled: British Policy and World Power in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1991), esp. 5–37. For other recent approaches, see Michael J. Hogan and Thomas G. Patterson, eds., *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations* (Cambridge, 1991); and Walter LaFeber, "The World and the United States," *AHR*, 100 (October 1995): 1015–33.

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Anglo-Tibetan relations often give prominence to the details of treaties and territorial boundaries—the *Primat der Aussenpolitik*—at the expense of the broader cultural assumptions of policymakers.[5] Melvyn Goldstein offers a detailed and nuanced account of Tibetan politics, emphasizing the primacy of domestic policy in Tibet's relations with China and Britain.[6] But traditional approaches like these to foreign or domestic policy reinforce the stereotype of Tibetan isolation by obscuring the extent to which cultural encounters like the "dancing lamas" redefined power outside traditional frameworks. Anglo-Tibetan relations did not occur only in the realms of high policy in Tibet or Britain or China but were the product as well of what Akira Iriye calls "intercultural relations" between these countries.[7]

Many scholars influenced by Edward Said's *Orientalism* have highlighted the relationship of knowledge and power in the representation of other cultures. Said originally conceived of Orientalism "as a dynamic exchange between individual authors and the large political concerns shaped by the three great empires—British, French, American—in whose intellectual and imaginative territory the writing was produced." Tibet's long-lasting isolation has made it a tempting target for this sort of analysis. Peter Bishop, Philip Almond, and Thomas Richards provide interesting accounts of Buddhism and Tibet as fantasy objects in the Western imagination—as "Shangri La."[8] But these works often fail, as Donald Lopez notes of Said's work, "to consider the networks of exchange that existed between the Orientalizer and the Orientalized, of the back-and-forth that occurred between Europeans and Asians in which Asians were also agents." In addition, many of these exchanges were, as Charles Hallisey suggests, "not characterized by negation or inversion, but instead seem to represent a kind of 'intercultural mimesis.'" In other words, the very culture being investigated "influenced the investigator to represent that culture in a certain manner."[9] Similarly, recent work in world history and postcolonial studies has also attempted to reconceptualize relations between colonizer and colonized as reciprocal and mutually constitutive.[10] While Said's more recent *Culture and*

[5] Alastair Lamb, *Tibet, China and India, 1914–1950: A History of Imperial Diplomacy* (Hertingfordbury, 1989); Amar Kaur Jasbir Singh, *Himalayan Triangle: A Historical Survey of British India's Relations with Tibet, Sikkim, and Bhutan, 1765–1950* (London, 1988); Premen Addy, *Tibet on the Imperial Chessboard: The Making of British Policy towards Lhasa, 1899–1925* (Calcutta, 1984); and Parshotam Mehra, *The North-Eastern Frontier: A Documentary Survey of the Internecine Rivalry between India, Tibet, and China*, Vol. 2: *1914–54* (Delhi, 1980).

[6] Melvyn C. Goldstein, *A History of Modern Tibet, 1913–1951: The Demise of the Lamaist State* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989). See also W. E. Shakabpa, *Tibet, A Political History* (New Haven, Conn., 1967); and Hugh E. Richardson, *Tibet and Its History*, 2d edn. (London, 1984).

[7] Akira Iriye, "Culture and Power: International Relations as Intercultural Relations," *Diplomatic History*, 3 (1979): 155–28; and Iriye, "The Internationalization of History," *AHR*, 94 (February 1989): 1–10.

[8] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (1978; rpt. edn., London, 1995), 14–15. See also Peter Bishop, *The Myth of Shangri-La: Tibet, Travel Writing and the Western Creation of Sacred Landscape* (London, 1989); Bishop, *Dreams of Power: Tibetan Buddhism, Western Imagination* (London, 1992); Philip C. Almond, *The British Discovery of Buddhism* (Cambridge, 1988); and Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London, 1993), 11–44.

[9] Donald S. Lopez, Jr., ed., *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism under Colonialism* (Chicago, 1995), 12; Charles Hallisey, "Roads Taken and Not Taken in the Study of Teravāda Buddhism," in Lopez, *Curators of the Buddha*, 33. See also the discussion of mimesis and seduction in Vincanne Adams, *Tigers of the Snow and Other Virtual Sherpas: An Ethnography of Himalayan Encounters* (Princeton, N.J., 1996).

[10] See, for example, Michael Geyer and Charles Bright, "World History in a Global Age," *AHR*, 100 (October 1995): 1034–60; Gyan Prakash, ed., *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial*

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Imperialism is more sensitive to the overlapping and intertwined positions of colonial histories, he once again concentrates on the artifacts of "high" culture, which were by no means the most important products of cultural exchange.[11]

Recent research on the display of "natives" during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in popular entertainments, exhibitions, and museums identifies more complicated power relations. Many exhibitions displayed indigenous peoples in "native villages" to convey narratives of Social Darwinist evolution, racial superiority, and material progress.[12] These exhibitions reached absurd heights during the Hendon Air Pageants of the 1920s, when the Royal Air Force literally bombed mock "native villages" into submission.[13] That such brute force was not the most common representation of power, however, is suggested by recent studies influenced by Michel Foucault, Said, and feminism. Tony Bennett suggests that native bodies were part of an "exhibitionary complex," in which European visitors were instructed in a form of self-monitoring discipline that supplemented the sterner surveillance of Foucault's prisons. Similarly, Timothy Mitchell argues that exhibitions created a division between reality and its representation that ordered the "world-as-exhibition" and was the intellectual foundation of "Orientalism." In these frameworks, however, power is so totalizing that the "Other" remains primarily an object of curiosity before European observers. In contrast, Donna Haraway draws attention to the ambivalence of Carl Akeley's attempt, in his African exhibits of the 1930s at the American Museum of Natural History, to link the art of taxidermy with the politics of eugenics in order to preserve a masculinity

Displacements (Princeton, N.J., 1995); the Forum on subaltern studies in the *AHR*, 99 (December 1994): 1475–1545; and Nicholas B. Dirks, ed., *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1992).

[11] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, 1993). John MacKenzie's important research on popular culture and imperialism should supplement Said's approach, but his recent critique of Said exaggerates the incompatibility of "history" and "theory." John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory, and the Arts* (Manchester, 1995). See also James Clifford, "On Orientalism," in Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), 255–76; and Carol A. Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer, eds., *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia* (Philadelphia, 1993).

[12] On these exhibitions and ethnographic displays, see, for example, Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978); Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916* (Chicago, 1984); and Michael T. Bravo, "Ethnological Encounters," in *Cultures of Natural History*, N. Jardine, J. A. Secord, and E. C. Spary, eds. (Cambridge, 1996), 338–57; David Jenkins, "Object Lessons and Ethnographic Displays: Museum Exhibitions and the Making of American Anthropology," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 36 (1994): 242–70; Annie E. Coombes, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture, and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (New Haven, Conn., 1994); Raymond Corbey, "Ethnographic Showcases, 1870–1930," *Cultural Anthropology*, 8 (1993): 228–69; Mick Gidley, ed., *Representing Others: White Views of Indigenous Peoples* (Exeter, 1992); Elizabeth Edwards, ed., *Anthropology and Photography, 1860–1920* (New Haven, 1992); Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Exposition Universelles, Great Exhibitions, and World's Fairs, 1851–1939* (Manchester, 1988), esp. 82–119; John M. MacKenzie, ed., *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester, 1986), esp. 94–112; Brian Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria! An Illustrated History of the Maori Tour of England, 1863* (Auckland, 1985); John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960* (Manchester, 1984), esp. 97–120; William H. Schneider, *An Empire for the Masses: The French Popular Image of Africa, 1870–1900* (Westport, Conn., 1982), esp. 125–51. See also Michael Harbsmeier, "Modernity Observed: Non-Western Traditions of Travel Writing and the Experience of Europe in the Nineteenth Century" (unpublished essay).

[13] See David Enrico Omissi, "The Hendon Air Pageant, 1920–37," in *Popular Imperialism and the Military, 1850–1950*, John M. MacKenzie, ed. (Manchester, 1992), 198–220. In 1922, RAF planes "machine gunned funny fellows in flowing robes" played by other RAF officers. Omissi, 204.

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threatened by decadence. Haraway's feminist reading disrupts the heroic narrative of Akelely's exhibits by attending to the agency of his formerly invisible collaborators, Akeley's wife, secretary, patrons, and African assistants.[14]

Together, these approaches to diplomacy, Orientalism, and exhibitions suggest the complexity of Anglo-Tibetan power relations during the affair of the dancing lamas. From the diplomatic negotiations for permission to climb Everest to the Anglo-Tibetan encounter during the expeditions themselves and the performances of the dancing lamas in London, Anglo-Tibetan relations integrated culture and power. Anglo-Tibetan relations were not disrupted by the intervention of "culture" into "diplomacy," for these arenas were, as Said rightly argues, never entirely separate. Tibetans gave permission for the ascent of Everest in the expectation that the British would supply weapons to Tibet and with assurances that the expedition would respect Tibetan religious beliefs. While the British kept their promise to supply arms, their repeated failure to respect Tibetan Buddhism in either London or Lhasa cooled Anglo-Tibetan relations. In addition, the dancing lamas and the Everest film appeared at a time when the cinema and the mass media exerted an increasing influence in Britain and around the world.[15] In response to Orientalist representations of the dancing lamas in these new media, Tibetans defined subject positions for themselves in ways that transformed not only Anglo-Tibetan diplomacy but also internal politics in Tibet. British climbers and diplomats became not just filmmakers or film critics but culture brokers. While Anglo-Tibetan relations were mediated by Orientalism, they were not reducible to it. Indeed, throughout the Everest expeditions and the performances of the dancing lamas, the British and Tibetans were engaged in an intercultural exchange in which each influenced the other in unexpected and ambiguous ways. The dancing lamas of Everest thus illuminate the complex interaction of media, culture, and power.

THROUGHOUT THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, access to Mt. Everest was restricted by Tibet's relationship with China, Britain, and Russia. Most foreigners had been excluded from Tibet since the late eighteenth century, when Tibet recognized Chinese "suzerainty." Less hegemonic than "sovereignty," this Sino-Tibetan rela-

[14] Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London, 1995), 59–88; and Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," *New Formations*, 4 (1988): 73–102. Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Cambridge, 1988); and Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31 (1989): 217–36. Donna Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern Science* (1989; London, 1992), 26–58; and Haraway, "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908–1936," *Social Text*, 11 (1983): 20–64.

[15] See D. L. LeMahieu, *A Culture for Democracy: Mass Communication and the Cultivated Mind in Britain between the Wars* (Oxford, 1988); and Jeffrey Richards, *The Age of the Dream Palace: Cinema and Society in Britain, 1930–1939* (London, 1984). For recent approaches to history and film, see Robert A. Rosenstone, ed., *Revisioning History: Film and the Construction of a New Past* (Princeton, N.J., 1994); John E. O'Connor, ed., *Image as Artifact: The Historical Analysis of Film and Television* (Malabar, Fl., 1990); and the Forum on film in the *AHR*, 93 (December 1988): 1173–1227. For related background, see Philip M. Taylor, "Back to the Future? Integrating the Press and Media into the History of International Relations," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 14 (1994): 321–29; Beau Riffenburgh, *The Myth of the Explorer: The Press, Sensationalism, and Geographical Discovery* (Oxford, 1994); MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, esp. 40–120; and Philip M. Taylor, *The Projection of Britain: British Overseas Publicity and Propaganda, 1919–1939* (Cambridge, 1981).

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tionship was continually reconstituted by Tibetan lamas and Manchu emperors through the ritual practices of Tibetan Buddhism.[16] As the Ch'ing dynasty weakened during the nineteenth century, its influence in Tibet also waned, and British officials feared that Russia might extend its influence into Tibet. To forestall Russian intrigues, Lord Curzon, as viceroy of India, sent Francis Younghusband to Tibet in 1904 with a well-armed mission that killed hundreds of Tibetans en route to Lhasa. In response, the Dalai Lama fled to Mongolia and visited Peking. The British government later repudiated the treaties with Tibet that Younghusband had negotiated, and it signed agreements with China in 1906 recognizing Chinese "suzerainty" in Tibet. In 1907, an Anglo-Russian accord prohibited further expeditions in Tibet and effectively prevented British mountaineers from approaching Everest before World War I.[17]

Tibet's relationship with China remained an obstacle to Everest proposals throughout the 1910s. Chinese troops occupied Lhasa in 1910, and the Dalai Lama, who had only recently returned to Tibet, fled to India, where he began to rely on British intermediaries in dealing with China. The Chinese occupation ended with the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in 1911, and the Dalai Lama returned to Tibet with greater sympathy for his British hosts and a new commitment to reform Tibet's military. In 1913–1914, China refused to sign with Britain and Tibet the tripartite "Simla Convention" that attempted to fix Tibet's borders, establish a degree of Tibetan autonomy from China, and secure British trading rights with Tibet. After Tibetans used British weapons to repulse another Chinese attack in 1917, British officials negotiated a precarious cease-fire on Tibet's eastern border in 1918. However, the cost of maintaining the troops necessary to fight such conflicts—and the need for additional weapons—increased Tibet's diplomatic dependence on the British. Within Tibet, these events also put a heavy burden on Tibetan finances and strained relations between the military and the monasteries.[18]

In this context, Captain John Noel lectured in 1919 at the Royal Geographical Society about his pre-war travels in the vicinity of Everest, and Sir Thomas Holdich, the RGS president, officially proposed the ascent of Everest as "the outstanding task which remains for geographers to accomplish." British officials were sympa-

[16] Since lamas and emperors competed on cosmological as well as "political" grounds, for claims to spiritual as well as temporal authority, James Hevia suggests "it may be necessary to reconceptualize sovereignty in terms other than those which map ethnicity and culture over territory." See Hevia, "Lamas, Emperors, and Rituals: Political Implications in Qing Imperial Ceremonies," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 16 (1993): 243–78.

[17] On the Younghusband mission, see, for example, Peter Fleming, *Bayonets to Lhasa* (London, 1961); and works by Alastair Lamb and Parshotam Mehra. For a Tibetan account of an Anglo-Tibetan military clash in Sikkim in 1888, see Michael Aris, "Himalayan Encounters," in *Tibet et Himalaya: Histoire et sociétés: En homage à Alexander W. Macdonald*, Samten Karmay and Philippe Sagant, eds. (Paris, 1996). On the early negotiations to climb Everest, see Peter H. Hansen, "Vertical Boundaries, National Identities: British Mountaineering on the Frontiers of Europe and the Empire, 1868–1914," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 24 (1996): 48–71.

[18] See Alastair Lamb, *British India and Tibet, 1766–1910* (London, 1986); Lamb, *The McMahon Line: A Study in the Relations between India, China and Tibet, 1904–1914*, 2 vols. (London, 1966); Charles Bell, *Portrait of the Dalai Lama* (London, 1946); and Goldstein, *History of Modern Tibet*, 41–89. For accounts by British diplomats who served in Tachienlu and Chengtu, see Eric Teichman, *Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet* (Cambridge, 1922); and Louis Magrath King, *China in Turmoil* (London, 1927). On strains between the military and the monasteries, see Goldstein, *History of Modern Tibet*, 77–88.

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thetic, but diplomatic concerns remained paramount. Sir Edwin Montagu, the secretary of state for India, wrote in 1919 to Lord Chelmsford, the viceroy, that "a task of such magnitude and geographical importance, if it is to be undertaken at all, should be intrusted to qualified British explorers acting under the highest geographical auspices in the British Empire." The viceroy was concerned that any expedition would interfere with British plans to counter a Japanese telegraph proposed for Tibet. British officials were concerned that the postwar extension of Japanese influence into China could threaten the stability of India's northern frontier. As J. E. Shuckburgh, secretary of the Political Department at the India Office, noted in 1919, "However much one may sympathise with the desire to conquer Mt. Everest, the results of such a conquest would be largely academic and ought not to weigh against a means of minimizing Japanese influence in Tibet."[19]

After revolution and civil war in Russia and China undermined central authority in these states, British officials began to look beyond earlier diplomatic concerns. The Japanese threat to Tibet receded when civil war removed Szechuan and Yunnan from central Chinese control, and Bolshevik victories over the White Russians also made the Anglo-Russian agreement a dead letter. Shuckburgh took a more favorable view of an Everest expedition in 1920, recording, "it has always been the policy of this Office to encourage geographical exploration so far as may be compatible with political exigencies." British diplomats remained concerned, however, that earlier promises to supply Tibet with weapons might violate an international arms embargo on China. After the Chinese province of Kansu sent a diplomatic mission to Tibet in 1920, Britain decided to send its own representative to Lhasa, Sir Charles Bell, the political officer of Sikkim, who was on friendly terms with the Dalai Lama.[20]

Meanwhile, the climbers were lobbying hard in London and India for permission to climb Everest. Sir Francis Younghusband, who had led the 1904 British expedition to Tibet and was then RGS president, gave lectures in order to build public support. "Although there was no more use in climbing Mount Everest than in kicking a football about, or dancing," Younghusband told a London audience, the ascent would "elevate the human spirit," and give men the feeling that "they were getting the upper hand on the earth, and that they were acquiring a true mastery of their surroundings." The RGS negotiated with the India Office in London, while Lt.-Col. Charles Howard-Bury, a retired officer and Anglo-Irish landowner, sounded out officials in India, including Bell, the chief liaison with

[19] T. H. Holdich to Secretary of State for India, December 19, 1918, L/P&S/10/777, OIOC; and Add. MSS 63119, fol. 17, British Library, London (hereafter BL); see also Montagu to Viceroy, January 17, 1919, L/P&S/10/777, OIOC. J. E. Shuckburgh, Minute, April 25, 1919, L/P&S/10/777, OIOC. Renewed negotiations with China in 1919 were reputedly cancelled by the Chinese as a result of Japanese pressure. See Clive Christie, "Great Britain, China and the Status of Tibet, 1914–21," *Modern Asian Studies*, 10 (1976): 481–508; and Ira Klein, "British Imperialism in Decline: Tibet, 1914–21," *The Historian*, 34 (1971): 100–15.

[20] See Shuckburgh, Minutes of May 6, 1920, and May 10, 1920, L/P&S/10/777, OIOC. British diplomats were reluctant to break the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907 until it was clear the Bolsheviks would defeat the White Russians; they considered the treaty "lapsed" in March 1920. Christie, "Great Britain, China and the Status of Tibet," 499. On Bell and the Kansu mission, see Lamb, *Tibet, China and India*, 110–13; and letters to Bell from various Tibetan officials and Bell to India, February 21, 1921, MSS Eur. F. 80/57, 202, OIOC.

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Tibet.[21] Bell opposed seeking permission, because several sacred places were in the vicinity of Everest and the ascent would engender suspicion and mistrust among the Tibetans. "The Tibetans will not believe that the explorations are carried out only in the interests of geographical knowledge and science," said Bell. "They will suspect that there is something behind what we tell them."[22]

Nonetheless, the Dalai Lama gave permission for an attempt on Everest during Bell's visit to Lhasa in 1920–1921. Bell had explained to the Dalai Lama that "the ascent was expected to have scientific results that would benefit humanity, and that a good many people in Britain wanted Britons to be the first to climb the highest mountain in the world." Preempting Tibetan suspicions of a scientific expedition, Bell assured the Dalai Lama that "no harm to Tibet was likely to result from it, and that His Holiness knew me well enough to realise that I would not say this unless I really meant it."[23] On Bell's advice, the British subsequently kept their promise to supply Tibet with weapons. In Tibet's internal politics, the Everest expeditions thus became irrevocably linked to the fortunes of the military, which, with the Dalai Lama, was attempting to reform the Tibetan state in spite of monastic opposition. In communicating the Tibetan decision, Bell added, "No doubt every care to avoid wounding religious or other feelings will be taken during the expedition." Younghusband assured the Dalai Lama that he would impress upon the expedition "the importance of treating all of Your Holiness' officials and subjects with every possible courtesy and of showing all due respect to their religious feelings."[24]

THE FIRST EVEREST EXPEDITION became a reconnaissance and included surveyors from the Survey of India, who mapped the surrounding area, a geologist from the Geological Survey, who studied the region's minerals, and finally the climbers, who searched for a suitable route to the summit. Although government departments paid the expenses of the surveyors, their separate agendas dissipated the expedition's singleness of purpose. They also threatened to go beyond what the Tibetans had allowed. Wary of these plans, Charles Bell advised prohibiting all surveying

[21] Younghusband in the *Times*, June 1, 1920; Patrick French, *Younghusband: The Last Great Imperial Adventurer* (London, 1994), 329. On Howard-Bury's negotiations, see Add. MSS 63121, fols. 97–101, 111, 113, 137, BL; T. S. Blakeney, "The First Steps toward Mount Everest," *Alpine Journal*, 76 (1971): 43–69; Unsworth, *Everest*, 11–29; and correspondence in EE/1/8/1–9, Royal Geographical Society Archives (hereafter, RGSA).

[22] Bell quoted in Viceroy to India Office, telegram, July 24, 1920, L/P&S/10/777, OIOC. Before World War I, Bell had been a proponent of extending British influence and military power into Tibet. After the Montagu Declaration of 1917, which promised eventual Indian independence, Bell became an advocate of strengthening Tibetan independence. See C. J. Christie, "Sir Charles Bell: A Memoir," *Asian Affairs*, 64 (1977): 48–62.

[23] Bell, *Portrait of the Dalai Lama*, 243, 245. The India Office allowed Bell to choose when to ask for permission. See also Bell to Younghusband, December 24, 1920, and February 16, 1921, EE 1/8/10, 1/16/3, RGSA.

[24] Bell to India, telegram, December 10, 1920; Younghusband to Dalai Lama, January 20, 1921, L/P&S/10/777, OIOC. On the Tibetan context, see Goldstein, *Modern History of Tibet*, 89–110. See also Bell to India, February 21, 1921; India to Bell, May 19, 1921; Bell's final report on the Lhasa Mission, November 29, 1921; and Bell to Tibetan Government, December 12, 1921, MSS Eur. F. 80/202, 204–06, OIOC. Bell had advocated sending arms to Tibet for years. On Bell's visit to Lhasa and on the arms question generally, see Charles Bell, *Tibet, Past and Present* (Oxford, 1924), 170–205; Lamb, *Tibet, China and India*, 110–28; Goldstein, *History of Modern Tibet*, esp. 93–96; L/P&S/10/716–718, and L/P&S/18/B344, OIOC.

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except whatever is "indispensably necessary for the ascent of Mount Everest."[25] As a result of these competing agendas, the expedition was a scientific success but a diplomatic failure. As intended, the surveyors mapped, the geologist dug, and the climbers climbed, locating a possible route via the North Col.

But the expedition caused anxiety in Tibet. The expedition's leader, Lt.-Col. Howard-Bury, noted: "in these out-of-the way parts they had heard vaguely of the fighting in 1904, and they imagined that our visit might be on the same lines. They imagined, too, that all Europeans were cruel and seized what they wanted without payment."[26] The local official in Dingri, for example, wrote to Lhasa to complain about having to supply the expedition: "As the people of this country are poor, I would request that you kindly approach the British (Political Officer) with a view to effecting an early removal of the Sahibs from this place, so that they may not settle down permanently." The Tibetan government complained that the expedition had shot animals and "dug up rubies and taken them away." The prime minister of Tibet explained to Bell:

> It was agreed between the British and Tibetans that Mount Everest might be explored. But if this is used as an excuse for digging earth and stones from the most sacred hills of Tibet, inhabited by fierce demons, the very guardians of the soil, it is feared that human and cattle epidemics may break out in the country, causing serious loss of life. I would therefore [urge] that you will kindly take the necessary steps to prevent the officials wandering about the mountains in Tibet, and effect their early return.[27]

By this time, Bell's place had been taken by Colonel F. M. Bailey, an official who had been with Younghusband in 1904 and served as an explorer in Tibet and an undercover agent in Tashkent. Bailey encouraged the Everest expeditions but relayed Tibetan complaints about shooting, geology, and the survey to Younghusband: "Bell himself was not exactly sympathetic, and told me that he thought it was pretty cool to get permission to climb a mountain and then go and make a map!" Younghusband replied to the India Office that, although the expedition geologist had taken a few specimens, no mining had been done and no precious minerals were taken: "It is possible that the ice-axes of the party may have been mistaken by the Tibetans for mining implements."[28]

Since the Tibetans had objected to hunting and digging, the Royal Geographical

[25] Bell to Cater, March 8, 1921, L/P&S/10/777, OIOC. See also C. H. D. Ryder (Surveyor General of India) to Younghusband, March 29, 1921, Add. MSS 63121, fol. 105, BL.

[26] On the 1921 expedition in general, see C. K. Howard-Bury, *Mount Everest: The Reconnaissance* (London, 1921), quote, 175; Unsworth, *Everest*, 30–68; Tom Holzel and Audrey Salkeld, *First on Everest: The Mystery of Mallory and Irvine* (New York, 1986), 33–81; and T. S. Blakeney, "A. R. Hinks and the First Everest Expedition in 1921," *Geographical Journal*, 136 (1970): 333–43. Mallory reported early on that the party had shot gazelle, sheep, and a goose. George Mallory to Ruth Mallory, June 8, 1921, F/GM (Mallory Papers, Old Library), Magdalene College, Cambridge.

[27] Representatives of Tedong Depon of Tengri Jong to the Tibet Council, undated [1921]; and Prime Minister of Tibet to Bell, September 28, 1921, both quoted in Bailey to India, January 2, 1922. L/P&S/10/777, OIOC. Several translations of the prime minister's letter were made. See also Viceroy to London, January 10, 1922, MSS Eur. E. 238/11, OIOC.

[28] Bailey to Younghusband, December 4, 1921, EE 1/20/13, RGSA. Younghusband to Wakely, February 13, 1922, L/P&S/10/777, OIOC. See also Bailey to Younghusband, January 10, 1922, EE 1/20/26, RGSA, in which Bailey criticized Bell for not taking a stronger stand with the Tibetans; and Arthur Swinson, *Beyond the Frontiers: The Biography of Colonel F. M. Bailey, Explorer and Special Agent* (London, 1971).

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Society promised to prohibit all shooting and prevented the geologist from joining the next expedition.[29] The 1922 expedition, led by General C. G. Bruce, achieved decidedly mixed results. Although the climbers failed to reach the summit, they went higher than ever before. Seven porters were killed in an avalanche, but the expedition managed not to offend the authorities in Lhasa. In addition, for the first time, the climbers met the head lama of Rongbuk Monastery, located at the foot of Everest. This was Zatul Rinpoche, an energetic and charismatic man who had founded the monastery twenty years before.[30]

General Bruce and the Rongbuk Lama each left firsthand accounts of their meeting. Their conflicting versions illustrate the complexity of power relations and "Orientalism" in the encounter between the British and Tibetans. (See Figures 1 and 2.) In his expedition book, Bruce reports that the Rongbuk Lama's "inquiries about the object of the Expedition were intelligent, although at the same time they were very difficult to answer." Bruce had often been asked similar questions in England: "What is the good of an exploration of Everest?" "What can you get out of it?" and so on.

> As a matter of fact, it was very much easier to answer the Lama than it is to answer inquiries in England. The Tibetan Lama, especially of the better class, is certainly not a materialist. I was fortunately inspired to say that we regarded the whole Expedition, and especially our attempt to reach the summit of Everest as a pilgrimage. I am afraid, also, I rather enlarged on the importance of the vows taken by all members of the Expedition. At any rate, these gentle "white lies" were very well received.

After the lama blessed the expedition and wished them success, Bruce continues, "He was very anxious that no animals of any sort be interfered with, which we promised, for we had already given our word not to shoot during our Expedition in Tibet. He did not seem to have the least fear that our exploring the mountain would upset the demons who live there but he told me that it was perfectly true that the Upper Rongbuk and its glaciers held no less than five wild men."[31]

In his autobiography, the Rongbuk Lama gives a strikingly different account of this conversation. After General Bruce gave him a photograph of the Dalai Lama and a gold brocade with a ceremonial scarf, the Rongbuk Lama asked, "Where are you going?"

> "As this snow peak is the biggest in the world, if we arrive on the summit we will get from the British Government a recompense and high rank," he [Bruce] said.

[29] Lönchen Shokang, Prime Minister of Tibet, to Bailey, January 26, 1923, L/P&S/10/777, OIOC. Geology itself was not the problem for the British, as another geologist, Henry Hayden, was given permission to wander in Tibet in 1922; the British government did not want to offend the Tibetans regarding Everest. See London to Viceroy, December 24, 1923, MSS Eur. E. 238/12, OIOC. Compare Unsworth, *Everest*, 75. On the 1922 expedition, see C. G. Bruce, *The Assault on Mount Everest, 1922* (London, 1923); Unsworth, *Everest*, 69–99; Holtzel and Salkeld, *First on Everest*, 88–132.

[30] On the Rongbuk Lama, Ngawang Tenzing Norbu Sangbu (1867–1940), aka Zatul Rinpoche, see Barbara Nimri Aziz, *Tibetan Frontier Families: Reflections of Three Generations from D'ing-ri* (New Delhi, 1978), 209–11; and Sherry B. Ortner, *High Religion: A Cultural and Political History of Sherpa Buddhism* (Princeton, N.J., 1989), 130–35, 178–80.

[31] Bruce, *Assault on Mount Everest*, 45–47. For other accounts, see George Ingle Finch, *The Making of a Mountaineer* (1924; rpt. edn., Bristol, 1988), 290–91; Francis Younghusband, *Epic of Mount Everest* (London, 1926), 105–06; J. B. L. Noel, *Through Tibet to Everest* (London, 1927), 141–47; John Morris, *Hired to Kill* (London, 1960), 165–67.

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FIGURE 1: The Lama. Zatul Rinpoche, the head lama of Rongbuk Monastery (seated), listens as Karma Paul, the expedition's translator, brings a message from General Bruce, in Captain John Noel's film *Climbing Mount Everest* (1922). Courtesy of BFI Stills, Posters and Designs, London.

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FIGURE 2: The General. General C. G. Bruce, leader of the Everest expedition (seated), listens to Karma Paul translate a message from the Rongbuk Lama in Captain Noel's *Climbing Mount Everest* (1922). Courtesy of BFI Stills, Posters and Designs.

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I replied, "As our country is bitterly cold and frosty, it is difficult for others than those who are devoted to religion not to come to harm. As the local spirits are furies, you must act with great firmness."

"Thank you [replied Bruce]. As we shall also come under the lama's protection, we trust you will allow us to collect a little brushwood for firewood. Moreover we won't harm the birds and the wild animals in this area. I swear we have no kinds of weapons apart from this little knife, the size of a side-knife."

After saying this they took their leave. Then from here, according to the custom of the country, I had conveyed to them a carcass of meat, a brick of tea, and a platterful of roasted wheat flour.[32]

Nowhere does Zatul Rinpoche mention that Bruce represented the ascent as a "pilgrimage." Nowhere does the general claim to have told the lama that the climbers would receive "recompense and high rank." The general claims that the lama was concerned about hunting; Zatul Rinpoche suggests that Bruce volunteered the promise not to hunt.

These accounts are compared, not to reconstruct what was "really" said but as competing representations in which the lama and the general each claim the subject position of power in their own account. On the one hand, Bruce's "gentle 'white lies'" establish an ironic distance between himself and the lama, a pilgrimage, mountain demons, and Buddhism. Such a rhetorical strategy is an example of the "flexible positional superiority" of Orientalism.[33] On the other hand, the lama *also* claims such a position of superiority when he represents the general asking for the expedition to be taken "under the lama's protection" and the lama reciprocates with rituals of incorporation and gifts of hospitality "according to the custom of the country." Bruce sensed this act of incorporation and was uncomfortable with it. According to the general, the lama told him "that in a previous incarnation I had been a Tibetan Lama. I do not know exactly how to take this." Tibetans often told foreign visitors that they had been Tibetans in a previous life to symbolize their welcome into the community. The Rongbuk Lama may also have made this comment to establish a more complex "lama-patron" or "teacher-pupil" relationship with the general.[34]

Uncomfortable though he was at the time, as a result of his contact with the Rongbuk Lama and Tibetan Buddhism in 1922 Bruce offered a new explanation of why the British wanted to conquer Mt. Everest when the climbers returned to London. Previously, the climbers had justified the ascent as advancing scientific knowledge, elevating the "human spirit," and as an inspirational contest between

[32] Alexander W. Macdonald, "The Lama and the General," *Kailash: A Journal of Himalayan Studies*, 1 (1973): 230, which includes passages from the lama's autobiography in English and Tibetan. See also another translation of these passages in W. H. Murray, *The Story of Everest*, 4th rev. edn. [November 1953] (London, 1953), 208–09.

[33] "Orientalism depends for its strategy on this flexible *positional* superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing him the relative upper hand." Said, *Orientalism*, 7.

[34] Bruce, *Assault on Mount Everest*, 47. Some visitors reveled in the identity of reincarnation as a badge of alienation from their home culture. See Bishop, *Myth of Shangri-La*, 229. Lama-patron and other relationships were negotiated through such rituals, not prescribed by them. See Hevia, "Lamas, Emperors, and Rituals." For an account of the role of the monasteries in negotiating "legitimacy" amid the contraditions between egalitarianism and hierarchy in Sherpa society, see Ortner, *High Religion*.

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man and nature.[35] Before the 1924 expedition, however, in an article for the *Times*, Bruce mingled the language of science and pilgrimage. "It is possible that certain branches of science may benefit from the experiences of the party, but the dominant note of the whole undertaking, first, last, and foremost, is a great adventure—almost now become a pilgrimage. Did we not explain to the lama of the Rongbuk, the Sang Rimpoché, that it was for us an attempt to reach the highest point on earth as being the nearest to heaven?"[36]

But Tibetan mountain pilgrimages involved walking *around* the mountain, not climbing up it. While Bruce's explanation—ascent as pilgrimage—had antecedents in Britain, it was not widely circulated concerning Everest until it was imported from Tibet.[37] As the primary public spokesman for the Everest expeditions and films in the 1920s, Younghusband came to embody these dual perspectives and their hybrid origins in Britain and Tibet.

THE ANGLO-TIBETAN ENCOUNTER also deeply influenced Captain John Noel, filmmaker, photographer, and entrepreneur, who joined the Everest expeditions in 1922 and 1924. Noel had been greatly impressed by Herbert Ponting's films about Antarctic expeditions, and he planned his projects during a period of escalating interest in films of fact and "documentaries."[38] Noel's first effort, *Climbing Mount Everest* (1922), is less about climbing than the climbers' encounter with Tibet. Like many similar travel and exploration films of the period, most of this film is an anthropological travelogue of Tibetan life.[39] As one intertitle announces, "Visiting the towns of Kamba, Shekar and the Monastery of Rongbuk, we gained many

[35] "Mount Everest Expedition," EE/1/12/1, RGSA; and Younghusband in RGS Circular, January, 1921, Add. MSS 63119, fol. 18, BL. Younghusband also told the viceroy that the expedition would train officers and civil servants for the frontier. Younghusband to Chelmsford, February 17, 1921, MSS Eur. E. 264/16, OIOC.

[36] *Times*, January 28, 1924. The *Times* editorial the same day echoed Bruce's theme of pilgrimage. Noel expanded on pilgrimage as a metaphor in *Through Tibet to Everest*, 140–47. Years later, Howard-Bury suggested that Bell had obtained permission for "a pilgrimage to Everest" from the Dalai Lama. See Howard-Bury to Blakeney, October 3, 1960, Add. MSS 63119, fol. 45, BL. This is probably Bruce's comment reattributed to the Dalai Lama since it does not accord with Bell's account of what he told the Dalai Lama. See note 23, above.

[37] On Tibetan mountain pilgrimages, see Rinchen Lhamo [Mrs. Louis King], *We Tibetans* (London, 1926), 65–66; and G. A. Combe, *A Tibetan on Tibet* (London, 1926), 166–72. Some visitors to the Himalayas did mimic Tibetan pilgrimages and circumambulate mountains, especially Kailas. See Charles Allen, *A Mountain in Tibet: The Search for Mount Kailas and the Sources of the Great Rivers of India* (London, 1982). The two attitudes of conquest and devotion toward mountains both have a long history. See Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York, 1995), esp. 385–513.

[38] On many of these films, see Kevin Brownlow, *The War, the West, and the Wilderness* (London, 1979), which includes a discussion of Noel's films, 452–64. See also David L. Clark, "Capt. Noel's 1922 Conquest of Everest," *American Cinematographer*, 71 (August 1990): 36–40. On Ponting's antarctic films and other films of fact before and after the war, see Rachael Low, *The History of the British Film, 1906–1914* (London, 1949), 146–65; and Low, *The History of the British Film, 1918–1929* (London, 1971), 287–90. They were not called "documentaries" until the late 1920s.

[39] For a broad range of similar films on early cross-cultural contacts, see Pierre-L. Jordan, *Cinéma Cinema Kino: Premier Contact–Premier Regard, First Contact–First Look, Erster Kontakt–Erster Blick* (Marseilles, 1992). These were not often self-consciously "ethnographic" in focus. Rather, these films were in the tradition of scenics, panoramas, travelogues, and expedition films. See Karl G. Heider, *Ethnographic Film* (Austin, Tex., 1976); and Peter Loizos, *Innovation in Ethnographic Film: From Innocence to Self-Consciousness, 1955–85* (Chicago, 1993). For earlier traditions in photography, see James R. Ryan, "Imperial Landscapes: Photography, Geography, and British Overseas Exploration,

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interesting glimpses into the life, manners, and customs of the strange people of Tibet." One of the longest, and by far the most interesting, sequences in the film shows the lamas at Rongbuk Monastery performing "devil dances." When the film appeared in England, it was accompanied by Tibetan music composed by Howard Somervell, one of the climbers, who later became a medical missionary in India.[40]

Noel's first film is descriptive and lacks drama, especially when compared to Robert Flaherty's *Nanook of the North*, another 1922 film that largely defined the genre of ethnographic documentary.[41] General Bruce and the Rongbuk Lama are the only individuals who receive much attention until the final climbing scenes. Noel reached the North Col and watched the climbers attain record heights, but shots of wind-blown ridges and tiny climbers on snow slopes contained little drama. The film does not show the avalanche that killed seven porters. The climbers' failure to reach the summit overshadowed the technical breakthroughs of Noel and his team of Sherpa porters—filming at 23,000 feet and developing film under harsh conditions in a tent at 16,000 feet. (See Figure 3.) His film concludes with an advertisement for the next expedition and film. "They will return to this terrific battle with nature, and despite the dangers, the storms and the cold they will win through—They will conquer, and they will yet stand on the summit of Everest—the very topmost pinnacle of the earth."[42]

When the British received permission to return to Everest in 1924, John Noel again accompanied the expedition. Noel formed Explorer Films, Ltd., with Younghusband as chairman, which paid an astonishing £8,000 for the film and photographic rights. Together with the *Times*' payment of £1,000 for publication of the expedition's dispatches, these syndication rights paid for most of the expedition's £10,000 expenses. Noel also arranged to send newsreel footage during the expedition to Pathé News.[43] Although such rights made the expedition financially viable, the Royal Geographical Society lost control over the how the expedition—and Tibet—were represented in the film and in its publicity. Noel publicized his coming attraction before the expedition left England by advertising the film as a struggle between man and nature. According to the *Weekly Dispatch*, the film would feature "Everest as leading lady" and "man's passionate struggle to conquer the

1858–1872," in *Geography and Imperialism, 1820–1940*, Morag Bell, Robin Butlin, and Michael Heffernan, eds. (Manchester, 1995), 53–79.

[40] *Climbing Mount Everest* (1922). See the viewing copy at the National Film and Television Archive, British Film Institute, London (hereafter, NFTVA). T. H. Somervell, *After Everest: The Experiences of a Mountaineer and Medical Missionary* (London, 1936), 78. The ceremonies at Rongbuk Monastery in 1924 reminded Somervell, a Quaker, of the magic, ritual, and priestcraft of a Roman Catholic service: "in short, East and West are not as far apart as some people think." *After Everest*, 115.

[41] See Erik Barnouw, *Documentary: A History of the Non-Fiction Film*, 2d rev. edn. (New York, 1993); Bill Nichols, *Representing Reality: Issues and Concepts in Documentary* (Bloomington, Ind., 1991); Paula Rabinowitz, *They Must Be Represented: The Politics of Documentary* (London, 1994); Lewis Jacobs, ed., *The Documentary Tradition*, 2d edn. (New York, 1979).

[42] *Climbing Mount Everest*, NFTVA. See Noel, *Through Tibet to Everest*, 156–59; Brownlow, *War, the West, and the Wilderness*, 456–59; and Holtzel and Salkeld, *First on Everest*, 95, 133, 143.

[43] For the cost of the expeditions, see Add. MSS 63120, fol. 61, BL; Unsworth, *Everest*, 101. The *Times* would have paid an additional £1,000 if the expedition had reached the summit. Syndication rights were always the largest source of support for the expeditions, but such press arrangements caused trouble in India in the 1920s. See L/P&S/10/778 and MSS Eur. E. 238/10, OIOC; and EE 6/1/20–26, RGSA. Surviving newsreels show Noel with his cameras and the expedition's porters in Darjeeling. See G1060–1924, and G1078–1924, British Pathé News Collection, London.

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FIGURE 3: "Captain Noel Kinematographing the ascent of Mt. Everest from the Chang La," 1922. As he films, John Noel is assisted by a Sherpa, who balances the telephoto lens. Courtesy of Royal Geographical Society, London.

dreadful virgin of the snows." "Everest will be characterised as an inhuman 'vampire'—a whitened Jezebel of the Himalayas—who contemptuously flings blinding storms and deadly avalanches upon too daring suitors." In language more typical of the rest of the pre-expedition publicity, Noel told *Bioscope* that his film should be "not merely a stereotyped record of travel but . . . should embody, in the form of a continuous narrative, the romantic spirit of this fight between Man and Nature in her most formidable aspect." Privately, Noel told Bruce that he planned to make two films, one of the expedition to be shown if the mountain were climbed and another to be used in the event of failure, "dealing with the life of the people in Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan."[44]

These plans were overtaken by events during the expedition in 1924. General Bruce, who had been featured in all the early news articles, was sent home with an irregular heartbeat before the party reached Everest. Instead of conquering the mountain, Mallory and Irvine lost their lives near the summit. Two of Noel's publicity stunts on location—driving a Citroën tractor into Tibet and posting letters from the mountain with his own Everest stamp—were dependent on recalcitrant Tibetan mules and yaks.[45] As the expedition returned to India, Noel put into effect

[44] *Weekly Dispatch*, February 17, 1924; *Bioscope*, February 21, 1924; Unsworth, *Everest*, 146.
[45] On the 1924 expedition, see E. F. Norton, *The Fight for Everest: 1924* (London, 1925); Unsworth,

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a plan he had considered before leaving London: to bring home a group of Tibetans, Nepalese, or Sherpas to perform with the film. Noel hoped to duplicate the success the previous year of *The Covered Wagon*, an epic western that had been preceded by a "live prologue" of Arapahoes dancing in war paint and headdresses.[46]

Noel's 1924 Everest film also competed with other expedition films and representations of Tibet in London. Several Europeans had recently attracted attention by traveling to Lhasa in disguise.[47] In addition, a Parsee promoter in Darjeeling planned to present Tibetan dancers at the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley in the summer of 1924. After pointing out in Parliament that "devil dancers" were being recruited in Darjeeling to perform at Wembley, Lt.-Col. James asked the undersecretary of state for India "whether he is aware that devil dances have a deep religious significance to the Buddhist priests and other Buddhists in Tibet and that the proposed scheme is arousing strong feelings of religious resentment and apprehension."[48] In response, the India Office expressed its desire to be sensitive to these concerns. Since Wembley "devil dancers" were not "real" lamas, the Tibetan authorities permitted them to go "provided no religious dances were performed." However, the Wembley dancers were dressed in religious masks and cheap imitations of religious robes, used religious trumpets, and performed a parody of Tibetan religious dances. They were also seen at Wembley by Rinzin Dorje Ringang, a Tibetan engineer educated at Rugby and Northampton Polytechnic Institute, who considered their performance an insult to Tibet and Buddhism. As a result, Bailey and other officials arranged that any future visits by Tibetan lamas would be strictly regulated to avoid anything blasphemous or offensive.[49]

Everest, 107–41; Holtzel and Salkeld, *First on Everest*, 179–252. On the Citroën tractor, see Unsworth, *Everest*, 148–49; on the Everest stamp, see *Evening Standard*, February 13, 1924, and many related stories early in 1924 in EE/41(b), RGSA.

[46] See *The Film Renter and Moving Picture News*, March 8, 1924, in which Noel compares his plans to *The Covered Wagon* (1923); and Unsworth, *Everest*, 149. Lowell Thomas claimed to be the first to have used "live prologues" before his Lawrence of Arabia films, although there were earlier examples. For this and a discussion of *The Covered Wagon*, including a photograph of the Arapahoes, see Brownlow, *War, the West, and the Wilderness*, 378, 447. See also Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London, 1994). For related discussion of *The Thief of Bagdad* (1924), see Gillian B. Anderson, *Music for Silent Films, 1894–1929: A Guide* (Washington, D.C., 1988), xvii–xviii, xxxix–xli. For related contexts, see Charles Musser, *High-Class Moving Pictures: Lyman H. Howe and the Forgotten Era of Traveling Exhibition, 1880–1920* (Princeton, N.J., 1991); and Hiroshi Komatsu and Charles Musser, "Benshi Search," *Wide Angle*, 9 (1987): 72–90.

[47] See William Montgomery McGovern, *To Lhasa in Disguise: A Secret Expedition through Mysterious Tibet* (London, 1924); and his film *Mysterious Tibet*. One review thought McGovern's film covered the same ground but was not as good as Noel's *Climbing Mount Everest*; see *Nation and Athenaeum*, January 12, 1924. Alexandra David-Neel also visited Lhasa surreptitiously in 1924. See David-Neel, *My Journey to Lhasa* (London, 1927). See also Bishop, *Myth of Shangri-La*. For another "expedition" film in 1925, see Dean Rapp and Charles W. Weber, "British Film, Empire and Society in the Twenties: The 'Livingstone' Film, 1923–1925," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 9 (1989): 3–17, which recreated Livingstone's life on location in Africa and claimed to be the first British film to use Africans as actors.

[48] On the Wembley dancers, see L/P&S/11/244, OIOC; and *Hansard Parliamentary Debates* (Commons), 5th ser., vol. 170, March 10, 1924, col. 1890. An Everest exhibit also appeared in the India section at Wembley. See EE/31/1, RGSA; and Spencer to Bruce, May 3, 1924, Add. MSS 63119, fol. 63, BL. On the empire exhibition, see MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*; and Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*.

[49] See Bailey to Parsons, November 25, 1924, and Bailey to Latimer, October 20/21, 1924, L/P&S/11/244, OIOC; and Lamb, *Tibet, China and India*, 160. On the visit of the Tibetan boys, see

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Before *The Epic of Everest* opened in London, Bailey tried to warn the Royal Geographical Society of potential difficulties. Bailey told Arthur Hinks, RGS secretary, that the "lice-eating" scene had caused offense when the film had been shown in India. "The Tibetans say that this is not typical and will give the world the wrong impression." Later, after learning that Noel's lamas had been taken to England, Bailey alerted Hinks to the problems caused by the earlier dancers at Wembley. "The Tibetans are very touchy about their religion, and I hope nothing will be done in connection with the Everest Film to offend them. In particular, any dances performed with long trumpets and other instruments which are only used in religious ceremonies, or dances in religious masks or robes will give offense."[50] These warnings resulted in only minor changes, however, and the film opened in December 1924 with the lamas supplying the fanfare.

THE POPULAR PRESS WAS FASCINATED by the Tibetan lamas whom Noel brought back to perform with the film. Pathé newsreels showed Noel at the port of London greeting "Six Holy Lamas from Thibet—hermits who live 14,000 ft. up the mountain." (See Figure 4.) Newspapers described the lamas with many of the stock stereotypes of Orientalist discourse. The questionable legal status of the Tibetans caused comment and some creative reporting. Under the headline "Seven Lamas Come to Town. Escape from Tibet as Bales of Fur," the *Daily News* reported that Noel had persuaded the lamas "to leave Tibet for the first time. The disguise was necessary owing to the extreme difficulty for a lama to get out of his country." Several papers reported on their search for housing in London. According to the *Daily Chronicle*, the film company had the following requirements: "As well as being near the theatre, the landlord must not mind sacrifices and religious ceremonies of any kind taking place on his premises."[51]

The lamas' position as religious leaders also led to ambivalent representations of the lamas as sources of humor or inspiration. "Bishop to Dance on Stage. High Dignitaries of Tibetan Church Reach London. Music from Skulls. Tom-Tom Ceremonies from the Himalayas," ran the telegraphic headlines of the *Daily Sketch*. "Even now the Lama imagines that the Scala Theatre is a kind of temple," wrote the *Daily Chronicle*, "and I imagine he will go home with some queer ideas of our religious services if he regards the audience as a congregation of the faithful." The *Times* reported that on the lamas' visit to the Houses of Parliament, "it took some time before they could be made to understand that the statues they saw were of statesmen, and not images of the gods of the British."[52]

Goldstein, *Modern History of Tibet*, 158–62; and Tsering Shakya, "Making the Great Game Players: Tibetan Students in Britain between 1913 and 1917," *Tibetan Review*, 21 (January 1986): 9–14, 20.

[50] Bailey to Hinks, November 18, 1924, EE/24/2, RGSA; L/P&S/10/778, OIOC; and Unsworth, *Everest*, 150. Bailey to Hinks, November 25, 1924, EE/24/2/2, RGSA, and L/P&S/11/244, OIOC.

[51] G1143–1924, *Epic of Everest*, British Pathé News Collection, London; *Daily News*, November 29, 1924; *Daily Chronicle*, November 28, 1924. Bailey noted: "It is of course quite untrue that there was any secrecy after they reached India, not that they came in bales of anything." F. M. Bailey to Florence Bailey, January 1, 1925, MSS Eur. F. 157/185, OIOC.

[52] *Daily Sketch*, December 2, 1924; *Daily Chronicle*, November 28, 1924; *Times*, December 17, 1924. This is not to say, of course, that we can infer from these reports that the lamas actually thought they

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FIGURE 4: The Dancing Lamas of Everest. Gana Suta Chempo, the head lama, is second from the left. Lhakpa Tsering, the Sherpa who also traveled to London, is on the far right. Courtesy of British Pathé Plc., London.

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Alongside such Orientalist humor were images of the lamas as inspirational mystics. During the nineteenth century, British scholars had defined Buddhism as a textual object under their control. By studying its ancient texts, these scholars aimed to recover the "essence" of Buddhism that preceded its "decline" into contemporary practices. Tibetan Buddhism was represented by the British as a peculiarly degenerate form of Buddhism known as "Lamaism." As the word made flesh, the dancing lamas of Everest generated intense interest among adherents of a variety of religions in Britain, from Buddhism to theosophy to mainstream churches.[53] Earlier in 1924, British Buddhists had sent their own mission to Tibet. Although the group was stopped at Gyantse, William McGovern continued to Lhasa in disguise. In London, the archbishop of Canterbury, who received the dancing lamas in an official visit, said "the visit of the Lama to England," was "a unique thing in the story of the world."[54]

Expressions of sympathy for the lamas could also take the form of Orientalist condescension. The *Sunday Express* noted that the lamas "will perform on stage some of the ceremonies of their religion to the accompaniment of their own weird musical instruments." To this the writer added, "I cannot imagine anything more likely to kill the romance and mystery of Tibet than this ill-conceived idea of bringing some of the holy men of Buddhism to play in a masquerade of their religion on a London stage." The main objection, however, was not over offending the Tibetans but killing an Orientalist representation—"the romance and mystery of Tibet." The *Referee* defended the Everest Committee as "a body of such dignity and responsibility that it ought to be immune from insinuations of sensationalism." The *Referee* noted that, in response to criticism, the Tibetans "will not perform any religious ceremonial on the Scala stage. What would be the sacrilege if they did? The people who go to see the Everest film will not be in search of illicit sensation. They will go as a matter of interest and to pay tribute to a very heroic adventure." But the film's publicity emphasized the sensationalism of the lamas over the heroism of the climbers. According to the *Daily Mirror*, "looking exactly like Christmas decorations [the lamas] created an enormous sensation." Their hats, robes, and instruments "convinced the cab-driver that they were 'all dressed up for some advertising stunt.'"[55]

The lamas' appearances in London were well orchestrated. Many newspapers carried the same photographs, used the same quotations, and emphasized the same

were looking at the "gods of the British." For a discussion of related issues, see the debates between Gananath Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific* (Princeton, N.J., 1992); and Marshall Sahlins, *How "Natives" Think: About Captain Cook, For Example* (Chicago, 1995).

[53] Almond, *British Discovery of Buddhism*; and Lopez, *Curators of the Buddha*. See, for example, Laurence Austine Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet; or, Lamaism* (London, 1895), based on research among Tibetan Buddhists in Sikkim. On Waddell, see Lopez, 259–63. For related British contexts, see Alex Owen, *The Darkened Room: Women, Power, and Spiritualism in Late Nineteenth Century England* (London, 1989); and Janet Oppenheim, *The Other World: Spiritualism and Psychical Research in England, 1850–1914* (Cambridge, 1985).

[54] French, *Younghusband*, 338. McGovern (see note 47, above) had been a member of the British Buddhist mission. See also L/P&S/10/1013, OIOC.

[55] *Sunday Express*, November 23, 1924; *The Referee*, November 30, 1924; *Daily Mirror*, December 2, 1924.

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FIGURE 5: "Holy Men Visitors from Tibet See London's Zoo." *Daily Mirror*, December 4, 1924. Courtesy of Mirror Syndication International.

details—as if taken from the same press release. Upon seeing London, the lamas were said to exclaim, "City of Devils," "What a big Bazaar," and "Ah Yamchen" (how wonderful). A few individuals received special attention in stereotypical terms. The head lama "occasionally makes a guttural but dignified comment on the strange sights that London unfolds," and he possessed an "inscrutable, Sphinx-like stare." The one Sherpa brought to London, Lhakpa-Tsering, was a "Tibetan Napoleon-porter-and-man-of-all-work [and] one of the three porters who last saw Mallory and Irvine alive."[56] In their most striking publicity stunt, the Tibetan lamas visited the London Zoo. One photograph of the visit shows the lamas reaching over the fence to pet a camel, while the caption explains that the lamas also visited the llamas at the zoo. Another photograph shows a zookeeper in the center of the frame holding out a fish. (See Figure 5.) In the right foreground, two sea lions reach up to catch the fish. Directly opposite them in the left foreground, a cluster of five

[56] Stories on the dancing lamas appeared in nearly every paper on December 2, 1924. For a book of newscuttings on the film and the lamas, see EE/41(b), RGSA. For passages quoted on the lama, see *Daily Express*, December 2, 1924; and, for the Sherpa, see *Daily News*, December 2, 1924.

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lamas watch the feeding. Both the sea lions and the lamas are on display, both represented as part of the zoo.[57]

The cinema trade press conveyed similar themes regarding the film itself. Before its opening, all of the trade press commented that critics in India had appreciated the film's drama "and even its comedy—the latter contained in scenes showing the intimate life of the Tibetans." In addition, the deaths of Mallory and Irvine turned the film into a tragedy "but a tragedy of the most glorious and inspiring sort."[58] *Cinema* remarked that the lamas' music creates "a peculiar semi-religious impression almost like a narcotic to the senses." *Bioscope* concluded that the lamas were an "immensely effective prologue to the film," and the *British Journal of Photography* opined that the lamas added "a valuable touch of local colour."[59]

But the presence of the lamas added something more. The main theme of the *Epic of Everest* was the liberating presence of the extroverted, aggressive, and manly British climbers amid the introversion, passivity, and squalor of the mystical Tibetans. The village of Phari was singled out for its filth in this intertitle: "Amid dirt and mud and stinking refuse, the people live with their dogs and cattle in these hovels, begrimmed with the smoke of the argo fires." The film explicitly established the contrast between the people of Tibet and the purity of the mountains: "And in contrast to all this, the cold purity of the snows of Cholmolhari puts to eternal shame the dirt of Phari." The ethnographic details placed in bold relief the purity of the mountain and its climbers. The dancing lamas also accentuated the film's contrast between the masculine climbers and the mystical Tibetans. After the expedition reached the mountain, an intertitle announced: "Into the heart of the pure blue ice, rare, cold beautiful, lonely—Into a Fairyland of Ice. It is of this Fairyland that you shall now see, that the Tibetan legends speak of Imps, Gnomes, Goblins and Hairy Men holding high revels during the frozen night."[60]

Into these snows of superstition, the film immediately showed the British climbers walking confidently among large boulders and towers of glacial ice. Then they climbed the ice slopes to the North Col at 23,000 feet. "Physically incapable of carrying our camera higher, we can only watch these supermen returning from building two higher camps at 25,000 and 27,000 feet after breaking all records of human endurance." Before showing the mountain, the film had introduced the British climbers by name, personalizing the expedition and adding to the melodramatic contrast between the British and Tibetans. The disappearance of Mallory and Irvine was rendered as "the historic climax of our adventure—glorious because of

[57] For the camel, see *Children's Newspaper*, December 20, 1924; and *Graphic*, December 27, 1924. For the sea lions, see *Daily Mirror*, December 4, 1924. On related children's themes, see the *Daily Mail*, December 16, 1924; and *The Lady*, December 18, 1924.

[58] See identical passages in *Bioscope*, *Cinema*, *Film Renter*, and *Kinematograph*, on November 6, 1924, EE/41(b), RGSA.

[59] *Cinema*, December 18, 1924; *Bioscope*, December 18, 1924; *British Journal of Photography*, December 19, 1924.

[60] *Epic of Everest*. See the viewing copy at NFTVA. Such contrasts were staple representations of Tibet. See Bishop, *Dreams of Power*, 38. In earlier exhibitions, male "natives" were usually exhibited in wrestling matches, baggage races, mock battles, and military exercises, while female "natives" were shown dancing and in domestic settings. These "traditions" may have reinforced British representations of the dancing lamas' effeminacy. When male "natives" had danced before, it was usually identified as a "war dance." See, for example, Coombes, *Reinventing Africa*, 97–98, 205–09; and Schneider, *Empire for the Masses*, 141–44.

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the marvel of attainment—sad because of the tragedy of death." In its own mystical explanation, the film concluded by invoking the mysterious powers of the head lama of Rongbuk Monastery, who had predicted the failure of the expedition.[61]

TIBETAN AUTHORITIES had much to complain about after the 1924 expedition. On their return from the mountain, the climbers made two journeys—to the Rongshar Valley to recuperate and to Lhatse to survey—which went beyond what had been allowed in the passports from the Dalai Lama.[62] But Noel's film and the dancing lamas generated far more serious complaints and long-term consequences. In response to Bailey's warnings, Noel agreed that the lamas would not perform religious dances, but he kept the "lice-eating" scene in his film. According to Noel, as a man picks a child's hair clean, "he performs the usual Tibetan custom of killing what he finds with his teeth. This scene does not show him eating anything." Hinks advised, "the distinction between 'killing with the teeth' and 'eating' is rather a fine one for the public, but I will leave that to you."[63] In a still photograph from the film that may represent the scene (now missing), the man and boy are seated next to a woman holding in her lap a small primate, and the Tibetan-primate parallel may have contributed to Tibetan indignation.[64] (See Figure 6.) Hinks reassured Bailey that Noel explained to the audience that the dances were not religious. "To tell the truth," Hinks wrote, "it is rather difficult to say what they are," and he compared them to "a Morris dance of a very ungainly kind." Hinks conceded that their musical instruments might be the same as those used in religious ceremonies, though he disclaimed any RGS responsibility since the film was in the hands of a private company.[65]

Despite these disclaimers, the dancing lamas caused the cancellation of future expeditions to Everest and threatened broader Anglo-Tibetan relations by the spring of 1925. "Apart from the question of the relations between the Tibetans and the Everest Expedition," Bailey warned, "I feel that their whole attitude towards us will be affected by this." Tsarong Shape, the Tibetan commander-in-chief and the official who was most sympathetic to the British, told Bailey, "from the beginning the Tibetan government disliked the expedition owing to the sacredness of the mountain, but . . . Sir C. Bell brought considerable pressure, and, as the Tibetan Government were about to receive great favours (arms, etc.) from the Govt. of

[61] *Epic of Everest*, NFTVA. The film has not enjoyed long-term critical success. See Low, *History of the British Film, 1918–1929*, 33.

[62] Until the dancers appeared in London, the unauthorized journeys were the main points of contention in the autumn of 1924. See Bailey to India, September 2, 1924, and October 16, 1924, L/P&S/10/778, OIOC.

[63] See Porter to Hose, December 1, 1924, L/P&S/11/244, OIOC; Noel to Hinks, December 6, 1924, quoted in Unsworth, *Everest*, 150, and unnumbered letter with EE 31/4/12, RGSA; Hinks to Noel, December 8, 1924, EE 31/4/12, RGSA; and Hinks to Bailey, December 8, 1924, EE 24/2/4, RGSA; and L/P&S/10/778, OIOC.

[64] See Stills, Posters and Designs Collection, British Film Institute. The "lice-eating" scene is not in the viewing copy at NFTVA. This still resembles some descriptions of the scene, and its human-primate image is significant even if it does not show the "lice eating" itself. For a discussion of similar human-primate representations, see Haraway, *Primate Visions*.

[65] Hinks to Bailey, December 16, 1924, EE 24/2/5, RGSA; and L/P&S/10/778, OIOC. It is unclear what kind of dances the lamas did perform on stage.

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FIGURE 6: Primate Visions. This photograph, identified as a still from Captain John Noel's film *The Epic of Everest* (1924), may represent the missing "lice-eating" scene. It does not appear in current versions of the film. Courtesy of BFI Stills, Posters and Designs, London.

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India, consent was given."[66] In April 1925, the Tibetan government denied permission for future expeditions. The prime minister of Tibet complained to Bailey about the unauthorized journeys. "Over and above this, they have enticed and taken away to England four or five monks, whose photos as dancers have appeared recently in the newspapers. We regard this action on the part of the Sahibs as very unbecoming. For the future, we cannot give them permission to go to Tibet." The prime minister also demanded "the immediate return to Tibet and handing over of the monks, who have been taken away deceitfully."[67]

The Tibetan decision opened a breach between the Royal Geographical Society and the British government. To Hinks and Noel, the Tibetans possessed no independent agency. Any objection to the Everest expeditions could not originate with the Tibetans, they argued, but must have been manufactured by British officials, namely Bailey. As Noel wrote to Hinks:

> The opinions that Major Bailey quotes as coming from the Tibetans are entirely from himself, and if people in England understood the real position of a Political Officer in India, they would know that he has such a peculiar position that the Government refers all matters to him and he practically dictates any answer he wishes, putting the authority on to the native people, because they accept his advice and he advises them to do what he wishes.

Noel silences the Tibetans and projects the habit of speaking for the Tibetans onto Bailey. In correspondence with the India Office that dragged on for months, Hinks continued to criticize Bailey. "We cannot help feeling that the refusal is due to what looks like an exaggerated deference to the more reactionary side of Tibetan feeling paid by the Political Officer in Sikkim."[68]

The India Office asked Noel and the other members of the expedition to explain their actions. The expedition was excused for its visit to the Rongshar Valley, but no justification could be found for the survey to Lhatse or for bringing the lamas to England. In particular, the India Office asked Noel to supply the official documents that, he claimed, gave permission for the lamas' visit. There were none. The India Office bureaucrats were then brutally frank in their criticism of Noel. "He is also either disingenuous or much misinformed; if the former, his letter tends to support the Tibetan charge of 'deceitfulness'; if the latter, he is obviously a careless organizer, and not qualified for the business he undertook." A thorough investigation in India and Tibet concluded that "Captain Noel's statement about the monks taken to England is in direct variance with the facts."[69] The lamas left Tibet without

[66] Bailey to Hinks, January 1, 1925, EE 24/2/6, RGSA; L/P&S/10/778, OIOC; Add. MSS 63119, fol. 80, BL; and Unsworth, *Everest*, 151. Tsarong quoted in draft of Bailey to Parsons, January 26, 1925, MSS Eur. F. 157/290, OIOC; compare the final version in L/P&S/10/778, OIOC. Bell had applied such pressure before. See Christie, "Sir Charles Bell," 52.

[67] Prime Minister of Tibet to Bailey, April 12, 1925, L/P&S/10/778, OIOC; EE 27/6/13, RGSA; and Unsworth, *Everest*, 151–52.

[68] Noel to Hinks, May 22, 1925, quoted in Unsworth, *Everest*, 157, and in EE 27/7/16, EE 34/4/24, RGSA. Hinks to Wakely, May 28, 1925, EE 27/6/10, RGSA; and L/P&S/10/778, OIOC; see also Unsworth, *Everest*, 153–55.

[69] D. T. Montheath, Minute, July 8, 1925, L/P&S/10/778, OIOC; see also Hinks to Under-Secretary of State for India, July 1, 1925, EE 27/6/15, RGSA; L/P&S/10/778, OIOC. India to London, August 4, 1925, and Garrett to Mt. Everest Committee, September 22, 1925, EE 27/6/16, RGSA; and L/P&S/10/778, OIOC; Unsworth, *Everest*, 153–55. See also Bailey to India, August 26, 1925, and Wakely to Hinks, October 20, 1925, L/P&S/10/778, OIOC; EE 27/6/18, RGSA; Add. MSS 63120, fols. 5–6, BL.

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the knowledge of the officials of the Gyantse monastery or of the Tibetan government. Once the lamas arrived in India, their escort, John Macdonald, the son of a former trade agent in Gyantse, obtained police permits in Calcutta after passports had been denied in Darjeeling.[70] Noel took Macdonald at his word that he had obtained the necessary passports, when, in fact, Macdonald had not. Hinks was ultimately forced to apologize: "The Committee regret very deeply the humiliating position in which they were placed by the discovery that Captain Noel's statements were incorrect." Taking Noel's statements at face value, Walt Unsworth recently claimed that Bailey was "putting words into Lhasa's mouth." Unsworth even concludes that "one cannot help but agree with Noel that Bailey fixed the whole affair from start to finish." Unsworth suggests that Bailey wanted to stop the Everest expeditions to avoid paperwork and because Bailey wanted to climb Everest himself.[71]

If Bailey had been the obstacle, the Tibetans might have granted permission in 1928, when Bailey was replaced as political officer of Sikkim by Lt.-Col. Leslie Weir. But the Tibetan government did not give permission for another Everest expedition until 1932, after the renewal of Sino-Tibetan hostilities. When Weir visited Lhasa in 1930, he found the Tibetans still averse to British travel in Tibet in general and to Mt. Everest in particular. The Tibetans, Weir wrote to Hinks, "stress the hardship on the local inhabitants in having to supply supplies and transport in localities where such are improcurable." They also feared spying and harbored a "strong resentment against the last Everest Expedition." The Dalai Lama saw pictures of the "dancing lamas" in the weekly picture papers and reportedly looked "on the whole affair as a direct affront to the religion of which he is the head." In addition, the maharajah of Sikkim and an agent of the maharajah of Bhutan had seen the film in Darjeeling and found the "lice-eating" scene "extremely repugnant."[72] In 1929, Kenneth Mason, assistant surveyor general in India, told Hinks that "neither Tibet, nor Sikkim, nor Bhutan will have Noel in their countries." The government of India supported their decisions, and so did Mason. "Our travellers must be more circumspect when they enter Native States or foreign countries, and not behave as though the whole place belongs to them."[73]

[70] See L. Birley, Chief Secretary to Government of Bengal, to Foreign and Political Department, Calcutta, August 20, 1925; D. Macdonald to Bailey, August 18, 1925; S. W. Laden La to Bailey, August 13, 1925, all in L/P&S/10/778, OIOC. In a later book, Macdonald reasserts the lamas' authenticity as real monks but makes no mention of the controversy. David Macdonald, *Twenty Years in Tibet* (Philadelphia, 1938), 132.

[71] Hinks to Under-Secretary of State for India, November 5, 1925, EE 27/6/19; EE 27/7/34, RGSA; and L/P&S/10/778, OIOC; Unsworth, *Everest*, 150, 156, 157. See also Swinson, *Beyond the Frontiers*, 220. Many officers, including Younghusband, Bruce, Noel, and C. G. Rawling, shared Bailey's pre-war ambition to climb Everest. See Hansen, "Vertical Boundaries, National Identities." No evidence indicates that Bailey was interested in climbing Everest in the 1920s.

[72] Weir to Hinks, July 26, 1931, EE 44/5, RGSA. In 1926, General Bruce sounded out officials in India—as Lt.-Col. Howard-Bury had done in 1921—and was told prospects were "almost nil." Bray to Bailey, March 23, 1926, L/P&S/10/778, OIOC. Efforts to seek permission remained in abeyance until Weir's mission was sent to counter the reassertion of Chinese influence in Tibet, which began after Nationalists under Chiang Kai-shek gained control in China. See L/P&S/12/4242, and L/P&S/12/4263, OIOC.

[73] Mason to Hinks, October 30, 1929; Mason, Kenneth, Corr. 1921–30, RGSA. See also the scathing review of Noel's book in *Alpine Journal*, 39 (1927): 366–68.

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BOTH THE INDIA OFFICE AND THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY framed the debate over the dancing lamas in such binary terms—Bailey versus Noel—that they excluded any space for Tibetan agency. Yet the exchange between British and Tibetans was far more complicated and reciprocal than this dichotomy allows. During and after the controversy, Noel, the dancing lamas, Bailey, and Tsarong Shape each occupied subject positions transformed by the Anglo-Tibetan encounter. Their new roles, in turn, exerted a direct influence on the internal politics of Tibet.

Noel described the Everest expeditions in his book, *Through Tibet to Everest* (1927), as an encounter between "the inert East and the inquisitive, impertinent West." But Noel's relationship with Tibet was more ambiguous than his rhetoric. Noel's modest ambitions as an amateur anthropologist led him to make films that were amalgams of adventure tales and ethnographic travelogues. In different ways, both Noel and his wife—he was a Roman Catholic, she was a psychic—were deeply influenced by Tibet. Noel devoted a long chapter to Tibetan customs, and his wife later published a collection of Tibetan folk tales based on material she collected while Noel was on the mountain in 1924.[74]

As a result of the diplomatic controversy, Noel and the dancing lamas both became prophets without honor in their own countries. After Noel took the film and the dancing lamas on tour in Europe, his film failed to find a distributor in the United States. Noel's company filed for bankruptcy, and he went on tour without the lamas in North America. British diplomats prevented Noel from organizing Himalayan expeditions from Berlin or Washington, D.C.[75] While it is unclear why the dancing lamas agreed to go to London, it is possible that they intended to be Buddhist "missionaries" or cultural ambassadors. Whatever their intentions, the few dancing lamas who returned to Tibet were severely punished. Most chose to remain exiles in Darjeeling. Although the decision not to return to Tibet shows that they were aware of the affair, the lamas themselves left no firsthand accounts of what they thought of the controversy.

While in London, however, the dancing lamas were aware of how they were portrayed in the press, and they attempted to resist Orientalist representations. During one tour of the city, Gana Suta Chempo, the head lama, chastised two of the others for laughing out loud at something they saw. "When two of his band so far forgot themselves as to lose their impassivity in their delight, he promptly boxed their ears, recalling them to attention and in the presence of a growing and wondering throng, administered a sharp lecture on the need for the preservation of dignity."[76] Moreover, the dancing lamas articulated a critique of British culture

[74] Noel, *Through Tibet to Everest*, 86. On Mrs. Noel as a psychic, see Macdonald, *Twenty Years in Tibet*, 299–301. For Noel's chapter on Tibetan customs, see *Through Tibet to Everest*, esp. 63–86; see also Sybille Noel, *The Magic Bird of Chomo-Lung-Ma: Tales of Mount Everest, the Turquoise Peak* (Garden City, N.Y., 1931).

[75] For Noel's later plans, see Hinks to Noel, July 31, 1925, EE/31/4/25, RGSA; Noel to Hinks, December 7, 1925, EE 31/4/26, RGSA; and Wakely to Gaselee (Foreign Office), January 24, 1928, L/P&S/10/778, OIOC. For additional German and American proposals, see L/P&S/12/4275, OIOC; for Noel's North American tour, see Brownlow, *War, the West, and the Wilderness*, 463.

[76] *Morning Post*, December 17, 1924. This scene took place during the lamas' visit to the Houses of Parliament. They later visited the Army and Navy Store, as well as a Punch and Judy show. See also *Evening Standard*, December 16, 1924; and a photograph in *Daily Sketch*, December 17, 1924.

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during their visit that was recognized, if not by most British observers, at least by other Tibetans. Rinchen Lhamo, a Tibetan woman married to an English diplomat, reported this critique and responded directly to the way the British press had portrayed the visit of the dancing lamas to London. "One writer described them [the dancing lamas] as being frightened by the marvels of your material culture; but he goes on to say that one of them said you were in danger of being enslaved by your own machines. That is not the remark of a man in fear, but of an acute observer. I wonder the journalist did not see it, but I suppose he was misled by the convention about us being primitive." Rinchen Lhamo identified this convention as part of a broader pattern of European writing about Tibet that one would now call Orientalism: "It is so much easier to say what is expected than what is true, but contrary to established views." Her comments were intended to counter what she called the absurd and scandalous things written about Tibet. "We are, like yourselves, a people with a highly developed culture, spiritual, social and material."[77]

Tibetan culture was not isolated from the world but engaged in a transcultural exchange promoted by British and Tibetan officials, especially F. M. Bailey and Tsarong Shape. Although Bailey's dispatches to India demonstrate his sensitivity to Tibetan religious beliefs, it was Bailey, as much as Noel, who was responsible for the insertion of culture, sport, and media into Anglo-Tibetan relations. As news of the deaths on Everest reached Lhasa during his diplomatic mission in 1924, Bailey circulated among the Tibetans the British sporting ethos that animated the Everest expeditions. In his diary, Bailey recorded that the Tibetan prime minister offered his condolences.

> He said he was very sorry at the death of Mallory and Irvine. Tibetans thought a human life very valuable. It should be used for the benefit of the religion or of one's government and not wasted on a mountain. I said that our experience was that people who took risks by doing things like climbing mountains, playing polo and football, shooting game were better at their work than people who sat indoors all day which led to drinking and gambling. A few people were killed at these things but the benefit to the others was very great.

The next day, Bailey noted, "Tsarong Shape had all of the Tibetan officers out to practice polo today. A good sign and shows they are keen." A few days later, "in the afternoon we played polo and all Lhasa was there as I gave them tea." Tsarong hoped to have his Lhasa team play matches with the British officers in Gyantse.[78] Although polo had been played for literally thousands of years from Persia to Mongolia, Bailey taught the Tibetans how to "play the game" as the British had been doing since adopting polo in India—or inventing mountaineering in the Alps—during the mid-Victorian decades.[79]

[77] Rinchen Lhamo, *We Tibetans*, 95–96. For an example of the report she was responding to, see the *Times*, December 17, 1924.

[78] Bailey, Lhasa Diary, August 1, 2, and 6, 1924, MSS Eur. F. 157/214A, OIOC. Bailey encouraged the Tibetans to "give good pay and rank to the boys they had sent to Rugby so that parents would see that the Government appreciated this education . . . That is what we did in England." Lhasa Diary, August 8, 1924. On Tsarong's plans to play polo in Gyantse, see Bailey to India, October 28, 1924, L/P&S/10/1113, OIOC.

[79] See Peter H. Hansen, "Albert Smith, the Alpine Club, and the Invention of Mountaineering in Mid-Victorian Britain," *Journal of British Studies*, 34 (1995): 300–24. The history of polo is less well

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Bailey was also engaged in the interplay of cinema and power in Tibet. In Lhasa in 1924, Bailey showed films in Tsarong Shape's private screening room: "The King opening Parliament impressed them very much." Even after the diplomatic controversy over the lamas in 1925, Bailey brought a small movie camera to Gyantse—the city from which the lamas had been taken to England—and filmed the remaining lamas of the Gyantse monastery performing their "devil dance." Although Bailey thought his own films were "not a success," he set an example for later British envoys.[80] In Lhasa in the 1930s, Spencer Chapman regularly showed Rin-Tin-Tin and Charlie Chaplin films, short topical films, and his own home movies, and he often played soccer against a local team he called "Lhasa United."[81]

Tsarong Shape's career also illustrates the extent to which the intercultural encounters of Anglo-Tibetan relations affected Tibetan domestic politics. Tsarong had risen to prominence by saving the life of the Dalai Lama during his flight to India in 1910 and by marrying into the aristocratic Tsarong family, whose name he adopted, in 1913. (Shape is shown in Figure 7.) As a confidant of the Dalai Lama, leader of the military, and master of the mint, Tsarong led the faction in Tibetan politics, centered on military officers, that advocated the "modernization" of Tibet in the early 1920s. Tsarong remodeled the army along British lines, played polo, rode a motorbike, watched Western films, and even asked Bailey about life insurance for himself and his son.[82] But Tsarong's secularism and imitation of the British brought him into conflict with the monasteries and Buddhist laws. After a fistfight broke out between police and soldiers in 1924, for example, Tsarong inflicted summary justice on the offender by cutting off one of his legs, despite a prohibition against such punishments. As Tsarong explained to his colleagues, he was the commander-in-chief of the Tibetan army and must have certain powers; the commander-in-chief of the British army had every right to deal with such cases, and why shouldn't he follow the same rule, since the Tibetans had introduced British drill instructions and had a desire to follow British rules and regulations?[83]

developed. It was adopted by British officers in the Indian army and imported into Britain between the 1850s and the 1870s. See Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History* (Oxford, 1989), 209–10.

[80] Bailey, Lhasa Diary, July 30, 1924, MSS Eur. F. 157/214; and Bailey to Florence Bailey, August 1, 1924, MSS Eur. F. 157/184, OIOC. On his Gyantse films, see Bailey to Florence Bailey, February 10, 1925, and June 9, 1925, MSS Eur. F. 157/185, OIOC. Bell watched films in Tsarong Shape's cinema as early as 1920–1921. Bell also emphasizes that Tibetan clerks in the British Trade Agency at Gyantse were taught to play polo by British officers and Indian soldiers. Charles Bell, *The People of Tibet* (Oxford, 1928), 263.

[81] F. Spencer Chapman, *Lhasa, the Holy City* (London, 1938), 247–55. The Tibetan soccer team never scored a goal; 269–71. The NFTVA also holds films made by British diplomats in Tibet, including F. M. Bailey, Charles Bell, Spencer Chapman, Basil Gould, James Guthrie, and George Sherriff. See also Peter H. Hansen, "Tibet and the Cinema in the Early Twentieth Century" (unpublished essay in the possession of the author).

[82] Tsarong was born in 1885 into a peasant family and was known as Chensal (or Jensey) Namgang, before 1913, when he married into the Tsarong family and took the name Dasang Dadul Tsarong. After serving as commander-in-chief, Tsarong became a prominent trader with Mongolia, India, China, Japan, and France. He died in 1959 in a Lhasa prison after the Chinese repression. See Goldstein, *History of Modern Tibet*, 52, 66; and Rinchen Dolma Taring, *Daughter of Tibet* (London, 1970), 18–20, 24, 74, 261, the memoir of one of Tsarong's youngest wives, who later married Jigme Taring. On Tsarong's adoption of "Western" habits, see Bailey's various reports; for his request for life insurance, see Bailey, Lhasa Diary, August 14, 1924, MSS Eur. F. 157/214A, OIOC.

[83] For Tsarong's views, see Goldstein, *History of Modern Tibet*, 128.

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FIGURE 7: "Lunch to Shapes, July 29, 1924." F. M. Bailey (standing, center) hosts a Tibetan delegation for lunch. Tsarong Shape is the only one of the four Shapes (seated) who is wearing a Western suit. MSS Eur. F. 157/837. Courtesy of the British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections, London.

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Also in 1924, Tsarong, other officers, and Laden La, a Sikkimese Buddhist whom the British sent to Lhasa to train the police force, may have plotted against the monasteries and the Dalai Lama. Melvyn Goldstein suggests that Tsarong's actions in mid-1924 led to his dismissal as commander-in-chief in the spring of 1925. While Goldstein suggests plausible reasons why the Dalai Lama may have delayed his reaction, it is just as plausible that the "dancing lamas" were responsible for the timing of Tsarong's demotion.[84] The Dalai Lama demoted Tsarong after the performances of the dancing lamas and at the same time as he refused permission for another Everest expedition in April 1925. This is not to argue that the dancing lamas were the only cause of Tsarong's downfall, or that their relationship was merely *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. Rather, ever since Tibetan permission for Everest had been given in the context of Sino-Tibetan hostilities and the need for British weapons, the fate of the Everest expeditions had been inextricably linked to the political fortunes of Tsarong and the military in Tibet.

While Alastair Lamb admits that "it is hard to quantify the consequences of the business of the Tibetan 'dancers,'" he adds, "there can be no doubt, however, that it did not help the cause of modernisers in general and Tsarong Shape in particular." Lamb rightly suggests the Bailey mission to Lhasa in 1924 may have heightened the visibility of "modernization" in Tibet and polarized the Tibetan ruling elite. After earlier offenses, the affair of the dancing lamas made the positions of both Tsarong and the Everest expeditions untenable. Even if Tsarong's earlier behavior contributed to his demotion, it does not explain why Anglo-Tibetan relations deteriorated so rapidly in 1925.[85] Many Tibetans suspected that the performances of the dancing lamas had been organized by the British government. Not only did British *representatives* in Lhasa show films in Tsarong's cinema, play games with his officers, and encourage his reform of a theocratic state, but British *representations* of the dancing lamas in London also appeared to denigrate and exploit Tibetan Buddhism. In both instances, Anglo-Tibetan relations had intercultural consequences. Although there had been earlier resistance against the "modernization" of Tibet—the introduction of a modern police force and army, educational reforms, higher taxes, new roads, telegraphs, and hydroelectric plants—it was not until the performances of the dancing lamas challenged Tibetan religious beliefs and cultural practices that this Tibetan resistance crystallized into direct political opposition.

Yet asymmetrical levels of military development imposed limits on the Tibetan ability to bargain with the British. After a conflict between two monasteries on the Sino-Tibetan border escalated into a wider war in 1930, Tibet again turned to Britain for more weapons and diplomatic assistance with China. Weir visited Lhasa with promises of aid and, "taking advantage of the Tibetan Government's recent

[84] For the plots, see Goldstein, *History of Modern Tibet*, 121–38; and Lamb, *Tibet, China and India*, 161–62; and Williamson to Bailey, April 10, 1925, April 21, 1925, and April 28, 1925, L/P&S/10/1088, OIOC. For the demotion, see Goldstein, *History of Modern Tibet*, 133. It is significant that despite this demotion, Tsarong remained until 1930 a member of the Kashag, the governing cabinet of four Shapes. For the political organization of Tibet, see Goldstein, 6–36. The ambiguous position of the "native" intermediaries who represented the British, such as Laden La or Norbhu Döndup, deserves further study.

[85] Lamb, *Tibet, China and India*, 161, 159. Many explanations for the breakdown in relations are excessively general. See, for example, Singh, *Himalayan Triangle*, 94.

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pro-British feeling," asked for permission for yet another Everest expedition. The Dalai Lama replied: "From our point of view, almost every snowy mountain in Tibet is the seat of the gods and of the guardian deities of the inner religion (i.e. Buddhism), who are very jealous; yet, in deference to the wishes of the British Government and in order that the friendly relations may not be ruptured, permission is hereby granted."[86] Although a Sino-Tibetan truce was soon called and the threat eased with renewed civil war in Szechuan, the Tibetan dependence on British weapons was once again abundantly clear. As in 1921, Sino-Tibetan military conflicts in the 1930s gave Tibetans the courage to put aside their religious convictions on the sacredness of mountains. Although the Tibetans placed stringent restrictions on the activities of the expedition, they once again gave permission for the climbing of Mt. Everest as a quid pro quo for the embrace of British arms.[87]

IN THE END, the incident of the dancing lamas of Everest raises questions of power. But how should power be defined? Anglo-Tibetan diplomacy, the discourse of Orientalism, and cinematic representations of Everest—each defined power relations in distinct but related ways. At one level, Anglo-Tibetan relations negotiated the power politics of diplomacy. In exchange for British weapons, Tibet gave permission for British Everest expeditions in 1921 and again in 1932. In 1925, however, when Tibet faced few threats and conserved its stockpile of arms, it was able to deny permission. When Chinese threats reappeared in the early 1930s, "Everest permits now seemed to go with British Missions to Lhasa," according to Lamb, and were granted as "welcoming gifts" to British envoys.[88] Since Tibet never became a British colony or client-state, Tibetans were able to resist British demands under certain conditions. Yet Tibetan resistance was limited by Tibet's ambiguous relations with China, Britain's differential capability of violence, and Tibet's own internal politics.

At another level, these limitations on "power politics" suggest the extent to which power was defined more expansively in Anglo-Tibetan intercultural relations. For example, the "modernization" of Tibet encouraged by the British and spearheaded by Tsarong Shape ground to a halt in the mid-1920s when the dancing lamas of Everest tipped the balance of power within Tibet from the military to the monasteries. Yet this dichotomy within Tibet should itself be understood as an intercultural consequence of Anglo-Tibetan relations. The Everest expeditions, the dancing lamas, and British diplomacy in the 1920s were the latest in a series of Anglo-Tibetan encounters, from military clashes in Sikkim, to the Younghusband mission in 1904, that culturally constructed the Tibetan military in opposition to the

[86] Dalai Lama to Weir, July 8, 1932, L/P&S/12/4242, OIOC. See also Weir to India, July 27, 1932, and Walton to Hinks, August 30, 1932, EE/44/5, RGSA; and L/P&S/12/4242, OIOC. On the Sino-Tibetan context of Weir's missions to Lhasa, see Lamb, *Tibet, China and India*, 177–213; and Singh, *Himalayan Triangle*, 95–101. The Dalai Lama died in 1933, and Tibet was ruled by regents into the late 1940s.

[87] The Everest expeditions continued to offend the Tibetans in the 1930s. See Williamson to India, October 2, 1933, L/P&S/12/4242, OIOC; and Add. MSS 63120, fols. 24–29, BL.

[88] Lamb, *Tibet, China and India*, 272.

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monasteries.[89] By the 1920s, some Tibetans may have represented the Tibetan military in terms that had formerly been reserved for the British. Although such associations were by no means inevitable, they had long-term consequences. The Tibetan military lost elite support and, despite some rearmament, never recovered the position it had enjoyed in the early 1920s. When a resurgent China attempted to reclaim its Tibetan *irredenta* by force in the 1950s, the Tibetan army was too weak to stop it.

In other ways, the Everest expeditions redefined the power of Orientalism, the power to represent the Other, as the possession of *both* British and Tibetans. To be sure, many British observers portrayed Tibetans as objects of Orientalism, most notably in the publicity for the dancing lamas in London. But the dancing lamas were never completely silenced by their publicity. The Dalai Lama and the Rongbuk Lama also negotiated with the British from positions of strength, because their permission and blessings were needed to climb Everest. In addition, many Tibetans watched the Everest expeditions in Tibet in much the same spirit that British audiences watched the performances of the dancing lamas in London, in a kind of Orientalism in reverse. Consider John Morris's description of the Everest expedition's lack of privacy at its Tibetan campsites: "At every camp we were under close observation [by Tibetans] all through the day; not from any sinister motive but out of sheer curiosity. Our situation was like that of the denizens of those so-called native villages who are often a popular feature of international exhibitions."[90]

The power of Orientalism to shape representations of the Other always remained in tension with the more complex Anglo-Tibetan encounter. British bureaucrats cracked a "smile of kindly superiority" at things Oriental, but they earnestly attempted to respect Tibetan religious beliefs. Many climbers struggled to express the sympathy they developed for Tibet, but their language remained Orientalist. Howard Somervell wrote: "Tibetans are not by any means uncivilised, although quite un-Westernized. Both in the towns they live in, and in the organisation of their state, they have a very definite, though characteristically Oriental civilisation." British and Tibetans searched for ways to describe the cross-cultural influences and hybridity of Anglo-Tibetan relations. This unresolved ambivalence about the Other appeared once again as admiration mingled with contempt in the performances of the dancing lamas and the Everest films.[91]

The cinema and mass media integrated culture and power in Anglo-Tibetan relations and played the crucial role in transforming the lamas' dances into diplomatic disputes. Ironically, Noel was convinced that his film and the dancing

[89] By the mid-1920s, the conflict between the military and the monasteries was well advanced. See Lamb, *Tibet, China and India*, 157–58.

[90] Morris, *Hired to Kill*, 163. Morris was a Gurkha officer with the expeditions in 1922 and 1936. For other varieties of "Orientalism," see Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); and Robert H. Sharf, "The Zen of Japanese Nationalism," in Lopez, *Curators of the Buddha*, 107–60, in which Japanese representations of Zen Buddhism were used to construct Japaneseness (*nihonjinron*) during Japan's rise as a colonial power.

[91] Somervell, *After Everest*, 47. See also Somervell's chapter "Tibetan Culture" in Bruce, *Assault on Mount Everest*, 313–18. See also the dilemmas faced by contemporary anthropologists in Henrika Kuklick, *The Savage Within: The Social History of British Anthropology, 1885–1945* (Cambridge, 1991). For related discussions of ambivalence, see Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994).

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lamas would improve relations between Britain and Tibet.[92] Noel presumably thought his audience to be the British or Europeans or Americans. But the global reach of early twentieth-century mass media—newspapers, exhibitions, cinemas—extended to remote parts of the world and expanded Noel's audience to include the subjects of his film, the Tibetans. The Dalai Lama read the London papers, and officials from Tibet, Sikkim, and Bhutan watched Noel's films in India. These media enabled the Tibetans, perhaps for the first time, to see themselves as they were seen by others. This is not to say that Tibetans had never been exposed to foreign representations of Tibet, as they must have been, for example, during the Dalai Lama's periods of exile in China or India. But the Everest films were the first record *on film*, and Tibetans responded by vigorously challenging what they saw. Indeed, historians may have seriously underestimated the importance of the cinema and the mass media in disseminating representations and inspiring resistance during the early twentieth century. Tibet banned film crews from the Everest expeditions because access by the media—the right to make representations—had itself become one of the bargaining chips of diplomacy. Although Tibetans banned filmmakers from Everest, in the 1930s they watched Western films in private. The dancing lamas of Everest thus appear to be an early example of the complex process by which "modern modes of representation (e.g. film and video) have helped to reconstitute colonized subjectivities."[93]

The Epic of Everest also demonstrates that film could reconstitute the subject position of the British "colonizers." Even if the dancing lamas were seen as a source of comedy, Noel was influenced by Tibetan culture. At the end of the film, Noel again highlights the contrast between the scientific West and the mystical East. The purpose of this comparison, however, is to cast doubt on the pretensions of science and to give credibility to the mysticism of Tibet. In the final scenes of the film, Noel anthropomorphizes Mt. Everest into a spiritual, religious force that opposed the British climbers:

> To us Everest was but a mountain—a thing of rock and ice and snow. To the Tibetans she was more—she was what they named her. "Chomolungma." "Goddess Mother of the World."
>
> Now could it be possible that something more than the physical opposed us in this battle where human strength and western science had broken and failed?
>
> Strangely to memory the words of the Rongbuk Lama come—"The Gods of the Lamas shall deny you White Men the object of your search—"
>
> [shot of the Rongbuk Lama through a window]
>
> Could it be possible that we fought something beyond our knowledge? Could it be, as these mystic peoples say, that this terrible mountain LIVES and is SPIRIT GUARDED?

[92] Noel to Hinks, June 26, 1925, EE/27/7/27, RGSA; L/P&S/10/778, OIOC.

[93] Talal Asad, "From the History of Colonial Anthropology to the Anthropology of Western Hegemony," in *Colonial Situations: Essays on the Contextualization of Ethnographic Knowledge*, George W. Stocking, Jr., ed. (Madison, Wis., 1991), 323, commenting on the article by Terrence Turner in the same volume, 285–313. See also the issues raised in Jane Desmond, "Ethnography, Orientalism and the Avant-Garde Film," *Visual Anthropology*, 4 (1991): 147–60; Trinh T. Minh-Ha, *Framer Framed* (New York, 1992); Peter Ian Crawford and David Turton, *Film as Ethnography* (Manchester, 1992); and Rey Chow, *Primitive Passions: Visuality, Sexuality, Ethnography and Contemporary Chinese Cinema* (New York, 1995).

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FIGURE 8: "The Rongbuk's Gift, Grain and Sheep." In 1924, Rongbuk Monastery once again gave a gift to the Everest expedition "according to the custom of the country." Bentley Beetham's photograph of the gift illustrates the fate of some gestures of cross-cultural goodwill. Courtesy of Royal Geographical Society.

[shot of clouds blowing over a ridge and a sunset on a peak]
CHOMO-LUNG-MA. GODDESS MOTHER OF THE WORLD.[94]

The film then ends with a time-lapsed shot of Everest in the distance, a plume of clouds trailing off its summit, as shadows lengthen and darkness falls.

The ending of *The Epic of Everest* corresponds to the multiplicitous endings of the affair of the dancing lamas. In diplomatic narratives, the lamas fade into obscurity as the screen fades to black. Orientalist narratives might recognize the ending of the film either as an example of a venerable discourse of a spiritual Tibet versus the materialist West, or as the predictable personification of the melodramatic contrast between the climbers and the Other. But Noel's engagement with Tibet by the end of the film went deeper. Noel wrote in the *Sunday Express* that he sincerely thought Mt. Everest was alive. Although many British newspapers expressed incredulity at this notion and criticized the film's ending, the *Yorkshire Post* compared Noel's beliefs to contemporary British occultism and portrayed his views as uniquely Tibetan in inspiration. Noel persisted in these beliefs for years. If it is possible for men to land on the moon, Noel said in a 1969 interview, anything is possible.[95]

[94] *Epic of Everest*, NFTVA.

[95] John Noel, "Is Mount Everest Alive? Eerie Sight," *Sunday Express*, December 28, 1924. See also the program to *Epic of Everest*, 6, L/P&S/11/244, OIOC; "Everest Devils," *Yorkshire Post*, December 29,

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If this representation of Tibetan mysticism persisted well after the affair of the dancing lamas, so, too, did the personal influence of the lamas themselves. Each expedition that went through Tibet to Everest sought an audience with the Rongbuk Lama. His blessing ensured the cooperation of the Sherpas and other Buddhist porters on whom the expeditions so heavily depended. After meeting the Rongbuk Lama in the 1930s, expedition leader Hugh Ruttledge reflected, "We do not know everything in the West; is it possible that we have everything to learn?" Yet Anglo-Tibetan intercultural education remained incomplete at best. (See Figure 8.) When the Rongbuk Lama asked the British climbers to sing in 1938, they sang a hymn and then recited the mantra "Om Mane Padme Hum" to the tune of "God Save the King." Climber H. W. Tilman wanted the head lama to know that they did not climb "at the instigation of and assisted by the British Government for the sake of national prestige . . . We belonged to a small but select cult who regarded a Himalayan expedition as a means of acquiring merit, beneficial to soul and body, and equivalent to entering a monastery."[96] Not the least of the many intercultural ironies of the British Everest expeditions is that when the themes of Everest and national prestige were resurrected in 1953, one of the "conquerors" of Everest was Tenzing Norgay, who had once trained to be a lama and was himself the nephew of the head lama at Rongbuk Monastery.[97]

1924. For contemporary criticisms of the film's ending, see *Sunday Herald*, December 14, 1924; *Observer*, December 14, 1924; *The Nation*, December 20, 1924; *Illustrated London News*, December 27, 1924; *Time and Tide*, December 21, 1924; and *The Star*, December 29, 1924. For John Noel's 1969 interview, and similar comments by Noel Odell, listen to Recording T35309, National Sound Archives, BL.

[96] Hugh Ruttledge, *Everest: The Unfinished Adventure* (London, 1937), 77; H. W. Tilman, *Everest, 1938* (London, 1948), 98. Ruttledge was leader of the expeditions in 1933 and 1936, Tilman in 1938. See also Ruttledge's sometimes inaccurate obituary of the Rongbuk Lama in *Himalayan Journal*, 17 (1952): 159–60; and the amateur Everest films from the 1930s expeditions by Percy Wyn-Harris, E. O. Shebbeare, and Hugh Ruttledge in NFTVA.

[97] One of Tenzing Norgay's maternal uncles was Zatul Rinpoche (Ngawang Tenzing Norbu), the Rongbuk Lama who met General Bruce. His successor, Tushi Rinpoche (Tr'ül-zhig), also claimed Tenzing Norgay as a relative. See Tenzing Norgay, *Man of Everest: The Autobiography of Tenzing Told to James Ramsay Ullman* (London, 1955), 35–36; and Aziz, *Tibetan Frontier Families*, 211–15.

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AHR Forum

Periodization in World History

This *Forum* tackles a basic problem confronting both the research and teaching of world history: periodization. As world history has grown in importance as a distinct subject, historians have struggled to find a way to use this fundamental tool of historical analysis. The spatial and temporal breadth of world history in any and all of its guises has stymied most attempts. And yet it is difficult for historians to conceptualize the subject without some common periodization scheme. The following two essays clearly state the issues involved in trying to resolve this dilemma as they suggest and critique the utility of cross-cultural interaction as the foundation for periodizing world history.

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AHR Forum
Cross-Cultural Interaction and Periodization in World History

JERRY H. BENTLEY

PERIODIZATION RANKS AMONG THE MORE ELUSIVE TASKS of historical scholarship. As practicing historians well know, the identification of coherent periods of history involves much more than the simple discovery of self-evident turning points in the past: it depends on prior decisions about the issues and processes that are most important for the shaping of human societies, and it requires the establishment of criteria or principles that enable historians to sort through masses of information and recognize patterns of continuity and change. Even within the framework of a single society, changes in perspective can call the coherence of conventionally recognized periods into question, as witness Joan Kelly's famous essay "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" or Dietrich Gerhard's concept of "old Europe."[1]

When historians address the past from global points of view and examine processes that cross the boundary lines of societies and cultural regions, the problems of periodization become even more acute. Historians have long realized that periodization schemes based on the experiences of Western or any other particular civilization do a poor job of explaining the trajectories of other societies. To cite a single notorious example, the categories of ancient, medieval, and modern history, derived from European experience, apply awkwardly at best to the histories of China, India, Africa, the Islamic world, or the Western hemisphere—quite apart from the increasingly recognized fact that they do not even apply very well to European history.[2] As historians take global approaches to the past and analyze human experiences from broad and comparative perspectives, however, questions of periodization present themselves with increasing insistence. To what extent is it possible to identify periods that are both meaningful and coherent across the boundary lines of societies and cultural regions? What criteria or principles might

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[1] Joan Kelly-Gadol, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" orig. pub. in Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz, eds., *Becoming Visible: Women in European History* (Boston, 1977), 137–64; rpt. in Joan Kelly, *Women, History and Theory: The Essays of Joan Kelly* (Chicago, 1984), 19–50. Dietrich Gerhard, *Old Europe: A Study of Continuity, 1000–1800* (New York, 1981).

[2] On the last point, see Gerhard, *Old Europe*; and C. Warren Hollister, "The Phases of European History and the Nonexistence of the Middle Ages," *Pacific Historical Review*, 61 (1992): 1–22.

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help historians to sort out patterns of continuity and change and to distinguish such periods?[3]

This essay suggests that efforts at global periodization might profit by examining participation of the world's peoples in processes transcending individual societies and cultural regions. From remote times to the present, cross-cultural interactions have had significant political, social, economic, and cultural ramifications for all peoples involved. Thus it stands to reason that processes of cross-cultural interaction might have some value for purposes of identifying historical periods from a global point of view. Moreover, with cross-cultural interactions as their criteria, historians might better avoid ethnocentric periodizations that structure the world's past according to the experiences of some particular privileged people. Scholars increasingly recognize that history is the product of interactions involving all the world's peoples.[4] By focusing on processes of cross-cultural interaction, historians might more readily identify patterns of continuity and change that reflect the experiences of many peoples rather than impose on all a periodization derived from the experiences of a privileged few.

Two caveats about the periodization proposed here deserve some consideration. In the first place, a periodization based on cross-cultural interaction cannot pretend to embrace literally all of the world at all times. For most of history, the Eastern hemisphere, the Western hemisphere, and Oceania were largely self-contained regions whose peoples encountered each other infrequently and sporadically, if at all. Within each of the three regions, however, cross-cultural interactions took place regularly and shaped the experiences of all peoples involved. The understanding of early interactions is particularly strong for Eurasia and much of Africa, so that cross-cultural interactions serve well as the basis for periodization in much of

[3] Several scholars have already offered thoughtful reflections on periodization from a global point of view. Some explicitly argue or implicitly assume that human societies evolve in reasonably similar fashion, so that periodization depends on the identification of stages that all societies pass through. Apart from the large body of Marxist evolutionary scholarship, see, for example, Robert McC. Adams, *The Evolution of Urban Society: Early Mesopotamia and Prehispanic Mexico* (Chicago, 1966). Others have proposed hemispheric and global cycles as foundations for periodization: see Andre Gunder Frank, "A Theoretical Introduction to 5,000 Years of World System History," *Review*, 13 (1990): 155–248; and the essays in Andre Gunder Frank and Barry K. Gills, eds., *The World System: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?* (London, 1993). Yet others envision periodizations based to some extent on cross-cultural interactions: see Ross E. Dunn, "Periodization and Chronological Coverage in a World History Survey," in Josef W. Konvitz, ed., *What Americans Should Know: Western Civilization or World History? Proceedings of a Conference at Michigan State University, April 21–23, 1985* (East Lansing, Mich., 1985), 129–40; Peter N. Stearns, "Periodization in World History Teaching: Identifying the Big Changes," *History Teacher*, 20 (1987): 561–80; and William A. Green, "Periodization in European and World History," *Journal of World History*, 3 (1992): 13–53. See also William A. Green, "Periodizing World History," *History and Theory*, 34 (1995): 99–111. William H. McNeill, *The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community* (Chicago, 1963), does not address the issue of periodization directly but nonetheless contributes to its understanding by offering an integrated history of the world from a global point of view. See also McNeill's reflections on "*The Rise of the West* after Twenty-Five Years," *Journal of World History*, 1 (1990): 1–21. This essay draws inspiration from the contributions cited above, and it seeks to complement them by proposing a principle for identifying coherent periods of history from a global point of view.

[4] A few examples of recent works that nicely illustrate this point about the modern world: Mechal Sobel, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (Princeton, N.J., 1987); John E. Wills, Jr., "Maritime Asia, 1500–1800: The Interactive Emergence of European Domination," *AHR*, 98 (February 1993): 83–105; Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, 1993); Ronald T. Takaki, *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America* (Boston, 1993); and Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993).

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the Eastern hemisphere even before modern times. From the sixteenth century forward, cross-cultural interactions provide a foundation for a genuinely global periodization of world history.

In the second place, global periodizations do not represent the only useful or appropriate frames for historical analysis. It goes without saying that developments internal to individual societies—such as the building of states, social structures, and cultural traditions—have profoundly and directly influenced the historical experiences of the lands and peoples involved. (Of course, these "internal" developments have generally taken place within a much larger context that helps to account for local experiences.) Moreover, different peoples have participated in large-scale processes to different degrees, so global periodizations often chart historical development in approximate rather than finely calibrated fashion. Thus global periodizations must allow for alternatives that are sensitive to the nuances of local experiences. Peter Brown's concept of "late antiquity," for example, has great power for the effort to understand historical development in the Mediterranean basin and Southwest Asia, even if it does not resonate on a hemispheric or global scale.[5] Periodizations of individual lands and particular regions will often be more subtle and specific than global periodizations, since they have the potential to reflect more accurately local patterns of continuity and change. Thus, while striving to understand historical development on the large scale, global historians must acknowledge that their periodizations do not always apply equally well to all the lands and regions that they ostensibly embrace.

Nevertheless, global periodizations have their place in contemporary historical scholarship. To the extent that historians consider it valuable to examine the past from global and comparative points of view, they need to identify periods of history that coherently situate historical development in large geographical and cultural contexts. Moreover, global periodizations also have the potential to establish pertinent larger contexts for the understanding of local and regional experiences. For purposes of constructing these global periodizations, the analysis of cross-cultural interactions and their results holds rich promise.

WHEN DEALING WITH THE PAST FIVE CENTURIES, efforts at global periodization clearly must take cross-cultural interactions into account. Since the year 1492, the regions of the world have come into permanent and sustained contact with each other, and cross-cultural interactions have profoundly influenced the experiences of all peoples on earth. Legions of scholars have examined the effects of cross-cultural interactions in modern times while exploring themes such as long-distance trade, exchanges of plants, animals, and diseases, transfers of technology, imperial and

[5] Of Peter Brown's many thoughtful and penetrating works, see especially *The World of Late Antiquity, A.D. 150–750* (London, 1971); and *The Making of Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978). In the form of mass migrations, of course, cross-cultural interactions were a prominent feature of late antiquity. In his own work, however, Brown has concentrated on the cultural and religious history of the Mediterranean basin, and to a lesser extent of Southwest Asia, without placing the experiences of those regions in a larger Eurasian or hemispheric context and without directly addressing the theme of cross-cultural interaction.

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colonial ventures, missionary campaigns, the transatlantic slave trade, and the development of global capitalism.[6]

For earlier periods, however, it might seem that founding a global periodization on cross-cultural interactions stretches a point beyond usefulness. Granting that the world's peoples did not live in isolated, hermetically sealed societies until 1492, it remains a legitimate question whether cross-cultural interactions were intensive and extensive enough to provide frameworks for periodization in pre-modern times. It is a reasonable concern, for example, that a periodization founded on cross-cultural interaction might accord undue privileges to that tiny fraction of humanity that undertook long-distance travel or that otherwise became directly engaged in cross-cultural interactions in pre-modern times.

Yet, even in pre-modern times, processes of cross-cultural interaction had implications that went far beyond the experiences of the individuals who took part in them. Three kinds of processes in particular had significant repercussions across the boundary lines of societies and cultural regions: mass migrations, campaigns of imperial expansion, and long-distance trade. Mass migrations had the potential to bring about political, social, economic, and cultural transformations in the lands they touched. The migrations of Indo-European, Bantu, Germanic, Turkish, Slavic, and Mongol peoples all worked profound effects across the boundary lines of societies and cultural regions. These migrations touched almost every corner of the Eastern hemisphere before modern times. Meanwhile, the migrations of ancient Siberian and Austronesian peoples led to the establishment of human societies in the Western hemisphere and the Pacific islands.

Alongside migrations, empire building also influenced historical development across the boundary lines of societies and cultural regions. The establishment of large-scale empires did not necessarily imply the extension of close, centralized supervision to all lands and peoples falling within imperial boundaries. "Heaven is high, and the emperor is far away," according to a Chinese proverb, which acknowledged a degree of *de facto* independence enjoyed by local and regional authorities of pre-modern empires. Even in the absence of effective central supervision, however, pre-modern empire building deeply influenced human societies. Quite apart from the imposition of foreign rule and taxes on conquered peoples, imperial expansion also favored the establishment of commercial and diplomatic relations between distant peoples, as well as the spread of cultural traditions.

Granting the importance of mass migrations and imperial conquests, questions might still remain about the significance of long-distance trade in pre-modern times. Traditional wisdom holds that long-distance trade in pre-modern times dealt largely if not exclusively with luxury goods of high value relative to their bulk. Traffic in such goods might make for a fascinating topic of inquiry, since it sheds

[6] See, among others, Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (New York, 1984); Daniel R. Headrick, *The Tentacles of Progress: Technology Transfer in the Age of Imperialism, 1850–1940* (New York, 1988); Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*, 3 vols. (New York, 1974–); Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982); William H. McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (Garden City, N.Y., 1976); and two works by Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Conn., 1972); and *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (New York, 1986).

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light on the ingenuity of merchants and the development of markets. Nevertheless, so the traditional wisdom suggests, trade in luxury goods had limited significance for pre-modern social and economic history for several reasons: it involved a tiny proportion of the populations of producing and consuming societies, it mainly affected political and economic elites, and it did not generate a division of labor or otherwise restructure the economies and societies of trading parties.[7]

Recent research has called much of this received wisdom into question and has suggested that long-distance trade had more important effects than scholars have commonly realized. This research represents several lines of thought. One comes from the perspective of economic anthropology and draws attention to the cultural and political significance of pre-modern trade in luxury commodities. Even though trade in preciosities directly involved only small numbers of people, it involved some very important people. Apart from their economic value, exotic commodities often served as symbols of power, status, and authority. The ability to display them, consume them, or bestow them on others was crucial for the establishment and maintenance of political and social structures. Thus, even when its economic value was small, trade in luxury goods often had large political and social implications. Kingfisher feathers, tortoise shells, and rhinoceros horns might strike modern analysts as commodities of little economic significance. In pre-modern China, however, the rarity of such items conferred on them high value, which ruling elites appropriated as symbols of power, status, and authority. To the extent that trade in exotic items figured in the establishment or maintenance of political authority, it was a very important affair, regardless of its economic significance.[8]

A second line of argument emerges from studies of cross-regional commerce. It suggests that even when long-distance trade had its origins in the exchange of preciosities, it had the potential to expand rapidly and develop into bulk trade affecting large numbers of people rather than just political and economic elites. An example of this sort of development comes from trade in Buddhist paraphernalia between India and China. Buddhism reached China by the second century B.C.E.,

[7] There are works that take long-distance trade seriously even in pre-modern times: see especially Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*; and C. G. F. Simkin, *The Traditional Trade of Asia* (London, 1968). For several works that in various ways express the view that early long-distance trade was an enterprise of limited significance—and that do so from radically different perspectives—see Wallerstein, *Modern World-System*, 1: 19–21, 39–42; W. W. Rostow, *How It All Began: Origins of the Modern Economy* (New York, 1975), 14–15; Rondo Cameron, *A Concise Economic History of the World: From Paleolithic Times to the Present* (New York, 1989), 32–33, 78, 121–22; and Patricia Crone, *Pre-Industrial Societies* (Oxford, 1989), 22–24, 33–34. In the interests of fairness and precision, I would like to point out that these authors do not absolutely deny the significance of early long-distance trade: Cameron, for example, holds that it helped to integrate the economy of the Mediterranean basin under the Roman empire. In all cases, however, these authors and others convey the clear impression that long-distance trade was not an activity of large economic significance until modern times.

[8] See Jane Schneider, "Was There a Pre-capitalist World System?" *Peasant Studies*, 6 (1977): 20–29; and Robert McC. Adams, "Anthropological Perspectives on Ancient Trade," *Current Anthropology*, 15 (1974): 239–58. For broader analyses along similar lines, see also Mary W. Helms, *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance* (Princeton, N.J., 1988); and Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991). On the political significance of long-distance trade in early Southeast Asia, see Kenneth R. Hall, *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia* (Honolulu, 1985). On the taste for exotic commodities and the uses made of them in pre-modern China, see especially two volumes of Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley, Calif., 1963); and *The Vermilion Bird: T'ang Images of the South* (Berkeley, 1967).

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but it did not become a popular faith there until the late fifth and sixth centuries C.E. The growth of a Chinese Buddhist community generated high demand for exotic commodities such as coral, pearls, gems, crystals, semi-precious stones, glass, incense, and ivory, as well as symbolic items (such as statues or representations of the Wheel of the Law) used in Buddhist rituals or as decorations for stupas and monasteries. By the sixth century C.E., this demand had stimulated a high volume of trade in commodities that during earlier centuries had figured as luxury goods traded only in small quantities.[9] Quite apart from the cultural and political significance of the spread of Buddhism to China, this trade had important economic effects in both India and China.

A third line of research suggests that pre-modern trade occasionally became voluminous enough to push large regions toward economic integration and thus to shape economic and social structures across the boundary lines of societies and cultural regions. The Indian Ocean basin represents the most important case in which trade encouraged the economic integration of an especially large region in pre-modern times. By the seventh century C.E., large numbers of Persian merchants, soon followed by Arabs, ventured throughout the Indian Ocean basin from East Africa to India and beyond to Southeast Asia and China. By the tenth century, trade generated enormous revenues in port cities throughout the basin. More important, this trade was by no means limited to luxury goods but also involved heavy and bulky commodities. Cargoes of dates, sugar, building supplies, coral, timber, and steel crossed the ocean in large quantities. (Often, they did double duty, serving both as ballast during voyages and as marketable commodities in port cities.) As trade linked the lands of the Indian Ocean basin, comparative advantages encouraged the organization of large and sophisticated regional industries: silk textiles in China and India, cotton textiles in India, ceramics in China, steel and iron production in China, India, and Southwest Asia, and the breeding of horses, cattle, and camels by nomadic and pastoral peoples in Central Asia, Southwest Asia, and Arabia. Thus, far from being an economically insignificant affair involving exchanges of luxuries between elites, long-distance trade in the Indian Ocean helped structure economies and societies in the various regions of the Indian Ocean basin.[10]

When pre-modern societies engaged in long-distance trade on a regular and systematic basis, trade routes not only facilitated the transportation and exchange of commodities, they also served as avenues of technological and biological

[9] It is impossible to calculate the value of this trade, but literary and archaeological sources make it clear that by the sixth century C.E., trade in Buddhist paraphernalia had become quite large. See Wang Gungwu, *The Nanhai Trade: A Study of the Early History of Chinese Trade in the South China Sea* (Kuala Lumpur, 1958); and Liu Xinru, *Ancient India and Ancient China: Trade and Religious Exchanges, A.D. 1–600* (Delhi, 1988).

[10] On the economic integration of the Indian Ocean basin, see especially two recent volumes of K. N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge, 1985); and *Asia before Europe: Economy and Civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge, 1990). See also George F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times* (Princeton, N.J., 1951); the first volume, with four additional volumes projected, of André Wink, *"Al-Hind": The Making of the Indo-Islamic World* (Leiden, 1990); and an article in which Wink outlines his larger vision of the Indian Ocean basin, "'*Al-Hind*': India and Indonesia in the Islamic World-Economy, c. 700–1800 A.D.," *Itinerario*, 12 (1988): 33–72.

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diffusions. In some cases, these diffusions profoundly influenced the development of societies engaged in trade, which suggests a fourth reason for the significance of long-distance trade in pre-modern times. Technologies involving transportation, metallurgy, weaponry, animal energy, and natural sources of power all diffused throughout most of Eurasia and Africa, largely along trade routes. Meanwhile, long-distance trade and campaigns of imperial expansion sometimes combined to encourage biological diffusions in pre-modern times. During the half-millennium from about 600 to 1100 C.E., for example, Islamic conquests and trade in the Islamic world sponsored a remarkable diffusion of food and industrial crops throughout much of the Eastern hemisphere, resulting in population growth and increased production from China to Europe and North Africa. Similarly, during the era of the ancient silk roads and again during the age of the Mongol empires, traffic over long-distance trade networks facilitated the spread of lethal pathogens beyond their original homes, leading to disease epidemics in much of Eurasia.[11]

Finally, besides its political, social, economic, and biological significance, long-distance trade also had implications for cultural and religious change in pre-modern times. When merchants traded regularly across the boundary lines of societies and cultural regions, they established diaspora communities and brought cultural and religious authorities from their homelands into those communities for their own purposes. Their cultural and religious traditions sometimes attracted interest among their hosts, particularly when foreign merchants came from a well-organized society possessing the capacity to provide significant political, diplomatic, military, or economic benefits for their hosts. In several notable cases, the voluntary association of individuals with the cultural and religious traditions of foreign merchants helped to launch processes of large-scale conversion, by which societies made a place for foreign cultural or religious values. Merchants played prominent roles, for example, in the processes that led to the establishment of Hinduism and Buddhism in Southeast Asia, of Buddhism, Manichaeism, and Nestorian Christianity in Central Asia, and of Islam in Southeast Asia and sub-Saharan Africa.[12]

Thus recent research has made a persuasive case for the significance of long-distance trade, even in pre-modern times. Pre-modern trade did not wield an influence approaching that of cross-cultural commerce in modern and contemporary times. In combination with processes of mass migration and imperial expansion, however, it is clear that long-distance trade had strong potential to shape historical experiences across the boundary lines of societies and cultural regions even in pre-modern times. To the extent that mass migration, imperial expansion, and long-distance trade engaged peoples of different societies in significant

[11] On the diffusion of technologies, see Arnold Pacey, *Technology in World Civilization: A Thousand-Year History* (Oxford, 1990); Richard W. Bulliet, *The Camel and the Wheel* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975); and Lynn White, Jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (Oxford, 1962). On biological diffusions, see McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples*; Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*; Andrew M. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World: The Diffusion of Crops and Farming Techniques, 700–1100* (Cambridge, 1983); and Lynda N. Shaffer, "Southernization," *Journal of World History*, 5 (1994): 1–21.

[12] See Jerry H. Bentley, *Old World Encounters: Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times* (New York, 1993), which examines cases of conversion encouraged by the voluntary association of host peoples with the cultural and religious traditions of foreign merchants.

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cross-cultural interactions, these interactions might serve as a basis for the periodization of world history in pre-modern as well as modern times.

The remainder of this essay will outline a periodization of world history consisting of six major eras distinguished principally by differing dynamics of cross-cultural interactions that worked their effects across the boundary lines of societies and cultural regions. The six eras are: an age of early complex societies (3500–2000 B.C.E.), an age of ancient civilizations (2000–500 B.C.E.), an age of classical civilizations (500 B.C.E.–500 C.E.), a post-classical age (500–1000 C.E.), an age of transregional nomadic empires (1000–1500 C.E.), and a modern age (1500 C.E. to the present).

CROSS-CULTURAL INTERACTIONS began to influence human affairs from the earliest days of history. Human groups embarked on long-distance travels almost as soon as *Homo sapiens sapiens* emerged as a species some 35,000 to 40,000 years ago. By about 15,000 B.C.E., humans had spread to almost all of the earth's habitable regions. By analyzing the characteristics and distribution of language families, blood types, and material remains, scholars have been able to trace the prehistoric movements of some peoples with remarkable precision.[13] Although surviving evidence does not permit insights into the experiences of migrating peoples, their travels certainly led them into cross-cultural encounters even in prehistoric times. Widely spread tools, weapons, and deities in particular suggest communications across long distances by prehistoric peoples.[14]

Beginning in the late fifth millennium B.C.E., a series of innovations in transportation technology facilitated the establishment of links between human societies. About 4300 B.C.E., humans first domesticated horses, and by 4000 B.C.E., inhabitants of the Ukrainian Sredni Stog culture had probably begun to ride their horses. Beginning about the mid-fourth millennium B.C.E., Mesopotamians and Egyptians constructed seaworthy sailing vessels, enabling them to ply the waters of the Persian Gulf, Arabian Sea, Red Sea, and Mediterranean Sea. During the same era, wheeled carts and wagons appeared in Mesopotamia and the steppe region of Ukraine and southern Russia.[15]

Improving transportation technologies underlay cross-cultural interactions during the centuries between about 3500 and 2000 B.C.E. This first period of global history, the age of early complex societies, witnessed the establishment of sedentary agricultural societies in Mesopotamia, Egypt, India, and China. Yet these societies did not develop in isolation. Mesopotamians and Egyptians traded with each other at least by 3500 B.C.E., and a large body of archaeological evidence survives to show

[13] Irving Rouse, *Migrations in Prehistory: Inferring Population Movement from Cultural Remains* (New Haven, Conn., 1986). See also David W. Anthony, "Migration in Archeology: The Baby and the Bathwater," *American Anthropologist*, 92 (1990): 895–914.

[14] See Robert J. Wenke, *Patterns in Prehistory: Humankind's First Three Million Years*, 3d edn. (New York, 1990); and two works of Marija Gimbutas, *The Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe, 6500–3500 B.C.: Myths and Cult Images*, updated edn. (Berkeley, Calif., 1982); and *The Civilization of the Goddess: The World of Old Europe*, Joan Marler, ed. (San Francisco, 1991).

[15] David W. Anthony and Dorcas R. Brown, "The Origins of Horseback Riding," *Antiquity*, 65 (1991): 22–38; Lionel Casson, *The Ancient Mariners: Seafarers and Sea Fighters of the Mediterranean in Ancient Times*, 2d edn. (Princeton, N.J., 1991).

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that, during the third and second millennia B.C.E., trade passed throughout the region from Egypt, Syria, and Anatolia in the west to Afghanistan and the Indus River valley in the east. Trade was especially important for Sumer in southern Mesopotamia, a land lacking natural resources. In order to establish and maintain their complex society, Sumerians traded textiles and grain for luxury goods such as lapis lazuli, which came from as far away as Afghanistan, as well as raw materials such as copper and tin. Cultural exchanges inevitably accompanied commercial transactions: it is likely that Egyptians adopted art motifs, boat designs, mud-brick construction, and writing from Mesopotamians.[16] China had no direct contact with agricultural societies to the west, but nomadic and migratory peoples provided indirect links between the regions of Eurasia.

For purposes of global periodization, it bears pointing out that during this age of early complex societies, cross-cultural interactions had ramifications that went far beyond the experiences of Mesopotamia and Egypt. The early complex societies generated states and social structures that depended on cross-cultural interaction. During this first age of global history, for example, migration and trade promoted the diffusion of horse domestication and bronze metallurgy, both of which influenced the development of states and societies from China to Egypt.

The earliest migrations of Indo-European peoples took place during the age of early complex societies, and they helped to diffuse horse domestication and related transportation technologies throughout much of Eurasia. From their homeland—probably in the steppe regions of modern-day Ukraine and southern Russia—some Indo-Europeans ventured east to Siberia and the Tarim Basin as early as the fourth millennium B.C.E., while others migrated west to Anatolia and Eastern Europe soon after 3000 B.C.E. Stunning evidence of the eastern migrations has recently come to light in the form of desiccated but remarkably well-preserved corpses of Caucasian individuals unearthed in China's Xinjiang province.[17] Indo-European migrants owed their mobility to their horses and wheeled vehicles, and they introduced their technologies of transportation to the lands they entered. It is possible or even likely that violence accompanied the migrations and that horses helped the Indo-Europeans establish themselves forcibly in new lands. In any case, the diffusion of horses and related transportation technologies soon became crucial for purposes of

[16] See Casson, *Ancient Mariners*; Shereen Ratnagar, *Encounters: The Westerly Trade of the Harappa Civilization* (Delhi, 1981); Philip L. Kohl, "The Balance of Trade in Southwestern Asia in the Third Millennium B.C.," *Current Anthropology*, 19 (1978): 463–75; Kohl, "The Use and Abuse of World Systems Theory: The Case of the 'Pristine' West Asian State," in C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, ed., *Archaeological Thought in America* (Cambridge, 1989), 218–40; and P. R. S. Moorey, "On Tracking Cultural Transfers in Prehistory: The Case of Egypt and Lower Mesopotamia in the Fourth Millennium B.C.," in Michael Rowlands, Mogens Larsen, and Kristian Kristiansen, eds., *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, 1987), 36–46.

[17] The earliest corpses so far studied date from about 2000 B.C.E., and their material culture included horses, wheeled carts, and fabrics featuring weaves similar to those associated with Indo-European communities in Northern Europe. Detailed studies of the desiccated corpses are not yet available, but for a preliminary report, see Victor H. Mair, "Prehistoric Caucasoid Corpses of the Tarim Basin," *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, 23 (1995): 281–307. See also the series of articles following Mair's introductory essay in the same issue of the journal and two short articles elsewhere: Victor H. Mair, "Mummies of the Tarim Basin," *Archaeology*, 48 (March–April 1995): 28–35; and Evan Hadingham, "The Mummies of Xinjiang," *Discover*, 15 (April 1994): 68–77. On the Indo-European migrations in general, see J. P. Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans: Language, Archaeology, and Myth* (London, 1989).

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establishing and maintaining states and social hierarchies in the early complex societies.[18]

Considerable debate revolves around the origins of bronze technology and particularly the question of whether it was the result of a single, unique discovery or of multiple, independent inventions.[19] In either case, bronze technology certainly diffused from its point(s) of origin. Ruling elites sought to control the production of bronze weaponry, which enabled them to build and maintain states. Meanwhile, elites also prized bronze utensils, since their high cost indicated high social status. The search for relatively rare deposits of copper and tin ores stimulated trade with neighboring peoples, as well as military campaigns designed to establish control over the deposits. Thus, as in the case of horses and related transportation technologies, the diffusion of bronze metallurgy had significant political and social implications for the early complex societies.

By about 2000 B.C.E., spoke-wheeled chariots had appeared on the Eurasian steppes.[20] These high-performance vehicles had political and military implications that inaugurated a second era of global history, the age of ancient civilizations, extending from about 2000 to 500 B.C.E. After about 1700 B.C.E., techniques of chariot warfare diffused across Eurasia and into North Africa. After about 1100 B.C.E., the technology of iron metallurgy also diffused from its homeland of Anatolia throughout Eurasia and much of Africa. Migrations of Bantu peoples resulted in the spread of iron metallurgy to the great lakes region of East Africa and southern Nigeria by the sixth or seventh century B.C.E., possibly as early as the ninth century B.C.E.[21] In Mesopotamia, Egypt, and China, conquerors relied on chariot-mounted

[18] The nature and results of the Indo-European migrations are matters of ongoing debate. For two contrasting and controversial views, see Colin Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins* (New York, 1988); and Marija Gimbutas, "The Indo-Europeanization of Europe: The Intrusion of Steppe Pastoralists from South Russia and the Transformation of Old Europe," *Word*, 44 (1993): 205–22. For two judicious navigations through the literature on Indo-Europeans, see Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*; and David W. Anthony, "The Archaeology of Indo-European Origins," *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, 19 (1991): 193–222.

[19] Bronze technology almost certainly diffused from Southwest Asia, where it appeared in the late fourth millennium B.C.E., to the Mediterranean basin and the Indus River valley. Since there are very few signs of bronze metallurgy in China before the second millennium B.C.E., many scholars have thought that bronze technology also diffused to China. See two articles by Cyril Stanley Smith, "Bronze Technology in the East," in Mikulas Teich and Robert Young, eds., *Changing Perspectives in the History of Science: Essays in Honour of Joseph Needham* (London, 1973), 21–32; and "The Early History of Casting, Molds, and the Science of Solidification," in Smith's collected essays, *A Search for Structure: Selected Essays on Science, Art, and History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 127–73. For an argument that bronze technology in China was the result of independent invention, see Ping-ti Ho, *The Cradle of the East: An Inquiry into the Indigenous Origins of Techniques and Ideas of Neolithic and Early Historic China, 5000–1000 B.C.* (Hong Kong, 1975), 177–221. K. C. Chang, *The Archaeology of Ancient China*, 4th edn. (New Haven, Conn., 1986), discusses several Chinese bronze artifacts from the third millennium B.C.E. Since he does not directly address the question of diffusion and independent invention, however, Chang seems to have softened his position since the third edition of his work (New Haven, 1977), 274–79, which argued explicitly for the independent invention of Chinese bronze metallurgy. The relevant volume of Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, 6 vols. (Cambridge, 1954–), has not yet appeared, but it will undoubtedly shed light on the origins and spread of bronze throughout Eurasia.

[20] For a preliminary report on the earliest known chariots, see David W. Anthony and Nikolai B. Vinogradov, "Birth of the Chariot," *Archaeology*, 48 (March–April 1995): 36–41.

[21] Theodore A. Wertime and James D. Muhly, eds., *The Coming of the Age of Iron* (New Haven, Conn., 1980); Jan Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests: Toward a History of Political Tradition in Equatorial Africa* (Madison, Wis., 1990), 47–69, esp. 58–61.

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warriors, and later on iron weapons as well, to build powerful imperial states such as the Babylonian and Assyrian empires in Mesopotamia, the New Kingdom in Egypt, and the Shang and Zhou dynasties in China.

Improving technologies of transportation underwrote a noticeable expansion of cross-cultural trade during the age of ancient civilizations. China was too distant to trade directly with the other ancient civilizations, although nomadic peoples linked China indirectly to other Eurasian societies. Further west, however, trade links proliferated. During the centuries from about 2000 to 1600 B.C.E., for example, Assyrian merchants organized a trading network that connected lands as distant as Afghanistan, Persia, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Syria, and Anatolia. Major products exchanged included tin from Afghanistan, grain and textiles from Mesopotamia, copper from Arabia, wood and wine from Syria, and copper, silver, and gold from Anatolia. The ancient civilizations conducted trade on an impressive scale: one document mentions a single shipment of eighteen tons of copper from Oman in Arabia to Mesopotamia, and scholars have calculated that over the period from approximately 1810 to 1765 B.C.E., Assyrian merchants transported about eighty tons of imported tin and 100,000 textiles manufactured in their home city of Assur (in northern Mesopotamia) to Kanesh (in Anatolia), returning to Assur with some ten tons of silver.[22]

Migration and trade also facilitated cultural exchanges during the age of ancient civilizations. Chinese ruling elites of the Western Zhou dynasty (1027–771 B.C.E.) seem to have enlisted Persian magi as religious and ritual specialists.[23] Meanwhile, after about 1050 B.C.E., alphabetic writing spread from Phoenicia, where scribes used twenty-two consonants to represent individual sounds, to Greece, where vowels also found places in the alphabet. Within the next few centuries, alphabetic writing spread along trade routes throughout the Mediterranean basin and Southwest Asia and beyond to northern India.

Cross-cultural interactions also had effects that went beyond the ancient civilizations themselves. From a long-term point of view, one of the most important processes of this era was the expansion of the zone of cultivation. During the age of ancient civilizations, agriculture spread well beyond the heartlands of early complex societies and took root in Anatolia, Persia, Europe, the Ganges River valley, southern China, parts of Central Asia, and much of sub-Saharan Africa, among other places. Expansion of the zone of cultivation had dramatic effects on world population. Historical demographers estimate that in 3000 B.C.E., human numbers stood at about 14 million. By 2000 B.C.E., they had almost doubled to 27 million; by 1000 B.C.E., they had reached 50 million; and by 500 B.C.E., at the end of the age of ancient civilizations, they had doubled again to 100 million.[24] Meanwhile,

[22] Mogens Trolle Larsen, "Commercial Networks in the Ancient Near East," in Rowlands, Larsen, and Kristiansen, *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World*, 47–56; John Gledhill and Mogens T. Larsen, "The Polanyi Paradigm and a Dynamic Analysis of Archaic States," in Colin Renfrew, Michael J. Rowlands, and Barbara Abbot Segraves, eds., *Theory and Explanation in Archaeology: The Southampton Conference* (New York, 1982), 197–229; Kohl, "Use and Abuse of World Systems Theory"; and Philip L. Kohl, "The 'World-Economy' of West Asia in the Third Millennium B.C.," in M. Taddei, ed., *South Asian Archaeology, 1977*, 2 vols. (Naples, 1979), 1: 55–85.

[23] Victor Mair, "Old Sinitic *M^{y}ăg, Old Persian *Maguš*, and English 'Magician,'" *Early China*, 15 (1990): 27–47.

[24] Colin McEvedy and Richard Jones, *Atlas of World Population History* (Harmondsworth, 1978),

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as the zone of cultivation expanded, peoples on the margins of agricultural society either became absorbed into the cultivators' society or took up a nomadic lifestyle as a specialized adaptation to agriculture and the challenges that it posed.[25] When they migrated in large numbers, nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples profoundly influenced settled states and societies. During the age of ancient civilizations, for example, continuing migrations of Indo-European peoples transformed societies from India to the British Isles. Thus, both by increasing human numbers in settled societies and by encouraging the formation of nomadic societies, expansion of the zone of cultivation shaped the experiences of human communities throughout the Eastern hemisphere.

A third period of global history, the age of classical civilizations, unfolded during the millennium from about 500 B.C.E. to 500 C.E. The classical civilizations differed from the early complex societies and the ancient civilizations in several important ways. Historians have long associated classical civilizations with the development of cultural and religious traditions, such as Confucianism, Buddhism, Greek philosophy, and Christianity, that influenced beliefs and values in their respective societies over the long term. The classical civilizations also organized states on a much larger scale than had earlier societies: the Han dynasty in China embraced far more territory than the Shang and Zhou dynasties, the Achaemenid dynasty in Persia dwarfed earlier Mesopotamian states, the Mauryan dynasty absorbed numerous regional kingdoms in India, and the Roman empire brought all the lands of the Mediterranean basin under its control. As a result of their larger scale of organization, the states generated by the classical civilizations pacified much larger territories than had their predecessors.

In addition, improving networks and technologies of transportation quickened the pace of cross-cultural interactions. The classical civilizations all invested considerable resources in the construction of roads and bridges: while the results of Roman engineering are best known today, Persian, Chinese, and Indian states also built extensive transportation networks. These construction projects enabled classical civilizations to extend administrative oversight and to project military power more effectively than their predecessors to the far corners of their realms. Meanwhile, camels became increasingly important transport animals during classical times. Though domesticated shortly after 3000 B.C.E. and used as pack animals from at least the thirteenth century B.C.E., camels did not become prominent in long-distance trade and transportation networks until the invention of an efficient saddle between about 500 and 100 B.C.E. Thereafter, use of camels spread rapidly throughout much of Asia and Africa.[26] Improving networks and technologies of transportation encouraged economic development and economic integration within

342–51. On the Bantu migrations and their role in spreading agriculture, see Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests*, 47–69; and S. Lwanga-Lunyiigo and J. Vansina, "The Bantu-Speaking Peoples and Their Expansion," in J. Ki-Zerbo, *et al.*, eds., *General History of Africa*, 7 vols. (Berkeley, Calif., 1981–), 3: 140–62.

[25] Apart from the classic work of Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, 2d edn. (New York, 1951), see also Anatoly M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, J. Crookendon, trans., 2d edn. (Madison, Wis., 1994).

[26] See Bulliet, *Camel and the Wheel*, 28–110; and William H. McNeill, "The Eccentricity of Wheels, or Eurasian Transportation in Historical Perspective," *AHR*, 92 (December 1987): 1111–26.

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the precincts of the classical civilizations, and they placed these civilizations in a strong position to take part in trade and exchange relationships with other lands.

The classical civilizations began to emerge as early as the mid-sixth century B.C.E., with the appearance of the Achaemenid dynasty in Persia. Both the volume of cross-cultural trade and the intensity of cross-cultural interactions increased particularly during Hellenistic times, as classical civilizations in Persia and the Mediterranean basin engaged each other politically, militarily, economically, and culturally. Prominent venues of cross-cultural interaction were the many cities established by the conqueror Alexander in Persia and Bactria. Originally populated by soldiers and administrators, these cities soon attracted Greek merchants and bankers, who linked them to a Mediterranean basin already moving toward economic integration. Graphic evidence of cross-cultural interaction came from the school of Buddhist art that emerged in the north Indian kingdom of Gandhara: Hellenistic communities in Bactria attracted Mediterranean artists, who influenced the development of Buddhist art.[27] Meanwhile, Bactria and the north Indian commercial center at Taxila became busy crossroads of international traffic. This pattern continued after the death of Alexander. The Seleucids pacified and controlled trade routes between Bactria and the Mediterranean, while the Ptolemies controlled trade routes south to Nubia, also clearing the Red Sea of pirates and constructing ports such as Berenice. As a result of substantial investments in military campaigns and policing activities, then, the Hellenistic states established a solid foundation for cross-cultural trade and interaction.

A high point of cross-cultural interaction during classical times came with the elaboration of the intricate and well-articulated network of the so-called silk roads, both terrestrial and maritime. The establishment and maintenance of these trade routes depended on states such as the Han, Kushan, Parthian, and Roman empires, which pacified vast stretches of Eurasia and reduced the risks involved in long-distance trade. The terrestrial silk roads enabled commerce to move from China through Central Asia and Persia to the Mediterranean basin. The sea lanes linked lands from South China, through Southeast Asia, Ceylon, and India, to Persia and East Africa. One sea lane may have enabled Malayan mariner-merchants to sail directly from the islands of Southeast Asia to Madagascar and ports in East Africa. From the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and the East African ports, it was a simple matter to gain access to the Mediterranean basin.[28] The volume of trade conducted over the silk roads in classical times was not impressive by the standards of later ages. By the standards of earlier eras, however, it was quite large, though

[27] See Jean W. Sedlar, *India and the Greek World: A Study in the Transmission of Culture* (Totowa, N.J., 1980); and Mortimer Wheeler, *Flames over Persepolis, Turning-Point in History* (New York, 1968). See also Frank L. Holt, *Alexander the Great and Bactria: The Formation of a Greek Frontier in Central Asia* (Leiden, 1989).

[28] On the general patterns of trade during classical times, see Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*, 60–108; Simkin, *Traditional Trade of Asia*, 1–49; Manfred G. Raschke, "New Studies in Roman Commerce with the East," in H. Temporini and W. Haase, eds., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (Berlin, 1978), 2: 9: 2, 604–1361; Ying-shih Yü, *Trade and Expansion in Han China: A Study in the Structure of Sino-Barbarian Economic Relations* (Berkeley, Calif., 1967); and Vimala Begley and Richard Daniel De Puma, eds., *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade* (Madison, Wis., 1991). On the terrestrial and maritime routes of the silk roads, see Wang, *Nanhai Trade*; Lionel Casson, ed., *The "Periplus Maris Erythraei"* (Princeton, N.J., 1989); and J. Innes Miller, *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire, 29 B.C. to A.D. 641* (Oxford, 1969).

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precision about its volume is impossible. To mention the most important commodities, it involved silk from China, spices and gems from Southeast Asia and India, horses and jade from Central Asia, aromatics from Arabia, and manufactured, value-added products and bullion from the Mediterranean basin.

Apart from its volume, trade over the silk roads during classical times was important for at least four reasons. In the first place, it had enormous significance for elites in lands participating in cross-cultural trade. Central Asian horses were crucial to Chinese military forces, and Chinese silks became essential apparel for fashionable women in Rome. Furthermore, political elites benefited from trade by controlling it and taxing it. In the second place, traffic over the trade routes facilitated the spread of religious and cultural traditions. The early diffusions of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Christianity—not to mention the explosive expansion of Manichaeism—were processes that took excellent advantage of the trade routes of the classical era.[29]

In the third place, trade routes served not only as commercial and cultural highways but also as avenues for the dissemination of pathogens, which in turn caused destructive epidemics of disease. During the second and third centuries C.E., epidemic diseases reduced the populations of China and the Mediterranean basin by about 25 percent and quite likely plagued other lands as well. This demographic decline aggravated existing political and economic problems, thus weakening the classical empires themselves, while also undermining the economic activity that supported long-distance trade.[30] Finally, long-distance trade strengthened nomadic peoples of Central Asia to the point that they posed a threat to settled societies throughout Eurasia. Nomadic peoples transported many of the commodities that traveled by caravan over the silk roads of Central Asia, and they prospered accordingly. They not only profited from the carriage and protection services that they provided but also gained access to tools, weapons, and technologies that strengthened them militarily. Indeed, beginning about the third century C.E., nomadic peoples toppled states in much of settled, agricultural Eurasia.[31] Thus, while long-distance trade helped in the establishment and maintenance of the classical empires, it also led to their decline and dissolution as well.

The collapse of the Han and Roman empires brought this age of classical civilizations to an end. They had served as the political and economic anchors of long-distance trade and exchange networks across Eurasia, and there were no immediate successors to provide police services and maintain the stability that favored long-distance trade. The Byzantine and Sassanid empires survived the

[29] See Bentley, *Old World Encounters*, 29–66; Sedlar, *India and the Greek World*; James Heitzman, *The Origin and Spread of Buddhist Monastic Institutions in South Asia, 500 B.C.–300 A.D.* (Philadelphia, 1980); Heitzman, "Early Buddhism, Trade and Empire," in Kenneth A. R. Kennedy and Gregory L. Possehl, eds., *Studies in the Archaeology and Palaeoanthropology of South Asia* (New Delhi, 1984), 121–37; E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1959–72); and Samuel N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, 2d edn. (Tübingen, 1992).

[30] See McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples*, 106–47. For the populations of China and Europe, see McEvedy and Jones, *Atlas of World Population History*, 18–39, 166–75.

[31] For an intriguing analysis showing how Chinese wealth strengthened nomadic peoples, see Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989). See also Barry Cunliffe, *Greeks, Romans and Barbarians: Spheres of Interaction* (New York, 1988); Patrick J. Geary, *Before France and Germany: The Creation and Transformation of the Merovingian World* (New York, 1988); and the classic work of Frederick J. Teggart, *Rome and China: A Study of Correlations in Historical Events* (Berkeley, Calif., 1939).

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collapse of the classical world, and, despite their wars, a good deal of trade passed between the two states. Beyond Byzantium and Persia, however, the disappearance of the classical empires brought a temporary end to large-scale political organization. Long-distance trade became a riskier proposition than during earlier centuries, and demographic losses and shrinking economies also contributed to the decline of the silk roads trading network. During the two centuries following the fall of the Han and Roman empires, cross-cultural interaction did not entirely disappear, but it became much less prominent than during the classical era.

Beginning in the late sixth century C.E., there was a revival of cross-cultural interaction. The result was a fourth era of global history, which for lack of a better term I call the post-classical age, extending from about 500 to 1000 C.E. As in the age of classical civilizations, cross-cultural interaction during the post-classical era depended on political stability and economic stimulus provided by well-organized and wealthy states. In post-classical times, the political and economic foundations of cross-cultural interaction were the Tang empire in China, the Abbasid empire in Southwest Asia, and the Byzantine empire in the eastern Mediterranean basin. All three states maintained order over large territories, and they also generated powerful economies. As a result, the three empires served as political and economic anchors of the post-classical world order.

In several ways, cross-cultural interaction brought the various regions of the post-classical world into communication with each other. One process sponsoring cross-cultural interaction was the round of imperial expansion that led to the establishment of the Tang and Abbasid states. Tang expansion engaged Chinese in encounters most notably with Southeast Asian and Central Asian peoples, with political, economic, and cultural results for all parties concerned.[32] Meanwhile, the Abbasid state represented the early expansion of Islam beyond its Arabian homeland and the engagement of Islam with older cultural traditions. The Byzantine state was not the result of a new imperial creation so much as the continuation of the classical Roman empire, but the political realities of empire forced it, too, into interaction with other regions, particularly with the Abbasid realm and the northern lands of Russia and Scandinavia. Beyond the Tang, Abbasid, and Byzantine experiences, imperial expansion occasioned processes of cross-cultural interaction in other lands during the post-classical era. The Carolingian empire brought Christian Mediterranean society into confrontation with that of Germanic Northern Europe, while the Tibetan empire mounted a temporary but sharp challenge to Tang China.

As in the classical era, trade worked alongside imperial expansion to encourage cross-cultural interaction during post-classical times. Political stability provided by the Tang, Abbasid, and Byzantine states encouraged merchants to revive the trading network of the silk roads. Caravan trade once again crossed Central Asia between China and the Mediterranean basin, while maritime trade linked the regions of the Indian Ocean basin. In some ways, then, long-distance commerce in post-classical times depended on a reconstitution of the ancient silk roads trading network.[33]

[32] See the volumes of Edward H. Schafer cited earlier: *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* and *The Vermilion Bird*.

[33] On long-distance trade in this era, see Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*, 90–108;

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In several respects, however, patterns of long-distance trade in post-classical times differed from those of the earlier era. In the first place, Western Europe participated in Eurasian trade in more indirect fashion than before. During the centuries from 500 to 1000 C.E., Western Europeans engaged in a limited amount of direct trade with the Byzantine realm and Islamic states in the Mediterranean basin. Recent studies have shown, however, that Western Europeans continued to participate in the larger commercial life of Eurasia by way of indirect trade routed through Scandinavia and Russia.[34]

In the second place, the volume of long-distance trade was much greater during the post-classical era than during the classical age. While it is impossible to calculate the value of that trade, it is clear that its volume dwarfed that which passed over the silk roads of classical times. Trade passing overland benefited from the organization of nomadic peoples, who provided transportation and protection services that facilitated commerce through Central Asia. Particularly important in this connection were the Uighurs, who from the mid-seventh to the mid-eighth century organized and controlled trade routes between China and the Byzantine empire. The Uighurs expropriated their fair share (at the very least) of the trade through Central Asia. Their services, however, helped to boost dramatically the volume of overland trade conducted during the post-classical era. In its turn, a high volume of long-distance trade signaled an increased tempo of cross-cultural interaction.[35] Meanwhile, maritime commerce in the Indian Ocean basin burgeoned during the post-classical era. Trade linking South China with Ceylon and India grew to such proportions that the kings of Srivijaya, based at Palembang in southeastern Sumatra, organized an island-based empire that for much of the time between the seventh and thirteenth centuries controlled commerce through Southeast Asian waters. Chinese mariners traveled as far west as Ceylon and India, while Indian, Persian, and Arabian merchants ventured throughout the Indian Ocean basin and beyond to China. During the eighth century, the Chinese port city of Guangzhou had a population estimated at 200,000, including large numbers of merchants from Southeast Asia, India, Persia, and Arabia. In the year 879, the Tang rebel Huang Chao sacked Guangzhou and reportedly slaughtered 120,000 foreigners during his brief reign of terror there.[36] Even more than in the case of overland trade, then, maritime commerce expanded to large proportions during the post-classical era.

In the third place, the regions of sub-Saharan East and West Africa became much

Simkin, *Traditional Trade of Asia*, 49–124; Wang, *Nanhai Trade*; Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean*; L. Rabinowitz, *Jewish Merchant Adventurers: A Study of the Radanites* (London, 1948); and the two volumes of Chaudhuri: *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean* and *Asia before Europe*.

[34] See especially Richard Hodges and David Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe: Archaeology and the Pirenne Thesis* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983).

[35] On the Uighurs, see Colin Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire according to the T'ang Dynastic Histories* (Columbia, S.C., 1972); Barfield, *Perilous Frontier*, 131–63; and V. Minorsky, "Tamim Ibn Bahr's Journey to the Uighurs," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 12 (1948): 275–305. On the silk trade during this era, see Liu Xinru, "Silks and Religions in Eurasia, c. A.D. 600–1200," *Journal of World History*, 6 (1995): 25–48.

[36] See George Coedès, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*, S. B. Cowing, trans. (Honolulu, 1968), 81–188; O. W. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce: A Study of the Origins of Srivijaya* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1967); Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean*; and Chaudhuri's two volumes: *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean* and *Asia before Europe*.

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more engaged in the larger trading world of the Eastern hemisphere during the post-classical age than in earlier centuries. The maritime commerce of the Indian Ocean basin increasingly drew the port cities of East Africa into the commercial life of the larger world. The coastal cities then became economic magnets that helped structure economic activity in the East African hinterlands.[37] Meanwhile, caravan trade across the Sahara desert became more frequent and regular than before, drawing sub-Saharan West Africa into increased commerce with North Africa and the Mediterranean basin, while also laying the groundwork for rulers to found powerful states.[38] The full implications of this long-distance trade involving East and West Africa became apparent only in a later age. That trade warrants mention here, however, because it was the commercial dynamic of the post-classical era that brought East and West Africa into the larger trading world. For purposes of this essay, it also bears pointing out that the prominence of East and West Africa in the larger trading world shows that a periodization based on cross-cultural interaction has application well beyond Europe and Asia in pre-modern times. While it does not have the capacity to integrate southern Africa, the Americas, or the Pacific islands into a periodization scheme before modern times, it does make it possible to establish a context for the periodization of almost all the Eastern hemisphere, including large regions of sub-Saharan Africa, as well as North Africa, Europe, and Asia.

Thus processes of imperial expansion and long-distance trade helped to bring the various regions of the Eastern hemisphere into sustained interaction with each other during the post-classical era. Alongside their political and economic consequences, two results of these interactions warrant mention: the diffusion of agricultural crops and the spread of religious and cultural traditions. The spread of early ripening rice from Southeast Asia to China underwrote increased agricultural production and demographic growth in East Asia. Even more important diffusions took place in the Islamic world, from India to Iberia and North Africa. As Islamic administrators, soldiers, and merchants traveled throughout this vast zone, they transported plants from one region to another. Most diffusions went from India to Southwest Asia, North Africa, Southern Europe, and the Mediterranean islands. The transplants included staple crops such as sugar cane, rice, and new varieties of wheat; vegetable crops such as spinach, artichokes, and eggplants; fruit crops such as oranges, lemons, limes, bananas, mangoes, and melons; and industrial crops such as cotton, indigo, and henna. These diffusions brought improved diets, increased agricultural production, and population growth in all the lands they touched.[39]

Meanwhile, the centuries from 500 to 1000 C.E. also witnessed a remarkable diffusion of religious and cultural traditions, including the extension of Confucian values to Southeast Asia; widespread conversion to Buddhism in Central Asia, China, Korea, Japan, and Southeast Asia; the establishment of Manichaean

[37] See John Middleton, *The World of the Swahili: An African Mercantile Civilization* (New Haven, Conn., 1992); Derek Nurse and Thomas Spear, *The Swahili: Reconstructing the History and Language of an African Society, 800–1500* (Philadelphia, 1985); and the rich archaeological study by H. Neville Chittick, *Kilwa: An Islamic Trading City on the East African Coast*, 2 vols. (Nairobi, 1974).

[38] On the caravan trade, see E. W. Bovill, *The Golden Trade of the Moors*, 2d edn. (London, 1968). On early West Africa in general, see Nehemia Levtzion, *Ancient Ghana and Mali* (London, 1973).

[39] See Shaffer, "Southernization"; and Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World.*

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communities in Central Asia and China; the establishment of Islam throughout North Africa and Southwest Asia, as well as its introduction to northern India and parts of Central Asia; the establishment of Nestorian Christian communities in Central Asia and China; the conversion of Russia and Eastern Europe to Orthodox Christianity; the conversion of Western and Northern Europe to Roman Catholic Christianity; and the spread of literacy and formal education throughout much of the Eastern hemisphere.[40] Thus, in an era sometimes labeled a "dark age," cross-cultural interactions fostered religious and cultural exchanges that shaped the history of the Eastern hemisphere well into modern times. These exchanges have worked enormous influence over the long term of history, and they deserve recognition when it comes to global periodization.

The post-classical era did not come to an end in the same way as the age of classical civilizations, as a casualty of epidemic disease, demographic catastrophe, and collapse of the states that maintained order on a large scale. Instead, it fell under the shadow of a fifth period of global history—an age of transregional nomadic empires, extending from about 1000 to 1500 C.E.—when cross-cultural interactions proceeded according to dynamics different from those of the post-classical era. Nomadic peoples established empires incorporating vast stretches of the Eurasian land mass, and they sponsored direct interactions between distant peoples. During the eleventh century, the Saljuq Turks built an empire extending from Central Asia into Southwest Asia and Anatolia. About the same time, the Khitan people established an empire in the steppelands north and west of China. During the twelfth century, the Jurchen, a semi-nomadic people from Manchuria, overcame the Khitan and incorporated northern China itself into their own empire. The most dramatic development of this period came during the thirteenth century, when the Mongols and their allies overran most of Eurasia and established the largest empire in human history, stretching from China, Manchuria, and Korea in the east to Russia and the Danube in the west. Even after the collapse of their Yuan dynasty in China (1368), the Mongols played a prominent role in Central Asia. Meanwhile, from the fourteenth until the early sixteenth century, Timurid conquerors built an impressive empire in Central Asia, India, Southwest Asia, and Anatolia. The migrations, conquests, and empire-building efforts of nomadic peoples guaranteed that cross-cultural interactions would take place in more intensive and systematic fashion than in earlier eras. Indeed, in the case of the Mongols, the establishment of a vast, transregional empire underwrote direct interaction between peoples from lands as distant as China and Europe.

It was significant that most of the nomads' empires had their bases in Central Asia, a region crucially important to overland trade between China and points west. As a result of the nomads' empires and their strong commercial interests, trade over the terrestrial silk roads became less risky than ever before in history, and its volume rose correspondingly. Trade over the sea lanes of the Indian Ocean also

[40] The processes promoting these religious and cultural developments varied considerably. For details, see Bentley, *Old World Encounters*, 67–110. See also Christopher I. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), 173–96; Victor H. Mair, *Painting and Performance: Chinese Picture Recitation and Its Indian Genesis* (Honolulu, 1988); and Hugh R. Clark, "Muslims and Hindus in the Culture and Morphology of Quanzhou from the Tenth to the Thirteenth Century," *Journal of World History*, 6 (1995): 49–74.

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expanded, and the Indian Ocean basin moved toward economic integration. Recognizing the well-articulated and systematic nature of long-distance trade during the age of nomadic empires, Janet L. Abu-Lughod recently postulated a distinctive "world system" in the period 1250 to 1350 C.E.[41]

Mass migration, imperial expansion, and long-distance trade sustained cross-cultural interaction during the age of the nomadic empires as in earlier eras. The principal difference was that, by the early fourteenth century, those interactions had become much more frequent, regular, intense, and systematic than during previous eras. Ambassadors and missionaries traveled the trade routes alongside soldiers and merchants. The age of the nomadic empires witnessed the establishment of diplomatic contacts and religious missions over distances not previously spanned. Islamic merchants helped to establish a footing for their faith at the extreme ends of the Eastern hemisphere, in Southeast Asia and West Africa. Meanwhile, conquerors established Islamic communities in northern India and Anatolia.[42]

So far as the conquest of distance is concerned, the most impressive cross-cultural interaction during the age of the nomadic empires involved the establishment of direct relations between Western Europeans and the Mongol rulers of China. Diplomatic initiatives stood behind some of the contacts between Europeans and Mongols: at various times, each side sought an alliance with the other against Muslims in Southwest Asia. Europeans also sought to convert the Mongols to Christianity and to establish a Christian community in China.[43] Whether their inspiration was diplomatic or evangelical, these efforts largely failed. The facts remain, however, that conditions were such that peoples could conceive and mount such enterprises during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and many people on both the Mongol and the European side invested considerable energy in diplomatic and evangelical efforts.

William H. McNeill has suggested that cross-cultural interactions dating from this period had repercussions throughout much of the Eastern hemisphere. He has argued more specifically that the emergence of a vigorous market economy in Song China and the diffusion of technological innovations from China stimulated economic growth throughout Eurasia. McNeill's view of things has wide-ranging implications: if he is right, the remarkable round of economic, technological, and commercial development that took place in Song China would help to explain the

[41] Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System, A.D. 1250–1350* (New York, 1989). A recent analysis offers useful insights on this age of nomadic empires: S. A. M. Adshead, *Central Asia in World History* (London, 1993). On long-distance trade during the age of nomadic empires, see Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*, 109–35; Simkin, *Traditional Trade of Asia*, 127–41; and Chaudhuri's two volumes: *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean* and *Asia before Europe*.

[42] On the expansion of Islam during this age of nomadic empires, see especially Nehemia Levtzion, ed., *Conversion to Islam* (New York, 1979); Ross E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta, a Muslim Traveller of the 14th Century* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989); S. M. Ikram, *Muslim Civilization in India*, Ainslie T. Embree, ed. (New York, 1964); Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* (Oxford, 1964); Speros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971); and Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, J. Jones-Williams, trans. (New York, 1968).

[43] On relations between Europeans and the Mongols, see especially Jean Richard, *La papauté et les missions d'orient au moyen âge (XIII^{e}–XV^{e})* (Rome, 1977); Igor de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (Stanford, Calif., 1971); and Morris Rossabi, *Voyager from Xanadu: Rabban Sauma, First Eastern Emissary to the West* (New York, 1992).

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growth of trade throughout the Eastern hemisphere, the technological superiority that settled agricultural societies eventually gained over nomadic peoples, and the later emergence of Europe as a world power.[44] Thus cross-cultural interactions of the period 1000 to 1500 C.E. rank as processes of high significance for the history of the Eastern hemisphere and ultimately of the world as a whole.

As in the classical era, cross-cultural interactions not only served as a foundation for the age of nomadic empires but also helped bring it to an end. Frequent and regular trade over long distances facilitated the spread of diseases as well as commodities and religious faiths. The culprit during the age of nomadic empires was bubonic plague, which caused lethal epidemics in much of Eurasia and North Africa beginning about the mid-fourteenth century. Wherever it struck, bubonic plague disrupted economies and societies, and it wrecked the structures that supported long-distance trade, travel, and communication during the age of the nomadic empires. Between 1300 and 1400 C.E., the population of Europe declined about 25 percent, from an estimated 79 million to 60 million. Between 1200 and 1400, the population of China—devastated by Mongol conquests as well as bubonic plague—plunged from about 115 million to 75 million.[45] Cross-cultural interaction did not cease altogether, but during the second half of the fourteenth century it became less regular, intense, and systematic than during the previous 300 years. Once again, then, cross-cultural interaction had wide-ranging ramifications that influenced the lives of peoples throughout much of the Eastern hemisphere.

When the pace of cross-cultural interaction quickened again, it followed a set of dynamics different from those that operated during the age of the nomadic empires. By the early fifteenth century, Western Europeans had borrowed, invented, accumulated, and refined a technological complex that enabled them to become much more prominent than before on the world stage. Scholars have advanced differing explanations for European prominence: some attribute it in neo-Weberian fashion to the internal development of European energies, while others ascribe it in neo-Marxist fashion to European exploitation of other peoples.[46] In any case, partly as a result of their technological advantage, and partly with the unexpected aid of diseases that ravaged populations in the Americas and the Pacific islands, Western Europeans embarked on campaigns of expansion that vastly magnified their influence in the world.[47] These campaigns opened a sixth era of world history—the

[44] William H. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A.D. 1000* (Chicago, 1982), 24–62, esp. 50–62; and "*Rise of the West* after Twenty-Five Years." See also two works by E. L. Jones: *The European Miracle: Environments, Economies and Geopolitics in the History of Europe and Asia*, 2d edn. (Cambridge, 1987); and *Growth Recurring: Economic Change in World History* (Oxford, 1988).

[45] For the populations of Europe and China, see McEvedy and Jones, *Atlas of World Population History*, 18–39, 166–75. For studies of bubonic plague and its effects, see McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples*, 149–98; and Michael W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, N.J., 1977). Abu-Lughod identifies plague as the principal agent that destroyed the complex system of interregional trade that had developed during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: see *Before European Hegemony*, 170–75, 183, 352–73.

[46] Compare the analyses of Jones in *European Miracle* and *Growth Recurring* with those of Wallerstein, *Modern World-System*; and J. M. Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York, 1993).

[47] On the Europeans' technology, see Carlo Cipolla, *Guns, Sails and Empires: Technological Innovation and the Early Phases of European Expansion, 1400–1700* (New York, 1965); and Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 1988). On the

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modern age, extending from 1500 to the present, a period during which all the world's regions and peoples ultimately became engaged in sustained encounter with each other, thus a period that inaugurated a genuinely global epoch of world history.

CROSS-CULTURAL INTERACTION must figure prominently as a criterion in any effort to establish a periodization of world history in modern times. Indeed, this point is clear enough that there is no need to belabor it. Cross-cultural interactions in modern times have taken many forms, and they lend themselves to analysis from several different angles. Some of the most dramatic results of modern cross-cultural interactions have arisen from the transportation of plants, animals, humans, and microorganisms across biological boundary lines. The demographic and ecological results of the "Columbian exchange," for example, have influenced the lives of all peoples on the planet.[48] Alongside biological exchanges, processes of cross-cultural interaction have brought political, social, and economic consequences. Europeans' military and transportation technologies progressively strengthened their hand with respect to the other peoples they encountered, and their technological advantages help to explain their prominence in modern times.[49] Interactions between different peoples have also had tremendous social and cultural repercussions in modern times, as the development and expression of ethnic identities have faithfully reflected their larger intercultural context.[50] Indeed, from almost every conceivable point of view, cross-cultural interactions have profoundly influenced the experiences of the global human community in modern times. Allowing for the usefulness of sub-periods—early modern, industrial, new imperial, contemporary, postmodern, and the like—the modern era as a whole stands out as one distinct from earlier epochs because of the intensity and systematic nature of the cross-cultural interactions that have driven it.

In the modern world as in earlier periods of history, developments internal to individual societies have helped to shape the experiences of the world's peoples. Yet throughout history, cross-cultural interactions also have influenced lives and

role of diseases in abetting European expansion, see McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples*, 199–234; and Crosby's two volumes: *Columbian Exchange* and *Ecological Imperialism*.

[48] The best guides to large-scale processes of biological exchange are Crosby's two volumes: *Columbian Exchange* and *Ecological Imperialism*.

[49] For only a few relevant works, see Wallerstein, *Modern World-System*; Wolf, *Europe and the People without History*; and two volumes of Daniel R. Headrick: *Tentacles of Progress* and *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1981).

[50] To cite only a few especially rich items from a voluminous literature, see Helms, *Ulysses' Sail*; Stuart B. Schwartz, ed., *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between European and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, 1994); Michael Adas, *Prophets of Rebellion: Millenarian Protest Movements against the European Colonial Order* (1979; New York, 1987); John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1680* (New York, 1992); James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York, 1981); Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Grat Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge, 1991); Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land—Marquesas, 1774–1880* (Honolulu, 1980); David Hanlon, *Upon a Stone Altar: A History of the Island of Pohnpei to 1890* (Honolulu, 1988); and David A. Chappell, "Frontiers and Ethnogenesis," *Journal of World History*, 4 (1993): 267–75.

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fortunes across the boundary lines of societies and cultural regions. Indeed, they have often influenced ostensibly internal developments. As historians view the past from broad, comparative, and global perspectives, they will need to bear in mind the roles of cross-cultural interactions in shaping the world's common history.

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AHR Forum
The Problem of Interactions in World History

PATRICK MANNING

JERRY BENTLEY, in proposing a periodization of world history, offers us more than a set of periods. He defends a specific criterion for evaluating world-historical change, develops his set of periods out of that criterion, and utilizes the periods to suggest long-term interpretations of history.

His criterion focuses on cross-cultural interaction. More precisely, he identifies three main kinds of processes (mass migration, empire building, and long-distance trade) as having had "significant repercussions across the boundary lines of societies and cultural regions." In applying his criterion to develop a periodization, Bentley relies on documented changes in the scale and character of these three "kinds of processes" to identify six major periods in the history of the Afro-Eurasian land mass.[1] Then, within the framework of this periodization, he offers a narrative of periodic expansion in scale and transformation in character of cross-cultural interactions. The latter point is worthy of underscoring: if Bentley's interpretation focused mainly on expansions in the scale of cross-cultural contacts, we would have yet another narrative of progress. Instead, he sidesteps a linear interpretation of world history by emphasizing successive changes in the character of cross-cultural interactions along with their growing magnitude.[2]

I find Bentley's presentation to be elegant and comprehensive, and I am inclined to accept cross-cultural interaction as an appropriate criterion for periodizing world history. But the implications of Bentley's scheme may be broader than they first appear.[3] For if one accepts cross-cultural interaction as the criterion for periodization in world history, one tends at the same time to accept such interactions as the main subject matter of world history. This big step requires some discussion.

[1] Jerry Bentley, "Cross-Cultural Interaction and Periodization in World History," *AHR*, 101 (June 1996): 752, 756. Bentley restricts his argument to contiguous regions of Afro-Eurasia. As I will note below, certain alternative perspectives would call for the inclusion of the Americas in interpretations of world history even before 1492.

[2] Bentley defines his periods in large measure by the emergence of new technologies and by successive expansions in the scale of commerce, population, and administrative units. In addition, however, he portrays each period as having distinct character. Thus he emphasizes the spread of literacy in the period of early complex societies and the exchange of artistic traditions in the classical era. He also associates cyclical change with his periods, as with the spread of epidemic disease in the wake of population growth and migration.

[3] In calling it his scheme, I mean that it represents his enunciation of an approach shared implicitly among contemporary world historians. William H. McNeill may be considered to have laid groundwork for this scheme with his notion of periodic closure of a global ecumene. McNeill, *The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community* (Chicago, 1963).

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Bentley contrasts his scheme of periodization with those based on stages of social development or cycles of expansion and contraction. Schemes of evolutionary stages and of civilizational rise and fall have indeed structured much interpretation of world history.[4] Perhaps less centrally but still significantly, various other criteria have played roles in the long-run interpretation of history: these include the diffusion of technical advance, the experience of chosen peoples, the interaction and successive dominance of great powers, the development of "culture areas," the inevitability of progress, and the progress of human freedom.[5]

All of these criteria for evaluating world history entail some degree of interaction. But Bentley offers us a distinct and selective topical focus for world history. He focuses on the interaction itself, while in the other approaches interaction is placed at the service of some other purpose, often teleological. Just as urban history does not aspire to the study of everything about cities, world history does not aspire to the study of everything about the world: to try to study everything at once is far beyond our mortal powers of comprehension. Nor is world history a totalizing analysis centered on ethereal generalizations at the planetary level: such a history would effectively deny the individual any opportunity to participate in world history. While it is probably too early in the development of the field to attempt an authoritative characterization of its focus, one can suggest for a start that world history emphasizes the interaction of the pieces (be they community, societal, or continental) in human history and that it seeks to assess the experience of the whole of humanity through study of those interactions.

Bentley's clear and direct approach to periodization includes, of necessity, some simplification—streamlining his presentation at the cost of setting aside some issues worthy of discussion. First, Bentley documents his periodization primarily with results of recent research. One can only applaud the volume and the diversity of new research, as well as Bentley's mastery of it. Still, the work of periodization relies not only on new evidence but also on the conceptual frameworks within which

[4] Visions of evolutionary stages in history include those elucidated by Karl Marx, the marquis de Condorcet, G. W. F. Hegel, and others. Oswald Spengler and Arnold J. Toynbee contributed significantly to twentieth-century views of civilizational rise and fall. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (1848; Oxford, 1992); Marie Jean Antoine Nicolas Caristat, Marquis de Condorcet, *Tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain* (1796; Paris, 1900); G. W. F. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History* (London, 1968); Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, Charles Francis Atkinson, trans., 2 vols. (London, 1926–28); Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, 12 vols. (London, 1934–61).

[5] This is but a partial list of available interpretive frameworks in world history. Technologically determined interpretations of world history remain influential, especially for long-term change; histories of chosen peoples (Romans, Jews, Chinese, and others) have contributed to the interpretation of world history. Writers from Leopold von Ranke to Paul Kennedy have interpreted the world through the interaction of great powers. Anthropologists and some historians have utilized "culture areas" as an alternative to civilizations in exploring world history. The interpretation of world history in terms of the progress of one era over the preceding, while derisively labeled "Whig history," remains widely practiced. In a more specialized view of progress, Hegel in the nineteenth century and Francis Fukuyama in more recent times have emphasized the progress of human freedom in history. Leopold von Ranke, "The Great Powers" (1833); Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* (New York, 1987); Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (New York, 1951); Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*; Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York, 1992).

For a defense of an expanded world-system paradigm that conveniently reviews a wide range of historical frameworks, see Andre Gunder Frank and Barry K. Gills, eds., *The World System: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?* (London, 1993).

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evidence is collected. Thus much of my commentary below focuses on conceptual frameworks in world history, their continuities and changes. In another simplification, Bentley abbreviates discussion of the modern period, assuming that the significance of cross-cultural interaction in recent times is evident.[6] Some writers, however—whose vision of global connections goes no further than diffusion and dominance—have found it possible to write interpretations of world history in the modern period that neglect or minimize interaction.[7] In discussing Bentley's periodization, I wish therefore to consider outlook as well as evidence and the modern era as well as earlier times.

Having indicated my largely favorable response to Bentley's interpretive framework, I wish nonetheless to pose three major questions. Two address the meaning of the framework itself, and the third addresses its application. These are questions of detail that, under certain circumstances, become fundamental: What is meant by "interaction"? What is meant by "cross-cultural"? What changes does this framework imply for the interpretation of world history?

HISTORIANS COMMONLY DESCRIBE the movement of cultural influences from one place to another through the use of such terms as "diffusion" and "dominance." When a language or system of government "diffuses," it keeps the same character in the new place and perhaps displaces its predecessor. When an empire or a technology comes to "dominate" a new area, it imposes its patterns to the detriment of those preceding. With such terms, scholars convey specific meanings for the general notion of interaction in history.

More broadly, interaction involves phenomena ranging from the collision of two billiard balls (where everything about them remains unchanged except their direction) to the development of a new life out of the linkage of sperm and egg (where interpenetration replaces collision and where two bodies unite to form another body). The notions of diffusion and dominance, as types of interaction that might best be placed between these poles, clearly fall short of exhausting the possibilities in interaction.

Bentley has focused on recent research revealing cross-cultural interaction: he gives particular emphasis to results established in the past decade, notably on the early importance of trade.[8] While the accomplishments in recent research are indeed formidable, I would rather add a step to the analysis and explore the framework in which the new results have been developed. That is, I would treat the term "interaction" as problematic and consider its changing conceptualization and application over time.

[6] As he puts it, "Legions of scholars have examined the effects of cross-cultural interactions in modern times." Bentley, "Cross-Cultural Interaction," 751.

[7] Rosenberg and Birdzell have assumed, in their widely cited interpretation of modern economic history, that there is no need to include interactions with areas beyond "the West" in their analysis. Paul Kennedy's study of great powers focuses on interactions among the powers, but he allows little role in his story for smaller or weaker polities. Nathan Rosenberg and L. E. Birdzell, Jr., *How the West Grew Rich: The Economic Transformation of the Industrial World* (New York, 1985); Kennedy, *Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*.

[8] Bentley, "Cross-Cultural Interaction," 753–56.

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What varieties of "cross-cultural interaction" have existed in history? To what degree do terms such as "diffusion" and "spread" and "dominance" capture the relevant range of cross-cultural interactions? How have historians and social scientists (such as sociologists, anthropologists, archaeologists, and linguists) conceptualized "interaction"?

Edward Gibbon and the marquis de Condorcet, writing at the height of the Enlightenment, each created a text that has remained influential in thinking about world history. Gibbon's ten volumes are elaborately nuanced, while Condorcet had time only to give a sketch of his broad vision, yet each made his mark. Gibbon remains an icon for the notion of civilizational rise and fall, as Condorcet remains an icon for the vision of stages in human progress. Both of their analyses assumed the existence of cross-cultural interaction, yet neither specified how it took place.[9]

As the Enlightenment's focus on classification came to be supplemented by the nineteenth century's elaboration of positivism, concerns with cause and effect came to the fore. Thus Karl Marx's evolutionary scheme of human progress differed from that of Condorcet in that it had a cause—changes in mode of production propelled by contradictions within the productive system—and effects radiating into social and cultural arenas. Herbert Spencer's vision of social change, while politically antithetical to that of Marx, shared some of the same analytical framework. In this world of cause and effect, the *diffusion* of influences from one center to another was the relevant mechanism of interaction, and the *dominance* of social classes and economic orders was a major focus of world history.[10] These were the intellectual environments in which historians lived and worked as the historical profession formalized its organization at the end of the nineteenth century.

As the era of World War I reinforced new doubts about the inevitability and the benefits of material and moral progress, Oswald Spengler articulated these doubts in historical context. Spengler, in *The Decline of the West*, perhaps the most sophisticated interpretation of world history to that time, railed against "Darwinists," by which he meant the positivistic thinkers who perceived a mechanical sort of evolution in world history. Spengler's organic metaphor was biographic and self-contained: the birth, maturation, and death of each major civilization over a thousand-year life span, with a focus on its achievements in high culture.[11] All the

[9] Gibbon's notion of decline and fall finds its reflection in the gloomy prognostications of Oswald Spengler and in the downswings at the end of Bentley's cycles; Condorcet's stages parallel the opening of new periods. Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 6 vols. (London, 1776–78); Condorcet, *Tableau historique*; Spengler, *Decline of the West*.

Andrew M. Watson, in one of the fine recent studies to which Bentley refers, uses botannical and Arabic text data to trace a wave of agricultural innovation in the early Islamic world. His analysis of agricultural change, however, focuses dominantly on diffusion as the mechanism of change, and his conclusion contextualizes his results through a vision of civilizational rise and fall similar to that of Gibbon. Arnold Pacey's history of technology, in contrast, gives explicit consideration to varying mechanisms of transfer and innovation in technology. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World: The Diffusion of Crops and Farming Techniques, 700–1100* (Cambridge, 1983); Pacey, *Technology in World Civilization: A Thousand-Year History* (Oxford, 1990).

[10] Marx and Engels, *Communist Manifesto*; Herbert Spencer, *The Evolution of Society* (selections from *Principles of Sociology* [London, 1876]), Robert L. Carneiro, ed. (Chicago, 1967).

[11] Spengler, *Decline of the West*. Probably Herbert Spencer was among those he targeted; Spencer's notion of evolution, however, was Lamarckian not Darwinian. It may be that Spengler drew on the thinking of Emile Durkheim in elaborating his organic metaphor. Durkheim, in his studies of suicide,

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interactions of interest took place within each civilizational organism, rather than from one to another.

Arnold Toynbee, whose twelve-volume *Study of History* parallels that of Spengler in some ways, instead adopted a sociological approach on the organizational and military strength of civilizations. His "encounters" of civilizations emphasized the diffusion of influences and the dominance of some civilizations over others.[12]

World history has followed the path of Toynbee more closely than that of Spengler. William McNeill, whose 1963 *Rise of the West* is arguably the beginning of systematic academic study of world history, presented in that volume a narrative of civilizational rise and fall and periodic connection that focuses more on statecraft than on high culture and avoids explicit reliance on an organic metaphor.[13] McNeill's narrative showed a far more complex and balanced set of interactions among civilizations than his predecessors, but the mechanism of interaction remained the same: diffusion.

From the mid-twentieth century, there arose at least four new or revived frameworks for understanding interaction: Weberian sociology, systems analysis, Marxian analysis, and postmodernist thinking. The flowering of Weberian and Parsonian sociology from the 1950s brought an analytical focus on states, bureaucracies, and economic relations.[14] The revival of academic Marxism in the 1960s brought an interdisciplinary concentration on political economy.[15] Meanwhile, John von Neumann and Ludwig von Bertalanffy led in publicizing a newly explicit systems analysis. This approach, while still deterministic, emphasized complex interactions and feedback among numerous variables, rather than cause and effect.[16] It set individual variables in the context of the whole system in which they operated: it explicitly contrasted diffusion with other types of interaction.

developed organic metaphors for human society. Durkheim, *Suicide: A Study in Sociology* (1897; New York, 1966).

[12] Toynbee, *Study of History*. Toynbee treated civilization as a "unit of analysis" rather than as an organism. His sections on "encounters" include "contacts between civilizations in space (encounters between contemporaries)" and "contacts between civilizations in time (Renaissances)," respectively Part IX (vol. 8, 88–629) and Part X (vol. 9, 1–166) of his study.

[13] William H. McNeill, for instance, developed his broad interpretation of world history after having spent some years championing the teaching of Western Civilization. If McNeill's analysis is patterned somewhat after that of Toynbee, his title echoes that of Spengler. For a work similar to that of McNeill but that did not have such an echo among historians, see Jacques Pirenne, *The Tides of History*, Lavett Edwards, trans., 2 vols. (New York, 1962), first published as *Les grands courants de l'histoire universelle* (Brussels, 1948).

[14] Positivistic sociology includes the work of Weber, which became widely influential after World War II (following translation and publication of new works), and that of Talcott Parsons; a focus on bureaucratization and on modernization flowed from this framework. Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, eds., 3 vols. (New York, 1968), trans. of Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Johannes Winckelmann, ed., expanded 4th edn. (Tübingen, 1956); Talcott Parsons and Neil J. Smelser, *Economy and Society: A Study in the Integration of Economic and Social Theory* (Glencoe, Ill., 1956).

[15] As the publication of Weber's full study on economy and society led to a burst of work drawing on his framework in the 1960s, so also did the publication of Karl Marx's notes on the method of political economy combine with the current political climate to bring a burst of new studies in political economy. Karl Marx, *The Grundrisse*, David McLellan, ed. and trans. (New York, 1971).

[16] John von Neumann, *The Computer and the Brain* (New Haven, Conn., 1959); Ludwig von Bertalanffy, *Robots, Men and Minds: Psychology in the Modern World* (New York, 1967). Quantitative work arose in social and economic history in the 1950s, leading to study of more variables in a positivistic and deterministic fashion.

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These frameworks, distinct yet overlapping, have each brought implications for the study of world history. Thus Immanuel Wallerstein's *Modern World-System* relies on his synthesis of Weberian bureaucratic analysis, Marxian class analysis, Braudelian concern with the *longue durée*, and the notion of a world system.[17] Another rising subfield within world history, focusing on biological and environmental change, came to rely on the insights of systems analysis.[18] The interdisciplinary nature of Weberian and Marxian analysis, and the emphasis on feedback in systems analysis, led logically to more complex lists of interactions in world history and to more complex maps of cause and effect.

The emergence of postmodernist philosophy brought a new challenge to the diffusionist model of cultural interactions. This outlook, arising almost contemporaneously in a series of fields (psychoanalysis, history, literary theory, and gender studies), brought a fundamental change in analytic orientation.[19] Postmodernism adopted the logic of systems and suspended that of cause and effect. It focused on interactions of various sorts but declined to divide variables into the independent and the dependent: it emphasized correlation of changes but downplayed determinism. The historical applications of postmodernist thinking have concentrated in national and local studies of history, rather than in world history.[20]

The field of world history is both advanced and backward in its handling of interaction. The simple fact of placing the various nations, civilizations, cultures, and regions of the world into a single framework addresses one of the most important prejudices limiting the understanding of our common human existence. Yet world history practitioners continue to use simplistic conceptions of interaction and continue to be insufficiently self-conscious in using them. German scholars of the nineteenth century, in publishing compendia on world history, assembled chapters on distinct national and civilizational histories, with no attempt to unify them.[21] Then Leopold von Ranke, Oswald Spengler, and H. G. Wells began the work of synthesis, developing single-author interpretations of civilizations in world

[17] Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1974). Subsequent volumes were published as: *The Modern World-System, II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600–1750* (New York, 1980); and *The Modern World-System, III: The Second Era of Great Expansion of the Capitalist World-Economy, 1730–1840s* (New York, 1989). Bentley's citations include echoes of Wallerstein's framework applied to earlier times: for instance, Philip L. Kohl, "The Use and Abuse of World Systems Theory: The Case of the 'Pristine' West Asian State," in C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, ed., *Archaeological Thought in America* (Cambridge, 1989), 218–40.

[18] Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (Cambridge, 1986); see also William H. McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (Garden City, N.Y., 1976).

[19] For a range of interpretive statements on postmodernism, see E. Ann Kaplan, ed., *Postmodernism and Its Discontents: Theories, Practices* (London, 1988); Agnes Heller and Ferenc Feher, *The Postmodern Political Condition* (New York, 1988); David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford, 1989); and Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, N.C., 1991).

[20] For initial work in this vein, see Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, A. M. Sheridan Smith, trans. (New York, 1973); for more recent work drawing on the same tradition, see Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992); both of these studies focus on France.

[21] German compendia on world history began in the early nineteenth century, reached a peak late in that century, and continued into the twentieth century. See, for instance, Heinrich Leo, *Lehrbuch der Universalgeschichte*, 6 vols. (Halle, 1835–44); Wilhelm Oncken, ed., *Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen*, 32 vols. in 4 series (Berlin, 1879–90).

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history.[22] The civilization paradigm, with its focus on dominance, rise and fall, and diffusion, has remained dominant in world history until this day. Bentley's proposal for a *periodization* based on cross-cultural interaction raises the possibility of a *paradigm* based on cross-cultural interaction. Such a paradigm would set the history of civilizations into some more general context.

In a word, it is not sufficient to identify "interactions" in world history—one must also identify the type and character of interactions. Historians, in adopting such terms as "interaction" and "diffusion," have set them into distinct and competing analytical and philosophical systems, and thus their meanings become quite variable. For guidance in characterizing interactions in the past, world historians need to be aware of the development of world-historical debate and its relationship to broader trends in analytical modeling, from romanticism and positivism through systems analysis to postmodernism.[23]

THE CULTURAL ASPECT of cross-cultural interaction is problematic to the same degree as the notion of interaction. Bentley, in using the adjective "cultural" rather than the noun "culture," has avoided one of the pitfalls in recent debate on cultural analysis: do "cultures" exist as bounded entities? If we say that world history includes the study of "other cultures," are we assuming a clear frontier between "us" and "them"? Are interactions across cultural boundaries different from those within cultural limits?

Historians have developed their idea of "cultures" and "societies" over the past century, in relatively common interchange with sociologists.[24] During the same century, anthropologists have carried on a somewhat different discourse about the notions of "culture" and "society." In crude terms, the sociologists analyzed the "nations" and the anthropologists analyzed the "tribes." As long as world history retained its focus on great civilizations and declined to study the "tribes," historians could feel safe in ignoring the anthropological literature on cultural change and cultural interaction. But a growing concern with broad coverage and with interaction led historians to greater interest in those previously classified in "tribes" and thereby to a hesitant encounter with anthropology.

Anthropology, meanwhile, went through a remarkable set of conceptual shifts. Paradigms labeled as evolutionism, historicalism, diffusionism, functionalism, and

[22] Leopold von Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, 8 vols. (1879–87); Spengler, *Decline of the West*; H. G. Wells, *The Outline of History: Being a Plain History of Life and Mankind* (London, 1920).

[23] The term "diffusion" seems to have entered the humanistic lexicon in the wake of Enlightenment-era scientific discoveries, and it has been used within several frameworks since. (Alfred Crosby, among others, has emphasized the benefits of the term "connections" in describing interaction: the term invokes a range of types of interaction without being either explicit or limiting.) Organic metaphors and evolutionary schemes became popular from the time of Spencer to that of Spengler. Mechanical metaphors then came to the fore, in the wake of great advances in physics in the early twentieth century. A return to an interest in evolutionary models has become evident within recent social science, perhaps in a reflection of the great advances in microbiology. Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988); William H. Durham, *Coevolution: Genes, Culture, and Human Diversity* (Stanford, Calif., 1991).

[24] Collective terms for humans vary with the collectivity and with the approach of the analyst. Thus the meanings of the terms "nation," "race," "society," "commonwealth," "empire," and "culture" change with time and circumstance.

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configurationalism succeeded each other from the 1870s through the 1950s. As the theories of anthropologists changed, so, too, did their definitions of culture: Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, in a 1952 article, counted over 160 anthropological definitions of culture.[25]

The evolutionist school, following on the work of L. H. Morgan, accepted a broad succession of social organization from primitive to savage societies to civilization. Among the historicalist school, the American Clark Wissler developed the notion of "culture areas," which were determined through mapping cultural "traits" or "elements" at a given time. The concept of culture areas survived and entered the historical literature, but the concept of discrete "traits" came under severe anthropological critique in the 1930s, largely on the grounds that a specific cultural manifestation should not be abstracted from its context.[26] Nevertheless, George Peter Murdock gathered a huge amount of ethnographic data, essentially in the form of putative culture traits, into his Human Relations Area Files, where they have served as data for a number of global historical studies.[27] Meanwhile, diffusionists focused on the occasional invention of major social advances, functionalists emphasized the integrity of each society, and configurationists sought to synthesize the various frameworks.

From the 1960s, the decolonization of the modern world led to the decolonization of anthropology. Perhaps more than any other field of study, anthropology has undergone a self-conscious reevaluation of its methods, assumptions, theories, and practices, in reaction to the realization that the field has been as much a tool of colonial administration as a tool of scholarly inquiry.[28] In one contribution to the debate, Adam Kuper has shown the dramatic transformations in kinship theory over the past century, leading to the virtual abandonment of that field of study by anthropologists.[29] This and other chapters in the reevaluation of anthropology, coming in the era of systems analysis and postmodernism, led to devastating critiques of the earlier models and terminology for cultural contact. World historians naively continue to use the old models with impunity.[30]

World historians have gone little further in exploring anthropology than utilizing

[25] Felix M. Keesing, *Cultural Anthropology: The Science of Custom* (New York, 1958); A. L. Kroeber and C. Kluckhohn, "Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions," *Peabody Museum Papers*, 47, 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), as cited in Keesing, 18.

[26] Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture* (New York, 1923). Among the leading world historians, Philip D. Curtin has been most consistent in his references to "culture areas." See, for instance, Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge, 1984), x.

[27] George Peter Murdock, *Human Relations Area Files: Outline of Cultural Materials* (New Haven, Conn., 1950). Among the major studies that have relied heavily on these data are Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); and Frederic L. Pryor, *The Origins of the Economy: A Comparative Study of Distribution in Primitive and Peasant Economies* (New York, 1977).

[28] The founding of journals such as *Critical Anthropology* and *Dialectical Anthropology* thus meant not only the establishment of Marxist factions among anthropologists but also the beginnings of a transformation of the discipline as a whole.

[29] Adam Kuper, *The Invention of Primitive Society: Transformations of an Illusion* (London, 1988). For an analogous study linking anthropological theory to academic social history, see Henrika Kuklick, *The Savage Within: The Social History of British Anthropology, 1885–1945* (Cambridge, 1991).

[30] One well-known counter-example, in which historians joined with anthropologists to overturn a narrow and biased interpretation, is the rejection of C. G. Seligman's "Hamitic hypothesis," according to which all the history of eastern Africa could be interpreted through the percolation, over the millennia, of white racial influences from the north. Seligman, *Races of Africa* (London, 1936); Joseph

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empirical results of anthropological studies and giving warm citations to the work of Clifford Geertz and Eric Wolf. Geertz's famous description of a Balinese cockfight and the police inquiry in its aftermath served as a marker of the complexity and contingency of life and of the limits on theorizing.[31] But it did not lead world historians to a thorough exploration of the anthropological literature on culture and cultural change. Eric Wolf, in *Europe and the People without History*, provides an anthropologist's history of the incorporation of peripheral regions into the political economy of the modern world; remarkably for an anthropologist, however, he does not address cultural change.[32]

As the debate has developed, postmodern cultural theorists have declined to use "culture" in the noun form. They do not speak of a culture as an identifiable social unit, nor do they speak of artifacts as pieces of culture. By the same logic, they are critical of the notion of cultural boundaries. They rely instead on adjectival forms, speaking of process rather than product: they analyze cultural production and cultural change rather than cultures or cultural traits. Thus Johannes Fabian, in analyzing the rise of the Shaba Swahili language in twentieth-century Zaire, focuses not on the *subject* of the language but on the *debate* over what was to be the vehicular language of Shaba; he challenges the notion that Swahili "diffused" to Shaba from some point in East or Central Africa, and he asserts that the language "emerged" as a range of speech patterns rather than descending from a single ancestral language.[33]

This debate on how to conceptualize culture is not over; indeed, it has hardly begun among historians. As a result, I think we may safely presume that for some time to come, historians will have to acknowledge the competition of two widely different conceptions of culture. In one, a "culture" is virtually a synonym for a "society" and consists of discrete elements. In the other, "cultural production" results from the interaction of individuals and groups and their contradictory ideas; in this approach, cultural change is the rule rather than the exception. Historians speaking of "cultural interaction" need to know that they cannot get far without acknowledging the contested and problematic nature of the term. Indeed, one may hope that by involving themselves in the study and conceptualization of cross-cultural interactions, historians will be able not only to survive the debate but also contribute significantly to its clarification.[34]

Ki-Zerbo, "General Introduction," in Ki-Zerbo, *et al.*, eds., *General History of Africa*, Vol. 1: *Methodology and African Prehistory* (Berkeley, Calif., 1981), 21.

[31] Clifford Geertz, "The Balinese Cockfight," in Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York, 1973).

[32] Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982).

[33] Johannes Fabian, *Language and Colonial Power: The Appropriation of Swahili in the Former Belgian Congo, 1880–1938* (Cambridge, 1986).

[34] On a somewhat analogous point, one may note that gender has yet to become a major conceptual issue in world history. A trend toward greater empirical inclusion of women in the world-historical narrative is evident, but the debates in feminist theory, linked to other developments in postmodernist thinking, have yet to address history at the global level.

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ASSUMING THAT ONE ACCEPTS the presumptions of Bentley's analysis and the resultant periodization, what are the interpretive implications of these choices? The spans of time that Bentley proposes as his periods are not unfamiliar, and the terms he uses to characterize them carry a distinctly familiar ring.[35] Is this, then, a new set of labels for the same old periods developed for civilizational rise and fall or evolutionary stages? I think not. Bentley's approach to periodization can take us beyond restatement of old interpretations. And, when adopting the tool of cross-cultural contact for making sense of our global past, I would suggest three techniques for sharpening and deploying it.

First, consider a wide range of interactions. That is, historians should allow the meaning of "cross-cultural interaction" to extend to a range of issues beyond mass migration, imperial rise and fall, and commerce. If we include the exchange of food crops, domestic animals, and other technology, as Bentley has suggested, we may either find a new periodization or an independent confirmation of an existing one. For instance, the early movement of sorghum from its region of domestication in the African savanna to India and beyond, along with the westward movement of such Southeast Asian crops as bananas, yams, and taro, suggests the existence of little-known historical dynamics and might imply alternative periodizations. The tale of the domestication of the camel serves in some ways to reinforce a periodization including classical and post-classical periods, yet in other ways it bridges those two periods.[36]

Similarly, we may trace exchanges of music, dress, and other elements of material and expressive culture. If the sounds of music are difficult to recover for ancient times, the instrumentation can be explored through pictorial, archaeological, and written records. In the social history of dress, Fernand Braudel's exploration of early modern dress reveals the possibilities of a search for stylistic interactions on a global scale.[37]

Further, we might also consider cross-cultural connections in political institutions and family structure. Jan Vansina, in a synthesis of a generation's intensive, collaborative research on the historical linguistics of the Bantu-speaking peoples of Africa, has reconstructed a narrative of four millennia of successive political transformations in the equatorial forest. Institutions of matrilinearity and patrilinearity were invented, exchanged, transformed, and sometimes rejected along with

[35] To recapitulate, Bentley's periods are:
1. 3500–2000 B.C.E.: Early complex societies
2. 2000–500 B.C.E.: Ancient civilizations
3. 500 B.C.E.–500 C.E.: Classical civilizations
4. 500–1000 C.E.: Post-classical age
5. 1000–1500 C.E.: Transregional nomadic empires
6. 1500 C.E.–present: Modern age

[36] Watson, *Agricultural Innovation*; Richard W. Bulliet, *The Camel and the Wheel* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975).

[37] Braudel is particularly skillful in his display of the influence of sixteenth-century Spanish fashion, but one could equally explore the periodization accompanying earlier interregional connections reinforced through the use of turbans as headgear or the adoption of Hellenistic garb. Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century*; Vol. 1: *The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible*, Sian Reynolds, trans. (New York, 1979), 311–25; see also Frank L. Holt, *Alexander the Great and Bactria: The Formation of a Greek Frontier in Central Asia* (Leiden, 1989).

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the changes in chiefdoms, age groupings, and religious associations.[38] The wealth of actual and potential results from historical linguistics suggests that, although the research is laborious, a great deal can be learned about past social evolution and social interaction through analysis of the remnants of the past in the languages of today.[39]

Second, be increasingly specific in identifying criteria and agents for cross-cultural contact. If trade was central to cross-cultural interaction, what dimension of trade was the locus of contact? Do we focus on merchants at the great marketplace at the terminus, on the transport workers by land and sea, or on the artisanal workers creating the product in workshop or mine? If the great bazaars of Samarkand and Damascus were the loci of transmission of new designs in tapestries, the ideas for the new designs may have occurred to weavers working in isolated villages. Merchants may have controlled the luxury goods and dominated contacts among the wealthy, but simple boatmen and teamsters may have been those who carried most of the seeds and cuttings or who passed on new techniques in saddling. The Tang monarchs could concentrate all the wealth and innovations of the world in their court, but they had to reach far and wide to get hold of the wealth, and they could never gain control of innovation itself. Overall, we may find that there have been different groupings of human agents for different types of linkages among societies. Some criteria for cultural interaction may highlight innovations in imperial capitals and civilizational heartlands; others may highlight innovations at the village level in steppes, forests, and across archipelagoes.[40]

Third, consider the changing character of cross-cultural interaction from period to period. We will need explanations of what brought continuity in cross-cultural interaction within periods and what brought the changes that ended each period and opened the next. Bentley emphasizes such changes in his period of nomadic domination and, to a lesser degree, in his emphasis on the development of cosmopolitan religious tradition in the classical era. In addition, we should be looking for changes in the character of the interaction as well as changes in the

[38] Jan Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests: Toward a History of Political Tradition in Equatorial Africa* (Madison, Wis., 1990). See also Christopher Ehret and Merrick Posnansky, eds., *The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982).

[39] Joseph Greenberg, in conducting field research in northern Nigeria that led him to a general classification of African languages, observed that the Hausa words for saddle and gun were borrowed ultimately from Arabic but that the Hausa had borrowed these terms (and presumably the items themselves) from their neighbors the Kanuri. An accumulation of such observations can contribute greatly to an understanding of world history. Greenberg went on in more recent work to classify the languages of Native Americans into three major groupings and to postulate the linkages of these groupings to major Eurasian language groups. Greenberg, "Linguistic Evidence for the Influence of the Kanuri on the Hausa," *Journal of African History*, 1, 2 (1964): 205–12; Joseph H. Greenberg and Merritt Ruhlen, "Linguistic Origins of Native Americans," *Scientific American* (November 1992): 94–99.

[40] Gills and Frank emphasize the contributions of artisans and miners, located far from the Mesopotamian heartland, to the wealth and coherence of Sumerian society; Bentley traces the spread of Buddhism through the agents of merchants but also notes the work of missionaries who accompanied merchants; while Liu Xinru emphasizes the breadth of the trade in silk as a religious artifact. Barry K. Gills and Andre Gunder Frank, "World System Cycles, Crises, and Hegemonic Shifts, 1700 BC to 1700 AD," in Frank and Gills, *World System*, 152–57; Jerry H. Bentley, *Old World Encounters: Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times* (New York, 1993); Liu Xinru, "Silks and Religions in Eurasia, c. AD 600–1200," *Journal of World History*, 6, 1 (1995): 25–48.

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results of interaction. Did the long-distance migrations of individuals become more common with the passage of time? Did they vary cyclically?[41]

Finally, an explicit contrasting of periodizations—those based on cross-cultural interaction, on rise and fall, on evolutionary change and perhaps other criteria—will clarify the strengths and weaknesses of each. For instance, Bentley, in his emphasis on cross-cultural interaction, appropriately restricts his analysis before 1500 to the Afro-Eurasian land mass. In contrast, an emphasis on evolutionary stages in world history surely ought to include the Americas and the Pacific before 1500, since a comparison of isolated regions seems a good way to test theses of evolutionary development.

The emphasis on cross-cultural interaction provides an attractive formulation of an analytical approach to world history. It is, however, just the beginning of the work. The follow-up to Bentley's proposal, in addition, must be conceptual as much as it is empirical. World historians, working within an inherited literature dominated by a focus on dominance and centrality in our global past, need to develop alternative metaphors for historical interaction and transformation, as well as a facility for exploring and comparing the implications of these images in interaction with the historical record. World history, integrated across time and space according to the criterion of cross-cultural interaction, has the potential to provide historians with a framework unifying historical problems and linking the particular to the general. The enterprise seems likely to provide its practitioners with an ample collection of debates—empirical, analytical, and philosophical—about the nature and implications of human interaction, within and across the lines that we are accustomed to labeling as cultural.

[41] One might go further and consider alternative ways of defining the continuities and changes across periods. The continuities within Bentley's periods appear as plateaus of active cross-cultural contact, separated by troughs of diminished contact; Bentley notes that episodes of epidemic disease and population decline mark the boundaries between these periods. But times of intensive cross-cultural interaction might also have been times of rapid change, and thus one could suggest treating the peak periods of interaction as the boundaries between periods, with the continuities being reflected in the periods of lesser interaction.

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Review Essay

Religion and Society in Early Modern Italy—Old Questions, New Insights

WILLIAM V. HUDON

FEW HISTORICAL COMMONPLACES possess such staying power—if not "canonical" status—in post-Risorgimento Italy as the notion of the "Counter Reformation" (*la controriforma*). Something repressive, iron-fisted, autocratic, and preferably foreign must have shut down the reasoned, progressive, humanist-inspired Italian Renaissance in the sixteenth century until individualism and nationalism finally combined to throw it off in the nineteenth-century process of unification. What better than to identify the culprit in a retrograde, insular, moralistic, absolute papal government following Spanish models for its predominant institutions and ideology? In so many ways, the explanation is perfect. But historians in the second half of the twentieth century have struggled mightily with the specific realities behind the commonplace, for only some of them reinforce that canonical concept.

Some scholars argued that an easy distinction between humanistic Renaissance culture in the early sixteenth century and repressive Counter Reformation culture beginning in 1542 falsely ignored the common background and values of those who took part in both. They identified the common grounding as educational, confessional, and professional. Some of the main contributors from this group, such as Hubert Jedin, Pedro de Leturia, and Giuseppe Alberigo, wrote soon after the conclusion of World War II. In the process, they located massive historiographical issues behind what appeared to be an analysis of nothing but religious trends. Despite their focus on the mid-sixteenth century and beyond, these scholars were in some ways taking up the position of medievalists irritated by the principal theses argued in Jakob Burckhardt's *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* nearly one hundred years before (1860). Their rejection of the polar distinction between Renaissance and Counter Reformation, albeit a minority view, consistently retained

Preliminary versions of this essay were presented at the 109th annual meeting of the American Historical Association, January 6, 1995, and at the St. John's University Symposium on Vatican Studies, April 21, 1995. My thanks to the audiences at both for their helpful questions and comments. Special thanks to Kathleen Comerford, Christopher Corley, Thomas Mayer, John W. O'Malley, to the anonymous *AHR* readers, and to *AHR* editor Michael Grossberg for their perceptive readings and thoughtful input on earlier drafts. The following abbreviations are employed in the notes: ASF = Archivio di Stato, Florence; ASVe = Archivio di Stato, Venice; BA = Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan; BAV = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; BP = Biblioteca Palatina, Parma. All translations are my own.

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the adherence of at least a few historians from the mid-twentieth century to the present.[1]

Others countered, offering everything from clarification of the distinction and identification of choices and methods that drove the ideology to assertions that those who would deny the dichotomy were fabricating history. One of the finest minds to turn toward the problem in the mid-twentieth century was Delio Cantimori. He hoped to clarify the apparent distinction between "renaissance" and "reform" outlooks, and he floated a working hypothesis. Cantimori suggested that some humanistically trained Italian prelates were adherents to *evangelismo*—a thoughtful, nondogmatic, Christocentric, simpler approach to devotional life—and practiced it through *Nicodemismo*, that is, by disguising their convictions with outward conformity to Catholic rites. These prelates influenced papal administration, but only briefly, and were overcome by forces loyal to a dogmatic, doctrinaire approach to theology, popular devotion, and reform.[2] Thereafter, Cantimori's students and other historians, such as Gigliola Fragnito, Dermot Fenlon, and Paolo Simoncelli, posited the existence of two groups of prelates—*spirituali* (careful students of the New Testament who appeared conciliatory toward Protestants) and *intransigenti* (or *zelanti*, traditionalists who resisted change through repressive tactics)—who allegedly were locked in bitter conflict over the politics and ideology of church reform and over the instruments to be employed in the process. In a 1988 article in *Rivista storica italiana*, Simoncelli went so far as to assert that opponents to this view deliberately ignored the historical research that contradicted their own, creating the "Catholic Reform" out of whole cloth.[3]

The position any historian might take on the usefulness of the terms *spirituali* and *intransigenti* is linked not only to positions on the continuity or discontinuity

[1] The view was promoted mainly by Hubert Jedin, his students, followers, and allies. For some examples, see Hubert Jedin, *Katholische Reformations oder Gegenreformation? Ein Versuch zur Klärung der Begriffe nebst einer Jubiläumsbetrachtung über das Trienter Konzil* (Lucerne, 1946); Pedro de Leturia, "Il Concilio di Trento nel *Quaderno primo* di *Belfagor*," *La Civiltà cattolica* (April 2, 1949): 82–98; Giuseppe Alberigo, *I vescovi italiani al Concilio di Trento (1545–1547)* (Florence, 1959); and Hubert Jedin and Giuseppe Alberigo, *Il tipo ideale di vescovo second la riforma cattolica* (Brescia, 1985). For more recent—and qualified—arguments in favor of Jedin's basic insights, see Eric W. Cochrane, "Counter Reformation or Tridentine Reformation? Italy in the Age of Carlo Borromeo," in John M. Headley and John B. Tomaro, eds., *San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1988), 31–46; John W. O'Malley, "Was Ignatius Loyola a Church Reformer? How to Look at Early-Modern Catholicism," *Catholic Historical Review*, 77 (1991): 177–93; and William V. Hudon, *Marcello Cervini and Ecclesiastical Government in Tridentine Italy* (De Kalb, Ill., 1992), 6–17. See also Sara T. Nalle, *God in La Mancha: Religious Reform and the People of Cuenca, 1500–1650* (Baltimore, Md., 1992).

[2] Cantimori's classic work, *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento* (Florence, 1939), is available in a new edition: Turin, 1992. For brief statements of his hypothesis on *evangelismo/Nicodemismo*, see Delio Cantimori, "Studi di storia della Riforma e dell'eresia in Italia, e Studi sulla storia della vita religiosa nella prima metà del '500 (rapporto fra i due tipi di ricerca)," *Bollettino della Società di studi valdesi*, 76 (1957): 29–38, and his "*Nicodemismo* e speranze conciliari nel Cinquecento italiano," in *Contributi alla storia del Concilio di Trento e della Controriforma* (Florence, 1948), 14–23.

[3] Gigliola Fragnito and Dermot Fenlon were the first to use the term *spirituali*. See Fragnito, "Gli *spirituali* e la fuga di Bernardino Ochino," *Rivista storica italiana*, 84 (1972): 777–813; and Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy: Cardinal Pole and the Counter Reformation* (Cambridge, 1972). One of the most outspoken defenders of the legitimacy and coherence of the two groups as parties has been Paolo Simoncelli. See *Il caso Reginald Pole: Eresia e santita nelle polemiche religiose del Cinquecento* (Rome, 1977); and *Evangelismo italiano del Cinquecento: Questione religiosa e nicodemismo politico* (Rome, 1979). He leveled the charge of historical fabrication against Jedin and Alberigo in his "Inquisizione romana e riforma in Italia," *Rivista storica italiana*, 100 (1988): 1–125.

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between Italian "renaissance" movements and Italian "reform" initiatives but also to a host of other terms and characterizations of early modern Italy. The assertion that the Renaissance was shut down by political absolutism and religious repression is part of a long tradition that began in the early seventeenth century with Paolo Sarpi's *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino*. Sarpi lived in the age of the Reformation, one—as a recent analyst remarked—in which church history as exposé enjoyed cherished status and religious controversies were consistently interpreted in political terms.[4] From that beginning, Italian culture in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries came to be characterized with one word: decline. Nationalist historians of the Risorgimento explained that foreign invasions and Spanish domination, beginning in 1527 and continuing through the period of the Council of Trent, delayed the dawn of modernity in Italy, despite the promising beginning known as the Renaissance. In part, this view was canonized through the work of the nineteenth-century literary historian Francesco De Sanctis. Both he and his devoted follower, the philosopher-historian Benedetto Croce, believed the era represented the antithesis of republicanism and humanism.[5] Croce pursued an approach to history that was rich, sophisticated, and creative. He defended its universal vision and sought impartiality while rejecting the myth of objectivity. Still, though asserting that Italy's early modern decadence was not complete, he expressed contempt for its arrested development and for the forces he considered responsible for unraveling Renaissance culture. The works of De Sanctis and Croce were reprinted in dozens of editions, and their theme was reiterated by a host of others who may have moved beyond their outlook but whose descriptions of the age are still driven by terms their literary progenitors set.[6]

Other historians writing in the era after De Sanctis and Croce—especially quite recently—have argued vehemently against the canonized view, most often taking up one or another specific element of the culture that had been generally indicted. Roberto Mantelli exposed the limits to any corruption and inefficiency that can be identified in the Spanish administration of southern Italy. James Grubb drew a pithy sketch of the gradual waning of the myth of republican Venice and urged historians to abandon it altogether. Claudia Di Filippo Bareggi, Brendan Dooley, Paolo Prodi, and Giuseppe Olmi demonstrated that continued creativity, not repression, characterized cultural production in very different contexts. And after the completion of several essays challenging oversimplifications applied to the Italian

[4] Sarpi originally published his work in 1619, but it is also available in a modern edition: Paolo Sarpi, *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1966). For the characterization, see Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval and Modern*, 2d edn. (Chicago, 1994), 169–70.

[5] For the best example, see Francesco De Sanctis, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, 2 vols. (Naples, 1870). See also the following works of Benedetto Croce: *La Spagna nella vita italiana durante la rinascenza* (Rome, 1917); *Storia della età barocca in Italia* (Rome, 1929); and "La crisi italiana del Cinquecento e il legame del Rinascimento col Risorgimento," *La critica: Rivista di letteratura, storia e filosofia*, 37 (1939): 401–11. The latter work even traces an explicit connection between Renaissance humanism and the recontinuation of rationalism in the Risorgimento.

[6] For some examples, see William J. Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty: Renaissance Values in the Age of the Counter Reformation* (Berkeley, Calif., 1968); Guido Quazza, *La decadenza italiana nella storia europea: Saggi sul Sei-Settecento* (Turin, 1971); Gino Benzoni, *Gli affanni della cultura: Intellettuali e potere nell'Italia della Controriforma e Barocca* (Milan, 1978); Stuart Woolf, *A History of Italy, 1700–1860: The Social Constraints of Political Change* (London, 1979); and Albano Biondi, "Aspetti della cultura cattolica post-tridentina," in *Storia d'Italia, Annali 4: Intellettuali e potere* (Turin, 1981).

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church in the age of the Council of Trent (1545–1563), Eric Cochrane was on the verge of completing a synthetic work designed to demolish the decadence thesis as it related to all of early modern Italy when his death intervened.[7]

A response to the question of how to characterize early modern Italian religiosity and the persons, ideas, and institutions it consisted of is thus closely related to a response on a host of other issues that go far beyond matters usually associated with "religious" history. It is related most of all to decisions on the utility of dichotomous terms tied to the description of early modern Italian culture: was there "Catholic Reform" or "Counter Reformation"; was its art driven by "creativity" or "crisis"; were its institutions and its economy "vibrant" or "decadent"; did its political and ecclesiastical leaders support "humanism" or policies of "repression"? In the final analysis, some of the answers to these questions may relate more to modern political changes than to sixteenth and seventeenth-century realities. Still, there are plenty of historical reasons to reject the categories and most of the related terms. The dichotomies are oversimplifications that obscure rather than illuminate the complex reality known as early modern Italy, no matter how traditional they are, no matter how widely recognized their commonplaces. Hence, a full reconsideration of the terms and categories will have the long-run effect of enriching and humanizing the understanding of early modern Italy among scholars, teachers, and students at every level.

IN THE LAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS, historians have moved analysis of categories applied to early modern Italian religious life far beyond what appear to be outmoded, simplistic terms.[8] At the same time, many of their colleagues have published

[7] Roberto Mantelli, *Il pubblico impiego nell'economia del Regno di Napoli: Retribuzioni, reclutamento e ricambio sociale nell'epoca spagnuola (secc. XVI–XVII)* (Naples, 1986); James Grubb, "When Myths Lose Power: Four Decades of Venetian Historiography," *Journal of Modern History*, 58 (March 1994): 43–94; Claudia Di Filippo Bareggi, *Il mestiere di scrivere: Lavoro intellettuale e mercato librario a Venezia nel Cinquecento* (Rome, 1988); Brendan Dooley, "Social Control and the Italian Universities: From Renaissance to Illuminismo," *Journal of Modern History*, 61 (June 1989): 205–39; Paolo Prodi and Giuseppe Olmi, "Art, Science and Nature in Bologna, circa 1600," in *The Age of Correggio and the Carracci: Emilian Painting of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C., 1986), 213–35; and Giuseppe Olmi, *L'inventario del mondo: Catalogazione della natura e luoghi del sapere nella prima età moderna* (Bologna, 1992). Although unfinished at the time of his death, Cochrane's final work was published: *Italy, 1530–1630*, Julius Kirshner, ed. (London, 1988).

[8] For the most noteworthy examples, see Wolfgang Reinhard, "Gegenreformation als Modernisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 63 (1977): 226–52; Silvana Seidel Menchi, "Lo stato degli studi sulla Riforma in Italia," *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen*, 5 (April 1981): 35–42; 5 (October 1981): 89–92; Paolo Prodi, "Controriforma e/o riforma cattolica: Superamento di vecchi dilemmi nei nuovi panorami storiografici," *Römische historiche Mitteilungen*, 31 (1989): 227–37; Wolfgang Reinhard, "Reformation, Counter-Reformation and the Early-Modern State: A Reassessment," *Catholic Historical Review*, 75 (1989): 383–404; Anne Jacobson Schutte, "Periodization of Sixteenth-Century Italian Religious History: The Post-Cantimori Paradigm Shift," *Journal of Modern History*, 61 (1989): 269–84; Craig Harline, "Official Religion—Popular Religion in Recent Historiography of the Catholic Reformation," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 81 (1990): 239–62; O'Malley, "Was Ignatius Loyola a Church Reformer?"; Susanna Peyronel Rambaldi, "Ancora sull'evangelismo italiano: Categoria o invenzione storiografica," *Società e storia*, 18 (1992): 935–67; Klaus Ganzer, "Aspetti dei movimenti cattolici di riforma nel XVI secolo," *Cristianesimo nella storia*, 14 (1993): 33–67; and Adriano Prosperi, "Riforma cattolica, controriforma, disciplinamento sociale," in Gabriele De Rosa and Tullio Gregory, eds., *Storia dell'Italia religiosa, II: L'età moderna* (Rome, 1994), 3–48.

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works that may not treat the categories explicitly, but they do implicitly accept either one of the standard approaches or a newer theoretical construction. These works most often present information that supports reconsideration of one or another element within the religious history of early modern Italy. Since religiosity permeated this early modern culture, works that permit rethinking of an element of Italian society apparently unrelated to the specific investigation of religious history can also be important. There is a wealth of new information contained in these various works. It represents something akin to the "critical mass" of data Wolfgang Reinhard recently described as forcing correction of historical periodization in early modern German studies.[9] The new information also guarantees continuation of the long battle concerning the character of Catholicism within sixteenth and seventeenth-century Italian culture.

Historians have waged the greater portion of that battle over whether the term "Counter Reformation," "Catholic Reform," or a combination of both best describes early modern Italian religiosity, and what to substitute in their place if none is adequate. In 1989, major articles pronounced those basic terms, some related ones, and the periodization that hinged upon them, dead. Paolo Prodi called the terms "worn out" and conveyed his disinclination even to discuss them, despite the fact that he called for a closer definition of terms after the death of a major protagonist in the conflict, Hubert Jedin. Anne Jacobson Schutte went further to argue that the alleged 1541 and 1542 "crisis" among Italian heretics professing "evangelism" advanced by Cantimori was overused and misleading. In her opinion, it had been improperly carved "in stone" by his students and their students. Other studies appearing at approximately the same time by Giuseppe Alberigo, Eric Cochrane, and John O'Malley made similar arguments, and there was every reason to believe that some misleading oversimplifications might finally be considered passé.[10]

These revisionist historians considered the old terminology and grand visions of early modern Italy outmoded for a variety of reasons. It seems reasonable to suspect that part of the rationale—though in the main unstated—lies in the polemical, sixteenth-century origin of the terms and periodization, plus their political utility in the nineteenth, since the history of the Reformation era was almost instantaneously polemicized, beginning with Sarpi in 1619. A second reason may derive from self-image. If objectivity means anything, late twentieth-century historians should be unmoved by polemical argumentation, much less controlled by lines of religio-political definition dating to the seventeenth century. Far more easily demonstrable, however, is a third reason. Despite the fact that the old terms—as Adriano Prosperi recently pointed out—remain a starting point for all attempts to identify a better method or approach to the period, an outpouring of discreet, focused studies has sketched the complexities and ambiguities of this age

[9] Reinhard, "Reformation, Counter-Reformation," 383.

[10] Prodi, "Controriforma," 227–28; Schutte, "Periodization," 269–73; Giuseppe Alberigo, "Dinamiche religiose del cinquecento italiano tra riforma, riforma cattolica, controriforma," *Cristianesimo nella storia*, 6 (1985): 543–60; Cochrane, "Counter Reformation or Tridentine Reformation," 41–46; Cochrane, *Italy*, 106–64; and John W. O'Malley, ed., *Catholicism in Early Modern History: A Guide to Research* (St. Louis, Mo., 1988), 1–9.

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so beautifully as to make adherence to the old terms and related visions of early modern history quite impossible.[11]

A new concept—disciplining—represents the most recent formulation used to characterize the interaction and cooperation of political and religious authorities in early modern Italy. The concept was borrowed from studies on early modern Germany by Gerhard Oestreich, whose views are partly based on Max Weber's insistence on the central role of religion in the birth of modernity.[12] The concept also comes from the philosophical and historical studies of Michel Foucault on the disciplinary function of modern states and their subordination of subject populations. Foucault identified confessional-box discourses on sex initiated in Catholic pastoral practices after the Council of Trent as among the first examples of that function and subordination. For Foucault, eighteenth and nineteenth-century penal practices were comprehensible only with preliminary consideration of such modes of domination as individual auricular confession, monastic claustration, and clerical academic administration, which were either extended or systematized in the preceding two centuries.[13]

Paolo Prodi, his students, and colleagues proceeded from these beginnings and have increasingly applied the term *disciplinamento* to describe post-Tridentine efforts to establish regularity and order in ecclesiastical institutions and devotional behavior. In Italy, they argue, the parish, the confessional, and the inquisitorial court served as the interconnected loci of a social control, or disciplining, that promised to benefit not just the church but the state as well. Control over the priestly population was to be secured through education and bishops, who would require priests to provide better preaching, catechesis, and confessional guidance. The priests, in turn, were to redirect the faithful into regularized devotions such as attendance at Mass and yearly confession, away from those traditional rituals associated with birth, marriage, death, particular feasts and saints, especially in the troublesome mountain parishes. The confessional relationship between spiritual father and penitent could be used to identify and control potentially unorthodox devotion and simulated sanctity. When operating in collaboration with confessors, inquisitorial boards could cast a broad net of control, these historians argue, over both individual comportment and convictions. The disciplining agencies, rules, and operations they identify in early modern Italy include secular tribunals, sumptuary

[11] Prosperi, "Riforma cattolica," 3–9. I borrow an outline of analysis—old grand schemes versus focused, topical studies with limited conclusions—from a recent essay descriptive of historiography on the Holocaust: Michael R. Marrus, "Reflections on the Historiography of the Holocaust," *Journal of Modern History*, 66 (1994): 92–116. Focus on complexity and ambiguity in historical analysis, despite its usefulness in the creation of a more human understanding of past societies is still questioned—in my opinion quite unfairly—even in the academy. See, for example, Stanley Chojnacki's review of Thomas Kuehn, *Law, Family and Women: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Renaissance Italy*, in *Renaissance Quarterly*, 47 (1994): 157–62.

[12] Gerhard Oestreich, *Strukturprobleme der fruhen Neuzeit Ausgewahlte Aufsatze* (Berlin, 1980); *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*, David McLintock, trans. (New York, 1982); *Antiker Geist und moderner Staat bei Justus Lipsius (1547–1606)* (Göttingen, 1989); *Filosofia e costituzione dello stato moderno*, Pierangelo Schiera, ed. (Naples, 1989).

[13] Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison* (Paris, 1975); *The History of Sexuality*, Volume 1: *An Introduction*, Robert Hurley, trans. (New York, 1978). See also the pastoral of fear identified as developing between the thirteenth and the eighteenth centuries in Jean Delumeau's blockbuster: *Le péché et la peur: La culpabilisation en Occident XIII^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècles* (Paris, 1983); trans. as *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th–18th Centuries* (New York, 1990).

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legislation, schools, university regulations, matrimonial practices, and even texts on the arts—such as dancing and stage production. These historians have set out to identify examples of disciplining and control that touched every element in Italian society. They warn that the category is not to be understood as an absolute interpretative scheme. Still, based simply on the proliferation of their studies, it appears that these historians will create a new, potentially unifying explanation of the period: early modern Italy, and perhaps all of early modern Europe, is best understood as an age of social disciplining.[14]

WHAT WOULD THE HISTORY OF THIS ERA LOOK LIKE if the terms "Catholic Reform" and "Counter Reformation" were abandoned while investigation proceeded to evaluate the efficacy of governmental and ecclesiastical programs of social disciplining? The outlines of an answer can already be sketched through consideration of recent historiography, though historians have yet to develop ways of evaluating the implementation of disciplining. To begin, consider recent works on urban and social history. These do not specifically address religious themes, but they are intimately related—indeed, they are necessary interdisciplinary contributions—to a fuller understanding of the culture and context surrounding religious history for both specialists and generalists willing to examine historical commonplaces. When looking at the urban planning of early modern absolutists and the legislation they created to control environments and subject populations, it might be natural to conclude that an echo of religious repression showing the complicity of secular rulers rings through. But investigation of legal and administrative records detailing the difficulties of enforcement and enumerating the myriad examples of behavior opposite to the new absolutist goals indicates that although stifling repression may well have been intended, the reality was boldly different. Joanne Ferraro and Guido Ruggiero, for example, illustrated the broad-ranging tension and violence of early modern Venice and its subject territories. The Brescian noble families that Ferraro found were pushed from power by more elite clans went on to foment opposition—even revolution at times—in order to reverse their exclusion.[15] Ruggiero's works in the 1980s helped to demonstrate why any government bent on control of societal morality in early modern Italy was facing an enormous challenge: the criminal behaviors governments found distasteful had a long history unlikely to be reversed quickly. Ruggiero's most recent work is really of one piece with the others. In *Binding Passions* (1993), he might appear at first to show how passions were bound

[14] A massive collection of essays (nearly 1,000 pages) identifies a vast array of examples of Italian social disciplining: Paolo Prodi and Carla Penuti, eds., *Disciplina dell'anima disciplina del corpo e disciplina della società tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Bologna, 1994). See also Pierangelo Schiera, "Legittimità, disciplina, istituzioni: Tre presupposti per la nascita dello Stato moderno," in Giorgio Chittolino, Anthony Molho, and Pierangelo Schiera, eds., *Origini dello Stato: Processi di formazione statale in Italia fra medioevo ed età moderna* (Bologna, 1994), 17–48. For further reflections on the concept and its relation to religious history, see Prosperi, "Riforma cattolica," 3–48; Daniele Montanari, *Disciplinamento in terra veneta: La diocesi di Brescia nella seconda metà del XVI secolo* (Bologna, 1987); Paolo Prodi, "Riforma interiori e disciplinamento sociale in San Carlo Borromeo," *Intersezioni*, 5 (August 1985): 273–85; and David Coleman, "Moral Formation and Social Control in the Catholic Reformation: The Case of San Juan de Avila," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 26 (1995): 17–30.

[15] Joanne M. Ferraro, *Family and Public Life in Brescia, 1580–1650: The Foundations of Power in the Venetian State* (Cambridge, 1993), 197–221.

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by early modern secular and religious restrictions. In the end, though, he winds up with something altogether different: a compelling argument for the binding power of the passions, not the restrictions.[16]

Other urban and social historians have traced a range of institutions and activities clearly related to a reconsideration of the quality of early modern Italian society. While their investigations may be less obviously connected to religiosity in that society, they have produced equally remarkable results. Statistical analysis of religious sources such as *stati d'anime* (parish census records) indicate that rigid urban social stratification may have dictated where most people lived, as Stefano D'Amico has recently shown for Milan, but it did not hinder the dynamism of the city's ever-fluctuating real estate market. The majority of the population rented housing, and property changed hands frequently, especially in times of high mortality related to the unpredictable revisitations of the plague. Stratification did not stifle the ability of industry and commerce to bring different social classes together, either. Masters in the textile trades creatively sought ways to establish social and economic ties with merchants, for example, and they did not stop with elbow-rubbing in the piazza. In more than isolated cases, they shared the same household in pursuit of common profit. Domestic service served as a vehicle for the entry of immigrant women into the social fabric of Milan as well, since long employment, often lasting ten years or more, sometimes allowed the accumulation of a modest dowry.[17]

Recent works on those urban Italian religious groups known as confraternities by Christopher Black, Nicholas Terpstra, and others demonstrate the continuity of the popular desire to serve social needs. This desire lasted from the origin of those institutions in the ninth century right through the sixteenth. In the later period, civic leaders clearly used the confraternities to enhance their own power, but the institutions cannot be considered either retrograde or repressive. They creatively solidified organizational plans conceived in the previous century and expansively diversified their membership and charitable works.[18] Further evidence of the popularity of institutions like confraternities and of the piety they represented can be found in pilgrimage practices described by scholars such as Marta Pieroni Francini, Mary Lee Nolan, and Sidney Nolan. Throughout the early modern period, pilgrimages to the Adriatic town of Loreto—home of the famous Santa Casa, in which Mary was allegedly born and received the Annunciation—were perhaps the most popular. Carefully organized expeditions set out for Loreto from Rome in the

[16] Guido Ruggiero, *Violence in Early Renaissance Venice* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1980); *The Boundaries of Eros: Sex Crime and Sexuality in Renaissance Venice* (New York, 1985); and *Binding Passions: Tales of Magic, Marriage and Power at the End of the Renaissance* (New York, 1993). A new collection of criminal trial documents helps as well: Thomas V. Cohen and Elizabeth S. Cohen, eds., *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome: Trials before the Papal Magistrates* (Toronto, 1993).

[17] Stefano D'Amico, *Le contrade e la città: Sistema produttivo e spazio urbano a Milano fra Cinque e Seicento* (Milan, 1994), 23–46, 124–52.

[18] Christopher F. Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1989), 58–78, 268–82; Nicholas Terpstra, "Apprenticeship in Social Welfare: From Confraternal Charity to Municipal Poor Relief in Early Modern Italy," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 25 (1994): 101–20; Terpstra, "Confraternal Prison Charity and Political Consolidation in Sixteenth-Century Bologna," *Journal of Modern History*, 66 (June 1994): 217–48; and Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna* (Cambridge, 1995). See also Konrad Eisenbichler, ed., *Crossing the Boundaries: Christian Piety and the Arts in Italian Medieval and Renaissance Confraternities* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1990).

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late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Their attendant rituals and distribution of sacramentals such as Agnus Dei to persons along the road demonstrate more than just the apparent gullibility of persons who believed that Mary's house was flown by angels from the Near East to Loreto. They also demonstrate the great popularity of post-Tridentine devotional life. Its curious mix of austerity and theatricality was not forced upon the unwilling but was embraced, especially by urban populations.[19]

Even urban planning and building projects were not completely under the control of "disciplining" sixteenth and seventeenth-century Italian heads of state. Martha Pollak and Laurie Nussdorfer recently suggested that where the monumentalism, if not self-aggrandizement, of rulers was most highly developed, it could be promoted only by deftly marshaling public support. At times, that required little more than propaganda—the sort of indoctrination often associated with consolidating religious institutions. Along with Randolph Starn and Loren Partridge, Pollak and Nussdorfer discovered that absolutist control mechanisms frequently needed readjustment, even down-sizing, in response to public disfavor. Carlo Emanuele II, for instance, had to reduce plans for Turin's fortifications in the face of opposition to real-estate reassessment; Cosimo de' Medici had to establish tighter control over Florence in part by increasing, not constricting, the autonomy of its local institutions; and Pope Urban VIII had to face Romans determined to maintain the traditions of their civic government against his centralizing tendencies.[20]

The works of Giorgio Chittolini and Elena Fasano Guarini, among others, have shown the limitations on political power faced by early modern rulers of Italian secular states. Although he came to use the assets of the Florentine *monte di pietà* (a municipal pawnshop that provided cheap credit for needy citizens) to order loans for himself and some political cronies, Cosimo de' Medici also used it to provide monies for confraternities and other semi-religious institutions. Additional incentives—beyond the modest interest offered by the *monte*—were apparently needed to encourage Florentines to keep money flowing into Medici hands. Rulers also found their authority checked by old local governmental institutions, and at times they encouraged, rather than subverted, these overlapping functions. Again, the Florentine example is instructive. Medici rulers may have hoped criminal justice could be centralized and simultaneously provide greater income for the state, but the city's court "system" of multiple, noble-driven tribunals with widely overlapping jurisdiction remained in place during the early modern period. The goal of achieving tighter control had to be balanced carefully with concessions to influen-

[19] Marta Pieroni Francini, "Itinerari della pietà negli anni della Controriforma: Pellegrini romani sulla strada di Loreto," *Studi romani*, 35 (1987): 296–320; Mary Lee Nolan and Sidney Nolan, *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1989), 95–107, 202–07. For further information on the shrine at Loreto, see Silvio Serragli, *La vera relatione della Santa Casa di Loreto* (Macerata, 1672); Pietro Paulo Raffaeli, *Notizie della Santa Casa della gran madre di Dio Maria Vergine adorata in Loreto* (Loreto, 1764); Floriano Grimaldi, *Loreto: Basilica, Santa Casa* (Bologna, 1975); and Kathleen Weil-Garris, *The Santa Casa di Loreto: Problems in Cinquecento Sculpture*, 2 vols. (New York, 1977).

[20] Martha D. Pollak, *Turin 1564–1680: Urban Design, Military Culture and the Creation of the Absolutist Capital* (Chicago, 1991), 195–200; Randolph Starn and Loren Partridge, *Arts of Power: Three Halls of State in Italy, 1300–1600* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 155; and Laurie Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII* (Princeton, N.J., 1992), 66–94, 128–35, 142–43.

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tial members of the elite if rebellion were to be avoided during the so-called "centralization" of Italian states. Even triumphal processions, lavish patronage, and awe-inspiring decoration of palaces, often seen as just more tactical weapons for early modern state builders, must be carefully analyzed. These may have promoted citizenship and assisted the development of a city population that understood its duties to the ruler, but the same tactics sometimes inspired critics and naysayers. The naysayers were led by persons with an eye on the bottom line. Both greedy artists and penny-pinching oligarchs could find fault with the planners of heady "absolutist" spectacles in an age when perhaps the most consistent limitation on the power of rulers was financial.[21]

In a field where political and religious history overlap more clearly, recent literature on the papacy identifies further limitations on leaders who harbored the desire to discipline. Paolo Prodi's *Il sovrano pontifice* (1982), on the centralization of the religio-political Papal State as the prototype for European absolutism, along with some of his other works, deservedly maintains center stage.[22] Studies published since have gone a long way toward defining the complex checks to the papal absolutism described by Prodi. Popes who wished to exploit their office for personal and familial enrichment sometimes found limited opportunities. The brevity of papal tenures and the continual reconstruction of patronage networks this required were the main limits. On occasion, popes fell under the control of external forces and influences, rather than maintaining full control themselves. There is perhaps no better example than during the career of Urban VIII, when, due to the exceptionally competitive nature of the Roman court and to foreign policies developed for the Thirty Years' War, he felt compelled to distance himself from a developing scandal and sacrificed an old friend and client. In the process, he helped create the most famous victim of the age: Galileo Galilei. Although many still assume that unjust inquisitorial prosecution was the only real source of Galileo's difficulties, he gathered his victim status from many places. Academic jealousy, his innovative anti-Aristotelianism, and forged legal documents may have been the main sources, but these challenges were further complicated by shifting patronage relationships in early modern Rome.[23]

[21] Giorgio Chittolini, *La formazione dello stato regionale e le istituzioni del contado* (Turin, 1979); Elena Fasano Guarini, *Lo stato mediceo di Cosimo I* (Florence, 1973), 19–48; Carol Bresnahan Menning, "Loans and Favors, Kin and Clients: Cosimo de' Medici and the *Monte di pietà*," *Journal of Modern History*, 61 (September 1989): 487–511; and Menning, *Charity and State in Late Renaissance Italy: The Monte di Pietà of Florence* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993), 2–9, 175–207; John K. Brackett, *Criminal Justice and Crime in Late Renaissance Florence, 1537–1609* (Cambridge, 1992); and Starn and Partridge, *Arts of Power*, 151–212, 257–59. See also Furio Diaz, *Il granducato di Toscana* (Turin, 1976); Judith C. Brown, *In the Shadow of Florence: Provincial Society in Renaissance Pescia* (New York, 1982); and R. Burr Litchfield, *Emergence of a Bureaucracy: The Florentine Patricians, 1530–1790* (Princeton, N.J., 1986).

[22] Paolo Prodi, *Il sovrano pontefice: Un corpo e due anime, la monarchia papale nella prima età moderna* (Bologna, 1982); English edition: *The Papal Prince: One Body and Two Souls; The Papal Monarchy in Early Modern Europe*, Susan Haskins, trans. (Cambridge, 1987). See also his *Il sacramento del potere: Il giuramento politico nella storia costituzionale dell'Occidente* (Bologna, 1992).

[23] Wolfgang Reinhard, "Papal Power and Family Strategy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke, eds., *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c. 1450–1650* (Oxford, 1991), 329–56; Mario Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism* (Chicago, 1993), 254–65, 313–47.

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THE NEW "DISCIPLINING" CATEGORY represents a promising line of investigation that has already produced important results. Even though this potentially overarching scheme is derived from the fashionable postmodern analysis of Michel Foucault, it still has considerable problems, as its creators admit. To begin with, no matter how often historians using the category assert that it is not to be taken as a strict interpretative scheme, the image it evokes—of elite leaders controlling politically and religiously subject persons—does little other than confirm the hierarchical and repressive model we associate with the old categories. In addition, while there can be little doubt that early modern ecclesiastics and secular officials hoped to instill regularized behavior through models of comportment and disciplinary institutions, overemphasis on those models and institutions can obscure the vast difference between the policies and intentions of churchmen operating on the theoretical level and the actions and compromises of pastors attempting to implement the policies. The former's intentions—no matter how many anathemas were attached to them—are not identical to the latter's realities. To cite a practical example, consider the post-Tridentine bishop of Milan, Carlo Borromeo (1538–1584). He was perhaps the most hard-driving spokesman for implementation of the decrees of Trent, but he acted with minimal assistance—as little as he could, in fact—from the institution we most readily associate with early modern disciplining: his local inquisition. Such realities—to which evidence from historians of criminal behavior such as Ruggiero should be added—led Adriano Prosperi to insist that measurement of the efficacy of disciplining operations remains highly difficult. The realities led Wolfgang Reinhard to suggest that more anthropologically based microhistory is the only way to begin that measurement.[24]

If the finest example of early modern disciplining can be found in ecclesiastical institutions, then it is important to recognize the additional limits to curial and papal power when considering the usefulness of the new Italian investment in terms derived from Foucauldian theory. Even the Farnese family that rose to princely status under the auspices of Pope Paul III faced popular challenges in places such as Perugia, where they ultimately triumphed. No matter how much later popes sought to imitate Farnese policies, they—Paul IV included—failed to match the success of their predecessors.[25] In notable cases, popes promoted wider consultation in decision making while appearing to centralize and regularize policy. Gregory XIV systematized procedures for conferring benefices controlled by the college of cardinals in a manner that required extensive research. The information gathering included solicitation of data from persons resident in the locale of the office to be conferred. To consider another example, if popes developed absolutism to an art, then the *Index of Prohibited Books* should reflect consistent, single-minded policy making. But the Sherbrooke project directed by Jesus Maria de Bujanda continues to publish documents related to the *Index*, and these demonstrate the contrary. The repressive extremes of Paul IV's list were unacceptable to theologians, civic leaders,

[24] Prosperi, "Riforma," 45; Wolfgang Reinhard, "Disciplinamento sociale, confessionalizzazione, modernizzazion: Un discorso storiografico," in Prodi and Penuti, *Disciplina dell'anima*, 101–23.

[25] Stanislao Da Campagnola, "Un crocifisso di legno contro Paolo III Farnese durante la *Guerra del sale* del 1540," *Laurentianum*, 34 (1993): 49–66; Reinhard, "Papal Power," 333–34.

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curialists, and university officials, so its condemnations were rolled back.[26] Even broad papal directives that remained in place produced something less than lock-step uniformity, for despite Sixtus V's promulgation of a bull against all forms of divination, as Germana Ernst has discovered, Urban VIII still felt harassed forty-five years later by popularized predictions of his imminent demise.[27]

Investigation of particular individuals among churchmen connected to disciplining structures in Reformation Italy has produced remarkable results. The outmoded generalizations that divided early modern Italian prelates into warring camps of *spirituali* versus *intransigenti* always sounded like the good guys against the bad guys, but recent analysis of any individual to whom either term has been applied demonstrates the inadequacy of both. Elisabeth Gleason found that Gasparo Contarini, the prototype among *spirituali*, could be an uncompromising proponent of "moralistic absolutism." Gian Pietro Carafa, that nasty inquisitor and eminently hateable *intransigente*, was a friend and collaborator—though at times an uncomfortable one, according to Kenneth Jorgensen—of the mild-mannered Gaetano da Thiene. The Vatican librarian and curialist Agostino Steuco may have opposed the process of reform, but Ronald Delph revealed that Steuco's social and political concerns had as much to do with this opposition as his religious commitments did. Giovanni Morone may have been an innocent victim of one of Carafa's attempted inquisitorial purges, but he was also a plagiarist in constructing documents for his defense, and a recent commentator considers him an exponent, not a victim, of the social disciplining process. Carlo Borromeo may have become a champion of reforms in Milan that threatened few beyond poorly prepared clerics fearing for their jobs, but that was after he had accumulated considerable wealth as a papal nephew.[28] Even Massimo Firpo, that most insistent of defenders supporting the

[26] Hieronim Fokcinski, "La procedura da seguire nel conferimento dei benefici consistoriali secondo i decreti del Concilio Tridentino," *Archivum historiae pontificiae*, 29 (1991): 173–95; Jesus Maria de Bujanda, ed., *Index de Rome, 1557, 1559, 1564: Le premiers index romains et l'index du Concile de Trente* (Geneva, 1990), 25–147; see also Michele Jacoviello, "Proteste di editorie librai veneziani contro l'introduzione della censura sulla stampa a Venezia (1543–1555)," *Archivio storico italiano*, 151 (1993): 27–56. The pathbreaking repression characteristic of Paul IV was perhaps best represented in his policy toward the Jews. He reversed centuries of papal protection of Jews and established ghettos in Rome on the Venetian model. For an introduction into the vast literature on this topic, see Corrado Vivanti, "The History of the Jews in Italy and the History of Italy," *Journal of Modern History*, 67 (June 1995): 309–57.

[27] Germana Ernst, "Astrology, Religion and Politics in Counter-Reformation Rome," in Stephen Pumfrey, *et al.*, eds., *Science, Culture and Popular Belief in Renaissance Europe* (Manchester, 1991), 249–73.

[28] For Contarini, see Gigliola Fragnito, *Gasparo Contarini: Un magistrato veneziano al servizio della cristianità* (Florence, 1988); and Elisabeth G. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome and Reform* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 162. On Carafa, see Alberto Aubert, "Alle origini della controriforma: Studi e problemi su Paolo IV," *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 22 (1986): 303–55; and Cochrane, *Italy*, 144–45; but also the extensive analysis scattered throughout Massimo Firpo and Dario Marcatto, *Il processo inquisitoriale del Cardinal Giovanni Morone*, 6 vols. (Rome, 1981–95), esp. 1: 91–172; and in the new works on the origins of the Theatine order: Kenneth J. Jorgensen, "The Theatines," in Richard L. DeMolen, ed., *Religious Orders of the Catholic Reformation* (New York, 1994), 1–29, as well as William V. Hudon, *Theatine Spirituality: Selected Writings* (New York, 1996). On Steuco, see Ronald K. Delph, "From Venetian Visitor to Curial Humanist: The Development of Agostino Steuco's 'Counter'-Reformation Thought," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 47 (1994): 102–39. For Morone's character, compare Firpo and Marcatto, *Il processo*, with Hudon, *Marcello Cervini*, 113–14, and Umberto Mazzone, " 'Evellant vicia . . . aedificent virtutes': Il cardinal legato come elemento di disciplinamento nello Stato della Chiesa," in Prodi and Penuti, *Disciplina dell'anima*, 691–731. On Borromeo, the most recent work is Headley and Tomaro, *San Carlo Borromeo*. For primary evidence on his popularity in Milan among

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relevance of the terms *spirituali* and *intransigenti*, recently admitted that overemphasis on worldliness in early modern curialists can lead to "sterile, moralistic judgments."[29]

Consideration of the life and career of Marcello Cervini further demonstrates the misleading nature of the falsely polarized terms *spirituali* and *intransigenti*. They obscure rather than illuminate the character of sixteenth-century reform and reformers. The government of Tridentine Italy was clearly a process of compromise—as most governments with any longevity are—and Cervini's career provides part of the demonstration. He could serve as a rigorist member of the Roman Inquisition while simultaneously taking a lenient approach to the control of potentially heretical literature, as he did when confronting the circulation of *Il beneficio di Cristo*. Ludovico Beccadelli, Cervini's vicar in Reggio-Emilia, urged him to avoid condemning it outright, arguing that people tend to be more interested, not less, in forbidden texts. Cervini took the advice. By the time he reached the papal throne as Marcellus II, his firm support for the power it represented was well known through his activities as legate at the Council of Trent. Still, he maintained his view of the papacy in a critical, reflective manner, recognizing contemporary abuse of its power. He was far enough above party to address his criticisms to a papal grandson, Alessandro Farnese. He argued that the legitimate use of papal power required an incumbent ready to reverse former abuses, clearly suggesting that Alessandro's grandfather had not accepted this responsibility. Although Cervini may have been identified as one of the *intransigenti* by modern analysts, contemporaries like Reginald Pole who might have identified themselves as *spirituali* and who became targets of inquisitor-popes like Paul IV had a rather different view. They were as delighted with Cervini's election as they were terrified by Paul's.[30] Cervini himself exemplified the standard ambivalence, if not inherent contradiction, of reformers throughout Christian history: he sought to move the institution forward by—at least in part—looking backward.[31]

Recent investigation of art and literature in early modern Italy reveals that the often-assumed cultural handcuffs applied by a disciplining church were seriously, but not completely, constricting. Post-Tridentine notions about Christian heroism, which included subservience to ecclesiastical authorities, surely affected the quality and content of certain forms of literature. Innocenzo Chiesa, after all, glided

most everyone, except disgruntled clerics, see Carlo Marcora, ed., "Il diario di Giambattista Casale (1554–1598)," in *Memorie storiche della diocesi di Milano*, Vol. 12 (Milan, 1965), 209–437.

[29] Massimo Firpo, "The Cardinal," in Eugenio Garin, ed., *Renaissance Characters*, Lydia Cochrane, trans. (Chicago, 1991), 46–97.

[30] Documents on *Il beneficio* in Reggio-Emilia are located in Parma: Cervini to Ludovico Beccadelli, January 10 and 19, 1544, BP, *Mss. Palatini*, 1020/3; and Ludovico Beccadelli to Cervini, January 29, 1544, BP, *Mss. Palatini*, 1009, f.17r–18v. For his concerns about papal power, see Cervini to Alessandro Farnese, January 26–27, 1546, ASF, *Carte Cerviniane* 7/23v; and Cervini to Alessandro Farnese, September 16, 1547, *Concilium Tridentinum*, 13 vols. (Freiburg, 1901–38), 11: 275. For Pole's opposite assessments of Marcellus II and Paul IV, see Reginald Pole to Marcellus II, April 28, 1555, BAV, *Vaticana Latina* 5967, 402r–v; and Reginald Pole to Paul IV, June 6, 1555, *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland: Erste Abteilung 1533–1559, 15 Band, Friedenslegation des Reginald Pole zu Kaiser Karl V und Konig Heinrich II (1533–1556)*, Heinrich Lutz, ed. (Tübingen, 1981), 266–68. See also Hudon, *Marcello Cervini*, 7–17, 72–81, 116–23, 154–74.

[31] This typical ambivalence was recently identified in reformers from an earlier era: Phillip H. Stump, *The Reforms of the Council of Constance, 1414–1418* (Leiden, 1994), 206–31.

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smoothly over irregularities in the history of the new Barnabite movement—such as the prominence within it of a woman of questionable orthodoxy named Paola Antonia Negri—when he composed his *Vita di Carlo Bascapè* in the interest of canonizing his subject. Sacred oratory in Rome, the heartland of the Counter Reformation, may have been circumscribed by rules applied to both its practitioners and its form, but, according to Frederick McGinness, it also represented a harvest of the fruits of Renaissance humanism for the church, as it contained a wide-ranging, positive, creative rhetoric derived from classical theory. The famed *Beneficio di Cristo* was forced underground, even though some episcopal-level administrators were opposed to its censure. But the publishers in Italy who were most successful, according to historians Claudia Di Filippo Bareggi, Nicola Raponi, Angelo Turchini, and Elena Bonora, were those *poligrafi* (booksellers also functioning as editors and publishers) who issued a wide range of literary, legal, religious, philosophical, and occult texts, because broad offerings were more lucrative. By and large, these publishers enjoyed their greatest productivity, moreover, after the conclusion of the Council of Trent, not before.[32] Some art historians have even come forward to argue that the spatial incongruities and artificiality associated with late sixteenth-century Mannerist rules did not restrain artistic development. They call the era one of "seething creativity" in which artists turned to play in pursuit of the humanistic goal to surpass the production of the ancients and of one another. Gian Lorenzo Bernini's credentials as a Renaissance humanist are not denied even by Howard Hibbard, the most traditional of his interpreters. Although the conflation and manipulation of scriptural stories characteristic of earlier artists such as Andrea Mantegna might not have been common in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, still the work of Agostino, Annibale, and Ludovico Carracci—among others—in creating the first truly national Italian artistic style indicates anything but stifling repression. Their art was driven as much by creative, critical analysis over what constituted the most effective painting techniques as it was by a desire to use art to illustrate the "truth" of religious themes that were sometimes—not always—the subject of their works.[33]

[32] Chiesa's work, first published in 1636, is available in a new critical edition that includes a host of other documents: Innocenzo Chiesa, *Vita di Carlo Bascapè, Barnabita e vescovo di Novara (1550–1615)*, Sergio Pagano, ed. (Florence, 1993). On the Barnabite movement that resulted initially in three congregations (one for men, one for women, and one for married couples), see Richard L. DeMolen, "The First Centenary of the Barnabites (1533–1633)," in DeMolen, *Religious Orders*, 59–96. For Roman sacred oratory in this period, see Frederick J. McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Princeton, N.J., 1995). There is a definitive critical edition of *Il beneficio*: Benedetto da Mantova, *Il beneficio di Cristo*, Salvatore Caponetto, ed. (De Kalb, Ill., 1972). On the effective repression of that text, see Mantova, *Il beneficio*, 469–519; and Philip McNair, "Benedetto da Mantova, Marc Antonio Flaminio and the *Beneficio di Cristo*: A Developing Twentieth Century Debate Reviewed," *Modern Language Review*, 82 (1974): 614–24. On Italian publishing and the *poligrafi*, see Claudia Di Filippo Bareggi, *Il mestiere di scrivere: Lavoro intellettuale e mercato librario a Venezia nel Cinquecento* (Rome, 1988), 282–314; Nicola Raponi and Angelo Turchini, eds., *Stampa, libri e letture a Milano nell'età di Carlo Borromeo* (Milan, 1992); and Elena Bonora, *Richerche su Francesco Sansovino, imprenditore librario e letterato* (Venice, 1994).

[33] Olmi and Prodi, "Art, Science and Nature," 213–18, 228–31; Howard Hibbard, *Bernini* (New York, 1965), 25; Jack M. Greenstein, *Mantegna and Painting as Historical Narrative* (Chicago, 1992), 9; Charles Dempsey, "The Carracci Reform of Painting," in *Age of Correggio*, 237–54. See also Cochrane, *Italy*, 69–105.

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INQUISITORIAL STUDIES probably present the most compelling reason to evaluate the effectiveness of early modern disciplining theory. The notion of coercive, repressive Catholicism orchestrated in order to counteract Protestant innovations and unorthodox popular devotions is best driven with the vehicle known as "the Inquisition"—article included, capital "I"—a monolith that allegedly exercised pervasive, unquestioned authority.[34] Recent scholarship demonstrates clearly that if such an overarching, not local, institution ever existed and operated in that fashion, it did so only during the administrations of a few popes—probably just Paul IV and Pius V—and represented an exception to overall policy. Some years ago, Edward Peters urged revision of typical views of "the Inquisition."[35] Since then, the editorial work of Massimo Firpo and Dario Marcatto on the trials of Giovanni Morone and Lorenzo Davidico has shown that if the records unearthed so far are any indication of what lies hidden in the archives of the Holy Office, the vindictive behavior and procedural irregularities of the Roman Inquisition under Paul IV were unprecedented and largely unrepeated.[36] Morone, after all, received rehabilitation under Pius IV and personally presided over the conclusion of the Council of Trent. Davidico is far less well known and deservedly so, but, after mid-century trial and torments, he circulated freely in northern Italy as a cleric, preacher, and author during the administrations of no less than three different popes.

Other studies reiterate the complexity and non-monolithic nature of the Italian inquisitions. There can be no doubt that the institutions instilled fear and utilized what we might well consider repressive, coercive tactics. At times, the inquisitions also pursued the truly innocent—as distinguished, that is, from the innocent by anachronistically applied twentieth-century standards of criminal justice—and numerous recent studies, including some that have enjoyed blockbuster status, have emphasized all these elements. Carlo Ginzburg's numerous works on popular religion, Massimo Firpo's analysis of trends in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and John Martin's recent study of Venetian heretics are all fine examples.[37] Still, it is important to recognize the basic message of that flood of works produced since historians discovered the importance of inquisitorial records for the social and legal

[34] Some older examples of this view can be found in such works as Jacob Burckhardt's nineteenth-century classic, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, S. G. C. Middlemore, trans. (1935; New York, 1990), 189, 205–06; and in Henry S. Lucas, *The Renaissance and the Reformation* (New York, 1934), 655. For an explanatory overview of the construction of the idea of "the Inquisition," see Edward Peters, *Inquisition* (New York, 1988), 122–88. For more recent re-statements and uses of this position (one in a general work and another in a more focused study), see Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform (1250–1550): An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven, Conn., 1980), 95–96, 180, 369–71; and Simoncelli, "Inquisizione romana."

[35] Peters, *Inquisition*, 1–10, 296–315.

[36] Firpo and Marcatto, *Il processo*; Massimo Firpo, *Nel labirinto del mondo: Lorenzo Davidico tra santi, eretici, inquisitori* (Florence, 1992); Dario Marcatto, *Il processo inquisitoriale di Lorenzo Davidico (1555–1560): Edizione critica* (Florence, 1992).

[37] Carlo Ginzburg, *I benandanti: Stregoneria e culti agraritra Cinquecento e Seicento* (Turin, 1966; 2d edn. 1974); available in English: *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, John and Anne Tedeschi, trans. (London, 1983); Pietro Redondi, *Galileo eretico* (Turin, 1983); available in English: *Galileo Heretic*, Raymond Rosenthalt trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1989); Carlo Ginzburg, *Il formaggio e i vermi: Il cosmo di un mugnaio del '500* (Turin, 1976); available in English: *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, John and Anne Tedeschi, trans. (Baltimore, Md., 1982); Massimo Firpo, *Inquisizione romana e Controriforma: Studi sul Cardinal Giovanni Morone e il suo processo d'eresia* (Milan, 1992); John Martin, *Venice's Hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993).

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history of the early modern world. The majority have challenged the old stereotype outright, or at least argued that an accurate picture of the tribunals must be far more variegated than most believe. We have learned that absolution and merely formal penances were the most common outcomes of Italian inquisitorial trials. Persuasive arguments have been published that urge historians to rethink the general image of Italian tribunals. One suggests that inquisitors ought to be characterized as "mediators" rather than repressors. Manuals that summarized procedure for tribunal members issued directives against judicial shortcuts or other questionable actions that could compromise proper boundaries limiting collection of evidence and prescribing appropriate treatment of prisoners. Many of the prisoners, moreover, were skillful, even devious, while constructing defenses on their own behalf.[38] Some historians have even suggested that inquisitions, often assumed to be "elite" institutions determined to root out "popular" practices, did nothing of the sort. Upper-class skepticism concerning witchcraft, for example, discouraged investigation. Giovanni Romeo and Adriano Prosperi argue, as a result, that it was mainly ignorant, superstitious priests and monks, not well-educated prelates, who believed most firmly in the existence of witchcraft and divination and encouraged their prosecution.[39]

Some women suffered inquisitorial prosecution of questionable legitimacy, but at times they expressed themselves during such proceedings in a dramatic, creative, and courageous fashion. Records recently uncovered by Anne Schutte show that one of them—Cecilia Ferrazzi—told fabulous stories in the course of a Venetian trial during 1664 and 1665. Indeed, over the course of four interrogations, she had so many stories to tell that her inquisitors acceded to her request to make a lengthy statement before a scribe recounting her whole life, rather than answering questions before the entire tribunal. In the process, she composed a riveting autobiography.[40] She repeatedly criticized priests and confessors she had encountered, from one who treated her "with loathing, with contempt," and scorned her, "even in the presence of others including the nuns of Santa Giustina," to another who recommended fasts, prayers, and self-punishments that she considered "exces-

[38] Adriano Prosperi, "Il monaco Teodor: Note su un processo fiorentino del 1515," *Critica storica*, 12 (1975): 71–101; Silvana Seidel-Menchi, "Inquisizione come repressione o inquisizione come mediazione? Una proposta di periodizzazione," *Annuario dell'Istituto storico italiano per l'età moderna e contemporanea*, 35–36 (1983–84): 53–77; Adriano Prosperi, "L'Inquisizione: Verso una nuova immagine?" *Critica storica*, 25 (1988): 119–45; Massimo Firpo, "Vittoria Colonna, Giovanni Morone e gli 'spirituali,'" *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 24 (1988): 211–61; Ruth Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice 1550–1650* (New York, 1989); Cecilia Ferrazzi, *Autobiografia di una santa mancata, 1609–1664*, Anne Jacobson Schutte, ed. (Bergamo, 1990); Andrea Del Col and Giovanna Paolin, eds., *L'Inquisizione Romana in Italia nell'età moderna: Archivi, problemi di metodo e nuove ricerche* (Rome, 1991); John Tedeschi, *The Prosecution of Heresy: Collected Studies on the Inquisition in Early Modern Italy* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1991). For a similar argument on the Spanish Inquisition, see William Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy: The Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Lands to Sicily* (Cambridge, 1990).

[39] See Giovanni Romeo, *Inquisitori, esorcisti e streghe nell'Italia della Controriforma* (Florence, 1990), 109–43, 201–46; and the review of the same by Enrico Stumpo, in *Rivista di storia a letteratura religiosa*, 27 (1991): 348–52. See also Adriano Prosperi, "Inquisitori e streghe nel Seicento fiorentino," in Franco Cardini, ed., *Gostanza, la strega di San Miniato: Processo a una quaritrice nella Toscana medicea* (Rome, 1989), 217–50.

[40] Her trial was based on letters of denunciation forwarded to the Venetian Holy Office. Schutte found the file of documents related to the case in ASVe, *Sant'Ufficio* (henceforth, *SU*), busta 112, fascicolo Cecilia Ferrazzi.

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sive."[41] One of them, she explained, even gave her an unconsecrated host before a large group of nuns in the hope of sending her into an ecstasy that would expose her simulated sanctity. When he did not provoke the desired response, he knocked her from her feet with a single blow.[42] Despite these criticisms of individuals, Cecilia proclaimed her obedience to the clergy and asserted a deep personal humility almost incessantly. Still, she clearly wanted to indicate her special status. She believed herself highly favored by God and different from those who sat in judgment of her. She explained that she received not only the stigmata but also frequent visions, which included conversations with the Virgin Mary and some of the saints. She enjoyed their direct intervention, and God's, to assist her in most everything, from passing kidney stones to procuring a twenty-third conception and live birth for her post-menopausal mother. Once, while Cecilia was tending the ill husband of a woman who had provided her a place to stay, a thrush she had forgotten to cook instantaneously appeared ready-to-eat, served on a stick by a "handsome and gracious" little boy. The husband in question allegedly recovered his health, and Cecilia immediately dropped to her knees to do penance for her failure in the kitchen.[43] When recounting these rich tales, this lower-class woman did anything but cower before powerful ecclesiastics. It is ironic that material like this, which identifies individuals who skillfully, subversively escaped disciplining functions and functionaries, comes mainly through microhistorical methods linked to the discourse theories of Foucault, one of the founding fathers of the very same social-disciplining model.

Further evidence to challenge oversimplified accounts of early modern Italy—especially its Catholic religious culture—as effectively changing behavior through disciplinary, "repressive" functions can be found in analysis of the history and devotional literature of the Theatine order. Though small, both when founded in 1524 and now, the order and the prominence of some of its members—such as Gian Pietro Carafa, who became Pope Paul IV—have frequently been employed to illustrate the predominance of a clerically controlled, rigorist, Counter Reformation trajectory for late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Catholic devotional life. The classic Theatine text, Lorenzo Scupoli's *Il combattimento spirituale*, deserves a more sophisticated reading. Scupoli's assumption that a father confessor would provide the best guidance in discerning spirits and his cautions to "submit

[41] "This Monsignor Iogali has always treated me with true loathing and contempt. He has even scorned and humiliated me in the presence of others, including the nuns of Santa Giustina whose confessions he heard, because he feared me and I feared him," and "When asked how she had known Father Zuanne's manner of confessing, she said, 'Because I saw them engaging in certain excessive religious practices, performing certain fasts, depriving themselves of sleep, reciting rosaries on their knees and undertaking servile punishments that displeased me.'" ASVe, *SU*, busta 112, fasc. Cecilia Ferrazzi, 38v, 39v; also published in Ferrazzi, *Autobiografia*, 34, 37. It is interesting to note that the noun *chietanarie*, defined as "excessive religious devotions," is a derivative of the place name *Chieti*, site of the episcopal see that Gian Pietro Carafa (the decidedly "excessive" future Pope Paul IV) ruled at the time of the formation of the Theatine order.

[42] "And he called all the nuns of Santa Maria Maggiore together. In their presence he told me the said things and finished by giving me communion with an unconsecrated host, saying to me, 'Throat, go into ecstasy, because it has inspired you' . . . And I forgot to say that when that priest—I don't know who he was—gave me that unconsecrated morsel, he also gave me a blow that made me fall back against a baseboard and injured me so much that I had to see a doctor." ASVe, *SU*, busta 112, fasc. Cecilia Ferrazzi, 23v–24r; also published in Ferrazzi, *Autobiografia*, 28–29.

[43] For these stories, see ASVe, *SU*, busta 112, fasc. Cecilia Ferrazzi, 25r, 55r–56v, 58v–61v; also published in Ferrazzi, *Autobiografia*, 30–31, 49–52, 54–60.

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to the rule of discretion" in regulating devotional practice were anything but one-sided. In the same text, he consistently expressed solid confidence in the practitioner's spiritual prowess and opportunity to arrive at mystical enlightenment and union with God.[44] When adding the fact that Scupoli originally wrote the treatise for an audience of nuns, the standard picture of intransigent Counter Reformation clerics controlling, even denigrating, female religious practices must be modified, if not abandoned altogether. This correction squares not only with the outlook of some of the first Theatines—such as Gaetano da Thiene, who for many years sought spiritual direction from a woman rather than giving it—but also with recent studies on the governance of convents in the post-Tridentine era, both inside and outside the confines of Italy. The move to control Italian Ursuline sisters, according to Charmarie Blaisdell, represented the desire of families of nuns and, on certain matters, even the desires of the nuns themselves, as much as the intentions of local clerics and Roman curial administrators. Other studies indicate that bishops handled convent populations and any plans for their "reform" through a cautious process of compromise and negotiation.[45]

The study of religious women in Tridentine Italy can be extended from texts addressed to them such as *Il combattimento spirituale* through published but infrequently cited primary sources, to help reconfigure the overall picture of Italian culture. As a whole, the sources reveal fascinating complexities and challenge the presumption that new religious orders developed a pathbreaking spirituality designed to facilitate post-Tridentine repression and disciplining. In many ways, there was nothing remarkably new—or exceptionally repressive—about the Theatine spirituality defined through *Il combattimento spirituale*. Though completed in the seventeenth century, part of its message was strikingly similar to Camilla Battista da Varano's *I dolori mentali di Gesù nella sua passione*. The similarity was powerful enough that her text was long attributed to Scupoli despite the fact that Varano composed it in 1488.[46] Other sources contradict any assertion that male

[44] "So guard yourself with all vigilance, daughter, against all disordered affections of whatever kind that are not first well-examined by you and recognized for what they truly are, through the light of the intellect, and especially with the light of grace, prayer and the judgment of your spiritual father" . . . "[M]any have immersed themselves in the rigor of spiritual life, in mortification of the flesh, hairshirts, flagellation, in long vigils, fasting and other similar vexations and corporal austerities without careful thought. Others, and particularly women, believe themselves to have attained great distinction when they engage in much vocal prayer, hear many masses and long offices, and frequent churches and communion." "You must not fear becoming confused by this variety [of temptations] as long as you humble yourself before the rule of discretion and the counsel of others . . . with humility and confidence." To gain a sense of the complexity of Scupoli's message to women, one must compare statements such as these, from Lorenzo Scupoli, *Il combattimento spirituale*, Mario Spinelli, ed. (Milan, 1985), chaps. 8, 1, and 23, with others like this, which relate what Scupoli expected Christ would say in response to the prayers of a nun who followed his advice: "I am asking you to despise yourself in order to give you my love, asking for your heart in order that it will unite with Mine . . . You see that I am of incomparable price, and despite all My goodness, I am worth what you are worth. Buy Me now, then, My soul's delight, by giving yourself to Me." Scupoli, *Il combattimento*, chap. 55.

[45] Francesco Andreu, ed., *Le lettere di San Gaetano da Thiene* (Vatican City, 1954), 11–38; Charmarie J. Blaisdell, "Angela Merici and the Ursulines," in DeMolen, *Religious Orders*, 99–136. See also P. Renée Baernstein, "In Widow's Habit: Women between Convent and Family in Sixteenth-Century Milan," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 25 (1994): 787–807. For post-Tridentine negotiations between bishops and communities of nuns, see, for example, Craig Harline and Eddy Put, "A Bishop in the Cloisters: The Visitation of Mathias Hovius (Malines, 1596–1620)," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 22 (1991): 611–39; and Harline, *The Burdens of Sister Margaret: Private Lives in a Seventeenth-Century Convent* (New York, 1994), 20–27, 43–50, 194–202, 246–54.

[46] Camilla Battista da Varano, *I dolori mentali di Gesù nella sua passione* (Naples, 1490). A note in

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clerical domination of religiosity after Trent consistently or comprehensively subordinated women and their religious experiences in the process of rooting out potentially heretical devotions or simulated sanctity. Cardinal Federico Borromeo clearly dominated the discourse he pursued with religious women in Milan in the early seventeenth century. He encouraged them to seek his advice and to answer their spiritual questions essentially by one means: obedience to him. Still, his correspondents, such as Ippolita Confalonieri, Annona Flaminia, and others, related ecstatic experiences gladly, after Borromeo asked them to describe their visions and conversations with the deceased. They did so despite a profound insecurity about whether the experiences were divinely or demonically inspired. They wrote letters that express not fear of his reaction or disciplinary correction but rather the conviction that they saw themselves as persons united to him in the service of God.[47] Additional archival research, as well as systematic examination of visitation records and other related published sources, will assist in creating a fuller portrait of religious women in early modern Italy.[48]

DESPITE THE LONG-GATHERING TIDE of scholarship and the existence of vast and devastating primary material, the old terms and references to them mysteriously remain. When encountering them in textbook literature designed both for secondary schools and for use in colleges and universities, one might view the reiteration

an edition of Scupoli's *Opera* (Milan, 1831) identified her as the author of the treatise, adding that the Theatine edited and "rendered it in a better style" but still included the text among his "works." For more information on Varano, see *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique doctrine et histoire* (Paris, 1937–), s.v. "Baptiste, Varani"; and Pietro Luzi, *Camilla Battista da Varano: Una spiritualita fra papa Borgia e Lutero* (Turin, 1989). There is a definitive edition of her complete writings: Camilla Battista da Varano, *Le opere spirituali*, Giacomo Boccanera, ed. (Iesi, 1958).

[47] Sister "A. M. S." to Federico Borromeo, December 15, 1629, BA, Ms. G. 125 inf., fol. 256; and Federico Borromeo to unknown, undated, but in the autograph of Borromeo, BA, Ms. G. 7 inf., fol. 322; also published in Carlo Marcora, "Lettere del Card. Federico Borromeo alle claustrali," *Memorie storiche della diocesi di Milano*, 11 (1964): 177–432. On Borromeo and his female correspondents, see Agostino Saba, *Federico Borromeo ed i mistici del suo tempo con la vita e la corrispondenza inedita di Caterina Vannini da Siena* (Florence, 1933); and *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, s.v. "Borromeo, Federico."

[48] Study and publication of visitation records from Italy in this period has been moving forward rapidly in the past few years, under the sponsorship of the Istituto Storico Italo-Germanico in Trent and other such organizations. See Umberto Mazzone and Angelo Turchini, eds., *Le visite pastorali: Analisi di una fonte* (Bologna, 1985; 2d edn. 1990); Cecilia Nubola and Angelo Turchini, eds., *Visite pastorali ed elaborazione dei dati: Esperienze e metodi* (Bologna, 1993); Antonio Fasani, ed., *Riforma pretridentina della diocesi di Verona: Visite Pastorali del vescovo G. M. Giberti 1525–1542*, 3 vols. (Vicenza, 1989); and Cecilia Nubola, *Conoscere per governare: La diocesi di Trento nella visita pastorale di Ludovico Madruzzo (1579–1581)* (Bologna, 1993). A huge literature is developing on the topic of religious women in this era. For some noteworthy examples, see Gabriella Zarri, "Le sante vive: Per una tipologia della santità femminile nel primo Cinquecento," *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento*, 6 (1980): 371–445; Margaret W. Ferguson, *et al.*, eds., *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago, 1986); Gabriella Zarri, "La vita religiosa femminile tra il 1475 e il 1520," in *I frati minori tra '400 e '500* (Assisi, 1986), 125–68; Elisja Schulte van Kessel, "Gender and Spirit, *pietas et contemptus mundi*: Matron-Patrons in Early-Modern Rome," in Schulte van Kessel, ed., *Women and Men in Spiritual Culture, XIV–XVII Centuries* (The Hague, 1986), 47–68; Adriano Prosperi, "Dalle 'divine madri' ai 'padri spirituali,'" *ibid.*, 71–90; Sherrin Marshall, ed., *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe: Public and Private Worlds* (Bloomington, Ind., 1989); Gabriella Zarri, *Le sante vive: Cultura e religiosità femminile nella prima età moderna* (Turin, 1990); Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell, eds., *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991); and Ottavio Niccoli, ed., *Rinascimento al femminile* (Rome, 1991).

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as unsophisticated analysis by nonspecialists and attribute little significance to the finding. Misleading oversimplifications about the Spanish Inquisition and the Council of Trent abound in the worst of them. Even the better ones distract attention from the elements necessary to grasp the nuances and complexity of events they might mention—such as the devotional revival and popularity of reform initiatives in Italian cities—with overemphasis on political instead of cultural factors in the history of reform.[49] The old views continue to affect more focused and specialized works as well. It is certainly possible, for example, to identify a common Western focus on fear, death, and scorn for the world in this era. If that identification, however, is then used to posit a systematized, hierarchically planned program to promulgate this focus, the effect is to suggest that the hierarchy somehow stood outside of Western culture, imposing certain views on the unwilling.[50] Other recent works acknowledge the need to move toward new conceptions of religious persons and institutions but fall just short of rejecting the old terms and periodization outright. The new, beautifully real portraits of individual Italians from this period too frequently slide back into the heroic or demonic commonplaces we should seek to leave behind. Gasparo Contarini, Vittoria Colonna, and Giovanni Morone remain idealized for their conciliatory, quasi-democratic outlook, while Gian Pietro Carafa stands as the example of all that was wrong with sixteenth-century ecclesiastical government.[51] The new archival information we now possess on topics such as sixteenth-century Italian heresy more often than not leads authors to restate the standard "crisis" theory of early modern culture. The new social-disciplining model is promising but needs to be handled cautiously. Verification that the disciplining plan had broad-ranging effects on the behavior of groups and individuals is necessary, as is recognition that the society as a whole—not just ecclesiastical or governmental elites—perceived the necessity and usefulness of such disciplining. Otherwise, the new model will become simply another grand scheme that obscures the human nature of early modern Italy in much the same way that older ones did.

The persistence of oversimplified models may reflect nothing more than the continuation of the polemics that have always dominated historical accounts of the sixteenth century. Preferred models for church and state organization, after all, remain much-disputed points, at least in part because of perceptions of current political and ecclesiastical leaders and their administrative styles. The historiographical situation is not likely to change soon, either, for in late twentieth-century Italy, the study of ecclesiastical persons and institutions is anything but fashionable. We might hope that such analysis could rise above second-class status, but the very

[49] Trevor Cairns, *Renaissance and Reformation* (Cambridge, 1987), 66–70; Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation* (Oxford, 1991), 189–91; Mark Kishlansky, *et al.*, *Societies and Cultures in World History* (New York, 1995), 398–404; and Albert M. Cragi, *et al.*, *The Heritage of World Civilizations*, 3d edn. (New York, 1990), 527–30.

[50] Delumeau seemed to posit just that in *Le péche et la peur*. It is now available in an English translation, *Sin and Fear*, by Eric Nicholson, and his interpretation is clear: see, for example, 213–44, 296–303. For a counter-argument drawn from French sources, see Larissa Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (New York, 1992).

[51] Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini*, 22–23, 69, 201–02, 301; Bonora, *Richerche su Francesco Sansovino*, 8; and Massimo Firpo, *Inquisizione romana e controriforma: Studi sul Cardinal Giovanni Morone e il suo processo d'eresia* (Bologna, 1992), 15–16, 19–20, 59, 125, 155–57, 196, 205, 239–40, 303, 315, 377, 382. I fell into the same trap in evaluating Carafa—see Hudon, *Marcello Cervini*, 161–74.

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study—let alone any attempt to rethink or challenge Risorgimento commonplaces—enjoys even less political correctness there than in the United States. In addition, the old views are comfortable and remain commonplaces, at least in part, for that very reason. All potential explanations aside, the *spirituali* and *intransigenti*, the Counter Reformation and the Catholic Reform, live on.[52]

Nuanced understanding of early modern Italian religiosity, however—let alone the development of any new term to characterize it adequately—will remain impossible so long as the notion continues to exist that the age of the Counter Reformation in Italy was little more than a fall from Renaissance ideals. A sophisticated synthesis of the period, similarly, will not emerge until outmoded conceptualizations of early modern Catholicism are fully overcome. There seems no other means to accomplish this than to reject the outmoded periodization and concepts outright. Then, an alternate concept must be formed that is broad and descriptive enough to embrace the complexities of the age while simultaneously neutral enough to avoid reference to religio-political commitments that have compromised historical understanding of early modern Italy to date. The "disciplining" concept may be the solution but only if the disciplinary plans and programs already identified are demonstrated to have effectively changed popular behavior. At the moment, the bulk of the evidence runs in the opposite direction. Even if fully convincing evidence can be found, a challenge to the disciplining model will always remain: any major behavioral shift identified would by necessity also represent the popularity of changes now described as imposed from above by governmental and clerical elites. To view the church and its administrators plus secular governments and their leaders as groups that consistently sought something entirely opposite to the intentions, desires, and values of society at large is the first step toward misunderstanding them as cultural institutions.

So long as it is carefully defined, "Tridentine Reformation" represents the only currently viable terminological alternative. Eric Cochrane first proposed this label for the religious revival of later fifteenth and sixteenth-century Italy that was capped by the Council of Trent, using a term derived from the Latin name of the conciliar city.[53] Cochrane argued that experimentation represented by everything from mixed lay and clerical scriptural study groups to reassertions of episcopal control over dioceses to religiously motivated social-service action fed into the discussions at Trent. A consolidated statement of "Catholic" religious doctrines and practices emerged from those discussions. No such statement had existed before, and several succeeding generations of Catholics—both clerical and lay—struggled to put it into practice. The statement did not, however, become a set of marching orders producing lock-step uniformity. Instead, it was adapted to local realities by bishops, members of new religious orders, and lay persons serving in burgeoning diocesan institutions such as the confraternities of Christian doctrine. Hence, Trent was not, contrary to Cochrane, really a "cap"; for full understanding of the term, both the experimentation that preceded the Council and the process of implementation that followed it must be considered. Indeed, to introduce the term "Tridentine Reformation" and leave the impression that only the years 1545 to 1563 were part of the change would simply be to introduce another unworkable oversimplification.

[52] See Firpo, *Inquisizione*, 18, 29–32; and Martin, *Venice's Hidden Enemies*, 9–16, 166–69, 237, 262.
[53] Cochrane, "Counter Reformation or Tridentine Reformation," 42.

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Even largely construed in order to encompass the widely variant topics, events, desires, institutions, and special interests represented in one way or another at the Council of Trent, the new term "Tridentine Reformation" has problems of its own. "Tridentine" was a neutral term for Cochrane, but it will remain less than satisfactory for many because of its reference to a council that will—forever, perhaps—be better known for repetitive proclamations of "anathema" than for anything else. Historians of new early modern religious orders such as the Jesuits will rightly wonder whether or not the term can account for the movements and innovations they study despite the representation of many of the groups at the council and the assistance most of them provided in the process of implementation. Still, the term avoids both the bland description that spoils configurations like "early modern Catholicism" and the overly political specifications of terms like "confessionalization" that could be borrowed from other national contexts.

The real solution to the problem identified in this essay does not lie in a magical term that neatly summarizes the complexity of early modern Italian religiosity while avoiding any hint of the polemics that have driven previous analysis. No such term, in all probability, can be found. The best way to proceed is to abandon the terms "Catholic Reform" and "Counter Reformation," plus related terms like *spirituali* and *intransigenti* altogether. We must investigate the effectiveness of early modern Italian programs of social disciplining without their explicit use. We must proceed also without the implicit use of the terms through what appears to be an underlying assumption in many studies on disciplining: that the elite was the only portion of the population to consider the programs necessary. The investigation must embrace—rather than reject—ambiguity in historical personages, events, and institutions. Historians involved in research and teachers at all levels must welcome, not turn away from, the complexities of the eras they investigate, especially when treating periods previously analyzed in politically charged intellectual contexts.[54] Complexity identified and analyzed reminds us of the humanity of historical subjects from any era. When historians acknowledge ambiguity and complexity in their studies, they can contribute to the validation of the information they find and to the legitimization of the conclusions they draw.

[54] Another historian recently put it this way: "we must admit that riding many horses may be the only way to negotiate the pitfalls of a postmodern and politically committed intellectual project." Florencia E. Mallon, "The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History," *AHR*, 99 (December 1994): 1491–1515, quote on 1515.

William V. Hudon is professor and chairman in the Department of History at Bloomsburg University. In 1986, he received a PhD in history from the University of Chicago, where he studied under the direction of Bernard McGinn, Julius Kirshner, and the late Eric Cochrane. His book *Marcello Cervini and Ecclesiastical Government in Tridentine Italy* was published in 1992, and he has another forthcoming this summer: *Theatine Spirituality: Selected Writings*, no. 87 in the series Classics in Western Spirituality (Mahwah, N.J., and New York). Hudon is currently studying the writings of Camilla Battista da Varano (1458–1524), an author connected to both the monastic practices of Renaissance Italy and to the Theatine tradition in the "Counter Reformation."

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Reviews of Books

GENERAL

FRANÇOISE THÉBAUD, editor. *A History of Women in the West*. Volume 5, *Toward a Cultural Identity in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 713. $29.95.

Sheltered, disenfranchised, and largely voiceless in *fin-de-siècle* Europe and North America, the women of the West are now found in boardrooms, on assembly lines, and in parliaments. Only decades away from the social constraints of church and parlor, today they head their own households and venture into new realms of sexuality. How did these changes come about? And how genuine is women's apparent move toward empowerment and equality? These are some of the questions addressed by the essays collected by Françoise Thébaud for the final volume of *A History of Women in the West*.

Under the general editorship of Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot, the five-volume series seeks to present women's history "from antiquity to the present." Unlike collections covering roughly the same time span in a single volume, such as *Becoming Visible: Women in European History* (1977), edited by Claudia Koonz *et al.*, or *Connecting Spheres: Women in the Western World, 1500 to the Present* (1987), edited by Marilyn Boxer and Jean Quataert, the multivolume format allows each editor space enough for a complex and nuanced exploration of the assigned period.

Still, given the plethora of scholarship in the field (Arthur Goldhammer's able and lucid translations from the French remove one obvious barrier to international exchange), no single collection can claim comprehensiveness, even for one century. Although Duby and Perrot carefully circumscribe the overall scope of the project (pointedly excluding the women of the non-Western world), its historiographical challenges remain daunting. The twentieth century has been one of momentous social and political change for the West. To what extent should women's history rewrite existing historiography; to what extent must it totally reperiodize and reconceptualize? In the end, Thébaud decides to attempt both.

Two of the four main sections, "The Nationalization of Women," dealing with war and revolution, and "The Century's Great Changes," concerning democratization and the rise of welfare states, rewrite movements and events that are often portrayed as "neutral" political history. Although these essays leave conventional outlines intact, they show that this history was still deeply gendered. Representations of women were, for example, essential figures in the rhetoric of nationalism and revolution. Women were not only caught up in war and targeted by welfare states but also played active roles in both.

The other two main sections potentially challenge received conceptualizations by proposing as analytical categories for all of history the forces and phenomena that have particularly affected women. "Women, Creation, and Representation" draws attention to the growing impact of culture—particularly mass culture—on social relations and processes. "Current Issues" demonstrates the centrality of feminist movements to modern politics and law. The final essay in this section shows how science, specifically advances in reproductive technology, has intruded into private life by sundering sexuality from reproduction.

Much of this rewriting and reconceptualization will be familiar to women's historians. Three of the strongest essays—those by Nancy Cott on American women in the 1920s, Victoria de Grazia on women under Italian fascism, and Gisela Bock on Nazi anti-natalism—are based on material the authors have published previously. Comparative essays by Bock on welfare states and Thébaud on World War I draw heavily on themes first developed in other collections. Although it is useful to have these syntheses gathered together, the volume's geographical and chronological coverage is inconsistent: heavy on continental Europe, scanty on Anglo-America and Scandinavia, thin on the immediate postwar period. The analytical level is also uneven, ranging from the narrowly monographic to the superficial "add women and stir."

Thébaud's subtitle promises a fresh approach to twentieth-century women's history, but that promise is not fully realized. The term "cultural identity" is never defined, and the use of "toward" remains puzzling. Did women have no cultural identity (whatever that might be) in previous eras? Is there but one endpoint? Thébaud implies that culture will hold analytical pride of place throughout the collection, yet for the most part it remains ghettoized and epiphenomenal, with

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the insights of perceptive essays by Louisa Passerini and Anne Higonnet on modern representations of women immured in a separate section. The two exceptions are de Grazia's essay and an excellent piece by Yolande Cohen on feminism and nationalism in Quebec, both of which successfully integrate culture and politics.

As a starting point for studying women in modern Western societies (the general editors offer the series "as a provisional summary of the results achieved to date and as a guide to future research"), this collection has other serious limitations. Surprising in a work on the twentieth century, there is little discussion of the impact of rationalization on women, particularly important for understanding the transformation of everyday life; nor are the concepts modernity and modernization problematized by gender.

There are also major gaps in the discussion of race. The exclusion of non-Western women does not obviate the fact that colonialism and postcolonialism also affected the women of the metropole. Historians attempting to understand the role of race and ethnicity in Western gender systems other than Nazism, or to place Western women within a global context, will find little to work with here.

The selections also fail to acknowledge the challenges of gender and queer theory to the field of women's history; there is no analysis of masculinity as a counterpart to femininity, little attention to the construction and multiplicity of sexualities and genders.

The volume concludes with two brief literary excerpts. In one, Christa Wolf addresses Nazism's legacy to German women; in the other, Nelly Kaplan projects gender (mis)rule into a matriarchal future. Although tantalizing, such a limited selection cannot help but appear arbitrary and paltry against the complex backdrop of the collection as a whole. Because these works are readily available elsewhere, the space might have been more usefully devoted to an annotated bibliography (better yet, accompanied by a filmography) of twentieth-century works by and about women.

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RICHARD SENNETT. *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1994. Pp. 432. $27.50.

Richard Sennett believes that urban spaces take their shape from the way people experience their own bodies. He provides several views of urban societies in which body experiences assert themselves in architecture and design. Many of these are familiar tales that are freshened by reading them as metaphors for body experiences. Many selections are convenient because they coincide with paradigm shifts in ideas about the body. Others depend on literary works for evidence of some general cultural trend. The resulting discussion is an exquisite example of a purely metropolitan way of knowing, a cultural consequence of the struggle in these cities to bring about sameness from difference.

Sennett organizes the narrative into three parts. The first four chapters are grouped as the "Powers of Voice and Eye" and explore the body in the antique city. In the chapter on Athens, we learn about humoral medicine and its connection to sexuality and to family rituals. We learn how the Athenians understood public nakedness as both healthy and virtuous. The Roman emperors projected geometric representations of the body onto the design of urban space. Sennett describes how the imperial demand that people observe the might of Rome's overwhelming power over bodies was brought forth literally in the Coliseum and figuratively through the design of the Forums. For the early Christian experience of Rome, he focuses on the desire to transcend the body and to move compassionately toward the bodies of others in pain. Buildings emphasized egalitarian arrangements and close physical contact.

The second part, called "Movements of the Heart," focuses on the late-medieval and Renaissance body experiences. In the Paris of Jehan De Chelles, the builder of Notre Dame cathedral, economy, state, and religion compete for the attention of residents. The body is the global metaphor in this resurgent humanism that initiates a rebirth of civic feeling. Soon, emergent capitalism would change urban space to make compassion exceptional. The new economic individualist transformed urban space and time to free the body from local constraints of trust and commitment. The movement toward this spatial liberality produced urban societies in which increasingly the strange and the familiar mixed together. The culmination of this mixing was the founding of the Jewish ghetto in Venice in 1512. The liberality of the merchant city attracted a large number of foreign groups to Venice. With them came an increasing threat of disease from leprosy and later syphilis. This sense of pollution through strangers initiated the locking of Jewish districts, insulating the Venetian body from the foreigner's imagined pollution.

The third part, "Arteries and Veins," depicts the evolution of the discourse into the modern era. It begins with William Harvey's revolutionary description of blood circulation. Motion is the theme of the body in the modernist city. Harvey's circulatory system leads to a focus on circulation in urban design, defining congestion as pathology. The image of Marianne during the French Revolution gave a new, collective meaning to motion and change within the human body. Her breasts, revealed through the movement of her body, nurtured a new way of life. This frenzied movement isolates people, as depicted in E. M. Forster's novel, *Howard's End* (1910), where speeding bodies are a fact of urban life. Isolation leads to indifference, mutual withdrawal, and the irreconcilable construction of difference. Thus, bodies in motion pose the same problem to contemporaries as they did to Renaissance

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Venetians: can the multicultural city have a common civic culture? Sennett believes that for those living in Greenwich Village, at least, there is a willingness to live with difference, but a denial of sharing the same fate.

There is an effort here to link the symbolic production of bodies to the social production of urban spaces. The effort is ultimately weakened by a top-down view of cultural change. Sennett assumes that if a writer says it, then that is why it happened. Rarely do we learn how people interpreted their own actions. I often wondered what was happening in the periods not discussed and in cities outside Western Europe or New York. He uses ideas from ethnology in discussions of ritual behavior or pollution accurately, but only when the body experiences are exotic. His intent here is laudable. We gain an understanding of how body experiences shape our race relations, public health issues, and toleration of cultural difference. For that purpose, this book ought to have been more scrupulous in its tracking of body experiences in lived space rather than abstract space.

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THEDA SKOCPOL. *Social Revolutions in the Modern World*. (Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 354. Cloth $49.95, paper $16.95.

Theda Skocpol's *States and Social Revolutions* (1979) was one of the most significant and controversial works of comparative history published in the last thirty years. It would be wonderful if now, after over a decade of reflection, Skocpol offered an extended reply to her critics and a thorough analysis of modern revolutions, expanding her theories and enlarging her previous insights.

Unfortunately, that is not exactly what this volume contains. All but about fifty pages have been previously published in unchanged form—and over half of that work consists of early sketches in preparation for *States and Social Revolutions*. Still, about half of this volume consists of essays written after that book, including replies to critics, extensions to modern revolutions, and defenses of Skocpol's methods. For those familiar only with Skocpol's landmark earlier book, these essays are worth reading.

States and Social Revolutions was significant for restoring the autonomous state to the center of analytical attention. But it also provoked controversy, as Skocpol systematically neglected the role of urban working classes, intra-elite conflicts, cultural and ideological constructions of conflict, and the role of revolutionary actors as agents in social processes.

One of the most telling such controversies is reprinted entirely in this volume, consisting of William Sewell, Jr.'s discussion of the crucial role of ideology in guiding the French Revolution and Skocpol's reply. Other controversies appear more one-sidedly through Skocpol's replies to criticisms from Marxist and rational-choice theorists, and her reflections on the causes of modern (post–World War II) revolutions in the developing world.

What is most remarkable in this book is Skocpol's sustained defense of her original positions, despite her numerous concessions that, for example, ideology can play a much larger role in revolutions than she originally allowed (obvious in the case of the Iranian Revolution). Skocpol also grants that the role of intentional revolutionary action was considerable in modern revolutions, that nationalism was a powerful force in assembling revolutionary coalitions, and that international pressures were far from decisive in the development of modern revolutionary situations. In other words, she concedes that much of the strict structuralism in her earlier book is flawed. Curiously, then, the only sustained comparative examination of modern revolutions in this volume (a chapter coauthored with Jeffrey Goodwin) sticks to a resolutely structuralist explanation of those revolutions, in which characteristics of states and elites—whether they are bureaucratic or personalist, inclusive or exclusionary, and penetrate the countryside or not—are the only explanatory variables.

Moreover, despite her concessions, Skocpol is far from charitable to her critics, condemning them for mischaracterizing her methods and conclusions. In some respects she is quite correct; critics of her methods as purely inductive or pseudoexperimental simply miss the combination of narrative, deductive theory, and inductive theory-testing that Skocpol skillfully practices. In other cases, she simply replies with mischaracterizations and harsh criticisms of her own, especially in treating Sewell's critique of inductive comparativism as posing a dangerous threat to future generations of graduate students considering work in historical sociology.

Clearly, Skocpol has moved on to her distinguished analysis of the welfare state. Most of her last chapter (the only original reflection on recent work in the entire volume) simply endorses her favorite students and colleagues (those who hew most closely to her own state-centered structural approach) as setting the pace for future work on revolutions and briefly decries those suggesting alternatives to state-structural analysis.

Readers curious to see what Skocpol thinks about arguments over her work will find some answers here. But readers seeking a serious and detailed study of modern revolutions will have to look elsewhere: to the work that Skocpol, to her credit, has inspired.

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MICHAEL S. ROTH, editor. *Rediscovering History: Culture, Politics, and the Psyche*. (Cultural Sitings.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 535. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.95.

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Although the body of Carl Schorske's published work in modern European intellectual history is not large, the synthesizing and explanatory force of his essays on *fin-de-siècle* Vienna have made him one of the dominant figures in the field since the 1960s. This volume is intended to mark his achievement, although oddly the rubric "Essays in Honor of Carl E. Schorske" appears neither on the dust jacket nor on the title page, only in the dedication. The distinguished contributors include former students of Schorske who have themselves become well-known intellectual historians, as well as eminent friends and colleagues. One surprising omission is contributions from Schorske's own generation of intellectual historians.

The collection is a smorgasbord for the reader but by the same token causes problems of digestion for the reviewer. The *Festschrift* as a genre was always something of a postmodern event *avant la lettre*, a collection of disparate pieces whose major, if not sole, principle of unity was their intention to pay tribute to the honoree. This volume mildly contests even that loose principle of totalization, three of the essays having appeared elsewhere prior to their publication here. Twenty-two essays in all, they range in length from seven to sixty-five pages and in topic from an exploration of the relationship between fiction and history in two seventeenth-century texts to the significance of the kickline in Weimar Germany.

Many of the essays demand and repay close attention; mentioning just a few is meant not to devalue the rest but to point out some highlights and some problems. Debora Silverman's thorough, lavishly illustrated exploration of the Dutch social, economic, and religious background of Vincent van Gogh's "weaving paintings" is a compelling demonstration of the value of multilevel contextual analysis for cultural studies, revealing how different van Gogh's modernist religious realism was from the standard notion of avant-garde subjectivity. By comparison, T. J. Clark's occasionally irritating, brilliant riff on Jacques-Louis David's "Self-Portrait" of 1794, permeated by an insistent postmodernist self-consciousness, is a suggestive if less persuasive marshaling of contemporary discourses of the self in an effort to illuminate a moment in the history of self-representation, not quite satisfactory even to its author. John Toews and Lionel Gossman sophisticatedly situate major works of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and Jacob Burckhardt, respectively, in the cultural-political milieus of early nineteenth-century Prussia and Basel; the sensitivity of Toews's detailed analysis of Mendelssohn's *Lobesgesang* and its context is reminiscent of the musical and psychological acuity of Schorske's discussion of Arnold Schoenberg in *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (1979).

Not all of the essays, however, cut so deeply or are as coherently constructed. Jerrold Siegel's promising exposure of the contradiction between the radical rejection and almost grandiose affirmation of individuality in Claude Lévi-Strauss's work does not get beyond very general remarks about the typical inner conflicts of modern intellectuals to the more historically specific issues surrounding the postexistentialist obsession with the death of the subject in France. James Sheehan deftly traces the rise of the modern museum and suggests its connection with specific social purposes, but he undercuts his own approach as well as the possibility of deeper explanation by rejecting the claim that the nineteenth-century museum had an ideological function. Some of the essays are almost purely descriptive, not venturing into explanation at all, although they may yield interesting information; thus Gary Cohen's analysis of the composition and purposes of the student bodies at the universities of Vienna and Prague shows that a surprisingly high percentage of lower-middle-class students were interested in professional advancement. Other essays seem to defy characterization altogether. It is hard to know, for example, what one is to make of Peter Loewenberg's essay, which, despite its bow to history, is essentially a plea for legal respect for confidentiality in psychotherapy and psychoanalysis against the reporting requirements of various state laws.

Evaluating the significance of the collection as a whole, however, is more difficult than assessing individual pieces. Contrary to one of the dust-jacket blurbs, the volume does not present an overview of current work in European intellectual history. Some significant current approaches are not represented, a fact that should neither surprise nor be taken as a defect. Indeed, given the volume's purpose, attempting a comprehensive survey would have been awkward, since one of the most influential strands of intellectual history not represented here has produced a serious critique of Schorske's work. Nor is the editor, Michael S. Roth, quite correct in suggesting that the essays all share the central theme of Schorske's work, the interactions between culture and politics. He is nearer the mark when he concedes that some essays implicitly question Schorske's disposition to "synthesize ... forces whose dynamics resist integration," and that they are united at best by a common aspiration to "connected inclusiveness." But this rather vague notion is much less coherent than Schorske's own approach. For all its lack of theoretical self-consciousness, and for all its suppleness in respecting the individuality of fields and figures, Schorske's work always seeks to identify the cultural theme common to the various spheres of art and thought and root it in specifically political change and its psychological consequences. Whatever the danger of one-sidedness or reductiveness in this approach—and Schorske never made claims for the total explanatory power of his work—it has enabled us to see not just turn-of-the-century Vienna but cultural creativity more generally in a new way. Schorske wrote before the vogue of Michel Foucault, but as Jan Goldstein's discussion of the "politics of selfhood" in nineteenth-century France, the most Foucauldian of the essays, shows, there is little in Foucault's categories of knowledge and power that was not already in Schorske's ap-

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proach. Though the concept of "discourse" may make it possible to conceptualize Schorske's unities across disciplines in a more explicit and coherent way, it also runs the danger, against which Goldstein herself warns, of taking language as ultimately constitutive. There is a certain irony in the fact that the poststructuralist tendencies of some of the essays honoring Schorske implicitly undercut his own work in their concerns with constitutive discourses or deconstructing totalizations. Schorske's enterprise attempts the most ambitious and distinctive task of intellectual history: both describing new cultural configurations and trying to explain their emergence. It is a tribute to his enterprise that those essays that are either directly influenced by his methodological and theoretical inclinations, or that show a parallel interest in the social and psychological (including now gender) politics of culture, have produced the richest insights.

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JAMES STEVENS CURL. *Egyptomania: The Egyptian Revival; A Recurring Theme in the History of Taste*. New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's. 1994. Pp. xxii, 298. Cloth $90.00, paper $24.95.

"Egyptomania" refers to the enthusiasm—beginning in the fifteenth century and picking up momentum in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—for all things ancient Egyptian. Most studies of Egyptomania, including this book, must begin with Roman installations of Egyptian artifacts and monuments. The Romans were motivated in many cases by genuine religious feeling and they had first-hand connections with the surviving traditions of Pharaonic Egypt. By contrast, modern Egyptomaniacs have constructed their image of Egypt through the lens of Greco-Roman culture itself, which had its own distinctive view of Egypt; and although there have been many modern attempts to revive the symbolism or spirituality of ancient Egypt (for instance, in various Masonic, Jacobin, or Rosicrucian practices) these movements constructed Egypt less in Roman than in Renaissance (for example neo-Hermetic) terms. As an episode in the history of modern political and religious institutions, Egyptomania is an important guide to the formation of certain distinctively modern communities of interest that many modernists would like to forget.

As a "recurring theme in the history of taste," as James Stevens Curl puts it in his survey of architecture and associated arts since the early Renaissance, Egyptomania has a wider role than the standard art histories tend to admit. This is perhaps because modernisms in the arts and criticism generally reject the *bizarrerie* of modern, Western buildings organized according to remote and mysterious canons, even when modernist aesthetics approves the formal associations, as in the use of stereometrically pure and blocky architectonic units, pylons, pyramids, or obelisks, to construct eighteenth-century salons, nineteenth-century bridges, or twentieth-century movie palaces. In ten chapters packed with information and examples, Curl follows architectural Egyptomania from the Renaissance to Hollywood. He highlights the continuing role of key monuments (for example, the Great Pyramids, the so-called Mensa Isiaca [an Egyptianizing tablet with imaginary hieroglyphs once thought to be a Pharaonic original], the Antinous from Hadrian's Villa [now in the Vatican], and the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak) and the distinctive contributions made by individual artists, such as Giovanni Battista Piranesi, who invented florid Egyptianizing caprices recognizing the flexibility and subtlety of Egyptian art and ornament but flavoring them with his dark sublimities, or Alexander "Greek" Thomson, whose mid-nineteenth-century "Greek" Revival buildings incorporated many Egyptianized elements. Although Curl's book is somewhat repetitive and even breathless, art and architectural historians will find it to be a convenient compendium; he contributes to research by adding many unfamiliar examples to the array of familiar ones.

Even within his chosen purview, however, Curl has been upstaged by the recent exhibition, "Egyptomania," in Paris, Ottawa, and Vienna; its massive and beautifully illustrated catalog (*L'Egypte dans l'art occidental, 1730–1930* by Jean-Marcel Humbert, Michael Pantazzi, and Christiane Ziegler [1994]) discusses individual works in greater depth than Curl and often reveals subtler connections between Egyptianizing forms in modern art or architecture and political, literary, religious, or other modern interests, including specifically Egyptological developments. The exhibition examined an issue Curl never quite brings into focus: Egyptianizing building has been dependent on, and feeds into, a cultural image of ancient Egypt and its status—cognitive, political, sexual—for modern nations. Often this image can be investigated in its painted or novelistic representations; the exhibition addressed these more thoroughly than Curl.

Although Curl often touches on context, he does not always make clear why designers and builders in different situations were attracted to Egyptian forms, what they expected modern audiences to believe about them, and how broader movements in aesthetics, philosophy, or political economy shaped their production (here the consumption of Egyptianized minor arts, in furniture, jewelery, ceramics, and so on, helps make sense of larger-scale designs and buildings, and the exhibition rightly devoted attention to it). Curl misses the opportunity to relate his extensive knowledge of Egyptianized modern architecture to the various waves of Orientalism that have swept post-medieval Europe and which recent historians of nationalism and imperialism—as well as literary historians of Gothic, exoticist, and Orientalizing paintings, poetry, and novels—have explored in depth. He does recognize that Egyptomania has evolved hand-in-hand not only with

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modern Hellenisms (Egypt being the precursor or, in other cases, the antithesis of Greece) but also with modern Euro-American perceptions of the savage and of Byzantine, Chinese, or African formal sensibilities and visual cultures. But he treats the moderns' topography of cultures and cognitions too haphazardly, even though art and aesthetic theorists from Johann Winckelmann and Quatremère de Quincy to Gottfried Semper and Alois Riegl treated it structurally and systematically. In this regard G. W. F. Hegel's notorious analysis of the Egyptian "artificer" surely deserved mention, not only for its wide intellectual impact but also because it explained those features of Egyptian art that modern artists replicated: stereometric forms, animal/human hybrids, naturalistic ornament subjected to abstract stylization, and hieroglyphs, all of which, for Hegel, represented phases of an *Ur*-form of human consciousness "divided from itself."

Curl has limited himself to a well-informed antiquarianism by treating Egyptomania as a matter of the "history of taste" rather than a problem in the history of modern thought. Although he has not set out to write a larger social or philosophical history, the ambitions of many of the artists and architects he hopes to consider were social and philosophical in just this sense: for them, Egypt, as an allegory for a kind of thought supposedly surpassed and superseded but simultaneously impressive and insightful, registers a complex, and still poorly understood, set of ideas about modernity itself.

WHITNEY DAVIS
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GERTRUDE HIMMELFARB. *The De-Moralization of Society: From Victorian Virtues to Modern Values*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1995. Pp. x, 314. $24.00.

Gertrude Himmelfarb's book is as much about her own society as about Victorian England. A superficial judgment might describe it simply as a book in praise of the Victorians, but Himmelfarb does not write for the superficial reader. There is, indeed, much praise and understanding of Victorian ideals and achievements: the manners and morals they proclaimed (and mostly practiced) to make an urban society tolerable and increasingly civilized; the wholesome belief, almost a faith, in family and home; the high regard for women's particular qualities and a desire to preserve them; their approach to the problem of poverty; the significance of Samuel Smiles; and their attitudes to others in their society, especially Jews (a less successful chapter, based mostly on Beatrice Potter Webb's thoughts) and the new men and women.

Himmelfarb's thesis, however, is subtle: her underlying concern is not with Victorian virtues but with the failings of her own society—which she reveals by a comparison with Victorian successes—and with the contemporary ideologies perpetuating those failings, which she reveals through criticism of recent historiography. Himmelfarb's reader, therefore, has to have a nodding acquaintance with Victorian England and with the recent schools of historical writing that disparage it. Why do Marxists, feminists, feminist Marxists, socialists, and Foucauldians generally denigrate the Victorians and their achievements? Why are the Victorians' attempts to educate the people, to relieve the poor, to improve morals, and to preach self-help seen as attempts at social control? Why is their moralizing seen as hypocrisy? Himmelfarb's answer—and here I simplify—is their very success. Their success was achieved by the very virtues that our values denigrate.

Himmelfarb's prologue opens with a discussion of the reaction in 1983 to Margaret Thatcher's enthusiastic endorsement of Victorian virtues: "Those were the values when our country became great" (p. 3). Underlying the rest of the book is an acerbic analysis of why "many journalists, professors, and Labour Party members [were] frankly contemptuous of so retrograde a notion" (p. 3). She argues that the concept of virtues was undermined by Friedrich Nietzsche's nihilism: "The 'death of God' would mean the death of morality and the death of truth—above all, the truth of any morality. There would be no good and evil, no virtue and vice. There would be only 'values.' And having degraded virtues into values, Nietzsche proceeded to de-value and transvalue them, to create a new set of values for his 'new man'" (p. 10).

In her epilogue, subtitled "A De-Moralized Society," Himmelfarb, mostly relying on statistics, compares contemporary British and American society with Victorian times. For anyone who believes that it is better not to murder than to murder, to take an indisputable criterion, the statistics are horrifyingly damning of our de-moralized social policy, a policy divorced "from any moral criteria, requirements, even expectations" (p. 243). A society in which all values claim equality has no virtues.

The book's simple question is: if our values are so much better than the Victorians' virtues, how come they were much more successful than we? Himmelfarb's book is for all those for whom this is a rhetorical question and agree with its implications and for all those who think it a wrong-headed question and its implications erroneous. The latter have their work cut out to provide a response based on fact, not ideology.

ANN ROBSON
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ANNA BRAMWELL. *The Fading of the Greens: The Decline of Environmental Politics in the West*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 224. $25.00.

Anna Bramwell examines environmental politics in the United States, Germany, and Britain from 1945 until about 1993. Her personal intellectual perspective leans toward free-market environmentalism, and her focus is considerably narrower than the book's title might suggest. This is not a book about environmental politics broadly conceived, which Bramwell concedes is not

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in decline. Rather, Bramwell focuses on "ecologism"—her term for a quasi-religious, nature-centered dogma best exemplified in the United States by the "deep ecology" movement—and its failure to become institutionalized in successful "Green" political parties. The discussion is presented in three parts.

The first part recapitulates Bramwell's history of the ecological movement prior to World War II (*Ecology in the 20th Century: A History* [1989]), then examines the postwar continuation of that movement in the target countries. This is intellectual, not political, history, and it is quite selective. Chapter 3 begins with the assertion that "Environmentalism in the USA since 1970 has seen the intertwining of two very different strands: New-Age–style introverted ecologism, and the influence of former Marxists" (p. 56). The supporting analysis devotes most of its energy to an exposition of three books: *Deschooling Society* (1971) by Ivan Illich, *The Greening of America* (1971) by Charles Reich, and the novel *Ecotopia* (1975) by Ernest Collenbach. Few would quibble with the assertion that the environmental activism of the 1970s drew from the antistatist and anticapitalist activism of the 1960s New Left, but Bramwell devotes most of her energy to personalities and ideas that are only tangentially related to mainstream environmentalism in the United States. American readers will be confused by her transposition of meaning between the terms "conservationist" and "preservationist" and may be put off by her naiveté regarding American politics: "If the victory of President Clinton's Democrats had not filled the gap, there would by now be a Green party in the USA" (p. 56).

The second part of Bramwell's book is devoted to Green strategies. Not surprisingly, dogmatic and marginalized ideological groups such as Bramwell's "ecologists" do not fare well as political parties. They are abject failures in Britain and the United States, which practice democracy through single-member electoral districts. They have done a bit better in Germany's system of proportional representation but have had to sacrifice their ecological purity in the process. More interesting here are essays devoted to the ambiguities and internal contradictions associated with the ideas of sustainable development, deep ecology, and ecocentrism. These concepts have taken on the character of political slogans, accepted uncritically and possibly devoid of meaning. They deserve the serious scrutiny that Bramwell has at least begun.

Part 3, entitled "Green Futures," examines environmentalism in Eastern Europe and its impact on the West. Decades of industrialization and collectivization under state communism produced environmental catastrophe in Eastern Europe. When liberalization arrived, environmental issues surfaced, and government planning, not capitalism, was blamed for that catastrophe. The collapse of the Soviet empire and the resulting German reunification undermined the world's most successful Green party because West German Greens were anticapitalist and their eastern counterparts were not.

Craig W. Allin
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Allen Guttmann. *Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 275. $24.50.

In this book Allen Guttmann, America's foremost sports historian, explores the diffusion of modern sports from Britain and the United States to the rest of the world during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Because of the intense and collective identification of team as opposed to individual sports, Guttmann analyzes their international diffusion, thereby establishing sports as central to the mainstream scholarly discourse on cultural imperialism.

The first of the book's three parts investigates six aspects of sports' geographic diffusion, adaptation, and influence on cultural development: the introduction of cricket into America, the Caribbean, and India; the arrival of soccer in Europe, Africa, and Latin America; the export of baseball to Japan, the Caribbean, and Australia; the spread of basketball to Europe and Asia; the National Football League's attempt to enter the European sports market; and the global adoption of the essentially Western Olympic Games program.

Although British and American sports often were adopted enthusiastically in various parts of the world, they also encountered prolonged resistance, the subject of part 2. Guttmann focuses on Germanic and Slavic attempts to promote gymnastics as nationalistic alternatives to the internationalism of modern sports, and the efforts of anthropologists, folklorists, and political activists to preserve or revive traditional sports as alternatives to Western cultural dominance. He demonstrates that gymnastics had considerable influence on the development of North American physical education, but was weakened by its refusal to compromise with modern sports, and that traditional sports usually were transformed by modern characteristics such as bureaucratic organization and specialized rules, equipment, and facilities.

Guttmann undertakes the difficult task of explanation and assessment in part 3. Eschewing the simplistic and ideological in favor of the diverse and complex, Guttmann identifies the most important factor in the diffusion of sports as the relative political, economic, and cultural power of those involved. He rejects "cultural imperialism" in favor of "cultural hegemony" as the preferred term to characterize the processes taking place. Emulation of wealthy and powerful nations, not exploitation, was the most potent motivating factor. Guttmann argues that peoples who originally had sports imposed on them, and who had been excluded from select sporting venues, often forced their way in and dominated their former dominators. Sports thus provided ex-colonials with an opportunity

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to enhance their self-esteem. Furthermore, sports participated in significant shifts in political and economic power when they functioned to crystalize anticolonial sentiments (for example, West Indian cricket), and even to provide an organizational framework for movements of national liberation (such as with Algerian soccer). Indeed, although they can be divisive and exacerbate conflict, sports have contributed to national integration (witness modern South Africa) by giving people of different races, ethnicities, classes, and religions something to share as spectators and members of national teams.

Guttmann concludes by pointing out that cultures are never static, that all borrow from others, and that modern sports have become the heritage of humankind. It is therefore arrogant of critics of Western civilization to insist that non-Western peoples are wrong to prefer modern to traditional sports and are simply helpless victims of imperialism and social control.

This is an informative and provocative analysis of a most interesting subject. Extensively researched, entertainingly written, and enjoyable to read, it strikes a careful balance between example and argument and offers insights into processes of adaptation and transformation that are relevant beyond the realm of sport. One might wish that Guttmann had paid more attention to women's sports or take exception to some of his more controversial conclusions, or sometimes consider misplaced his unflagging optimism about the benefits of sports' diffusion. On the whole, however, Guttmann deserves congratulations for producing another excellent work that contributes notably to elevating the standard of sports studies. The book is strongly recommended to sports and social historians, to students of cultural studies, and to sports aficionados.

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DAVID GOODMAN. *Gold Seeking: Victoria and California in the 1850s*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. xxix, 302. $45.00.

This book is not so much about "Gold Seeking" or even about "Victoria and California in the 1850s" as it is an extended and sometimes tedious (especially in the use of jargon such as "de-naturalise" and "re-problematise") essay on how a selective group of contemporaries, mostly observers rather than participants, responded to two great mid-nineteenth-century gold rushes. As such it is disappointing for the reader led by the introduction to expect a truly comparative history.

David Goodman writes that his interest is in comparative "national histories." He never comes to terms, however, with the fact that Victoria had only just become a colony in its own right. In 1850 it was excised from neighboring New South Wales (which had its own gold rush) and granted a degree of self-government, and its inhabitants remained British subjects living in a British colony. California, however, after a short period of military rule became a constituent part of a much larger American Union. It is difficult in view of this to know how California history can be described as (p. 219) part of a "larger British history," unless it is because residents of Great Britain and the Australian colonies were among those who rushed there prior to the discovery of gold in New South Wales and Victoria.

Chapter 3, titled "Order," is to me the most interesting and the one in which Goodman most closely succeeds in his attempt at comparative history. In discussing the "theme of the relative degree of order on the mining frontiers of the nineteenth century" (p. 65)—or at least the two frontiers under discussion—and the extent to which this has puzzled historians of both California and Victoria, the author concludes, with some conviction, that the difference was due primarily to a much greater concentration of police in the British colony. Some historians would ask why and how this difference originated, and Goodman's estimate of the quality of the Victorian gold commissioners and the police is open to dispute.

This book mostly consists of a series of thoughts on various themes as they apply to what Goodman sometimes calls the two "nations" or "countries." In some chapters there is a serious imbalance. In the chapter titled "Domesticity," for instance, twenty-eight pages on Victoria are followed by fewer than nine pages on California. The imbalance is also demonstrated in the extensive bibliography, which gives the illusion of covering the field. Seventy-six manuscript sources are listed for their Victorian content (all but one from archives in Melbourne and not including, *inter alia*, the Calwell Letters in the National Library of Australia) in contrast to a mere eight manuscript sources in American collections, and these only from the Bancroft Library.

Although a list of comparative secondary writings is given, this includes few works by contemporary observers of and participants in both gold rushes. Even when Goodman has used such accounts (as with William Kelly), he has not drawn on their comparative observations. And at times it is difficult to assess comments without biographical background. It would help the reader to know, for instance, that P. Just was described by Geoffrey Serle in *The Golden Age* (1977) as a "tolerant" and "reputable" merchant who defended Melbourne merchants against charges of mercenary self-interest.

By current standards, this is a well-produced, well-illustrated, and well-documented book on a much-neglected major theme. With more broadly based research and greater attention to organization and presentation, it could have lived up to its promise.

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ROBERT P. SUTTON. *Les Icariens: The Utopian Dream in Europe and America*. (Statue of Liberty–Ellis Island Centennial Series.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 199. $26.95.

Communal historians have lacked a study that links the early life and experiences of Étienne Cabet in Dijon, Paris, and London to the fifty-year Icarian experiment in America. Combining the resources assembled at his Center for Icarian Studies with archival research in Europe, Robert P. Sutton has filled that gap. This book is brief, but in it Sutton effectively details the origins of the Icarian idea, the brief history of Icarianism in France, the disastrous exodus to Texas, the purchase of Nauvoo from the Mormons, and the fifty years of schism and generational conflicts that followed before the last of the Icarian experiments ended in Adams County, Iowa, in 1898.

The lawyer Cabet, born in Dijon in 1788, was an early convert to radical republicanism. Exiled to London in 1834, he discovered Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), read Robert Owen's *New World Order* (1833), and saw the impact of English capitalism on the working classes. These experiences led him to his utopian alternative, outlined in *Voyage en Icarie* (1840): an egalitarian society without private property, rational and scientific, with the government controlling the means of production and distribution, built around factories and large family farms in which machines replace menial labor, and emphasizing education, moral indoctrination, and the arts.

Cabet returned to France in 1839 and offered this vision to France's journeymen craft workers as a respectable, classless, propertyless alternative to communist violence, and he quickly attracted a following; by 1846, more than 100,000 had become Icarians. France had by then descended into a deep depression, and civil unrest was increasing. Cabet's solution was to escape to the New World. Impresario William Smalling Peters had been trying to persuade Robert Owen to start a utopian community in Texas. Apprised of this, Cabet met with Owen and Peters in London in 1847 and agreed to build Icaria in the Peters Colony. His Advanced Guard left in January 1848, but in February Louis Phillippe was deposed and Cabet, always the opportunist, attempted to move back into French politics, splintering his support. Quickly rejected, he left for Texas with his few remaining supporters. The Advanced Guard's experience in Texas had been disastrous, however, and Cabet's group was stranded in New Orleans. Hearing of the Mormons' expulsion from Nauvoo, Cabet bought the town, which became his Icaria. Ousted by more radical communards in 1856, he and his supporters left for St. Louis, where he died in 1857.

Sutton tells the fascinating tale of the origins and the ultimate failure of the succeeding Icarian experiments. What remains are the macrohistorical connections. Cabet contributed to an evolving capitalist-socialistic dialectic, offering an alternative to the Saint-Simonians, the Fourierists, and Karl Marx. Marx and Friedrich Engels called Cabet "a reactionary petit-bourgeois" because he appealed to urban craftsmen displaced by mechanization in the period when economic restructuring separated capital from wage labor and increased inequality in the early decades of the industrial revolution. Although the Icarians sought a way of life antithetical to capitalism, however, their crises coincided with those of the economic mainstream, a familiar refrain in utopian history. To fully understand the Icarian experience, these and other themes remain to be explored.

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LEGER GRINDON. *Shadows on the Past: Studies in the Historical Fiction Film*. (Culture and the Moving Image.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 250. Cloth $44.95, paper $18.95.

In this book, Leger Grindon claims that historical fiction films—silent and sound, Hollywood, Soviet, and European—constitute a genre informed by certain archetypes and structuralist oppositions, principally the relation between, on the one hand, the personal (figured as romance, the "great leader," and individualized characters) and, on the other hand, the public (figured as spectacle, mass action, ceremonial occasions, and period settings). This genre, he contends, is an "evolving tradition" (p. 25), although there is little attempt here to examine in any detail either the tradition in toto or its evolution. Grindon focuses on a series of feature films, taken up in chronological order but analyzed separately: *La Marseillaise* (1938), *Reign of Terror* (1949), *Senso* (1954), *The Rise to Power of Louis XIV* (1966), and *Reds* (1981). He is most effective when exploring the themes, political import, and historiographical implications of each film rather than theorizing about the genre at large.

Grindon's basic assumption is that "serious" historical fiction films (in contrast to costume dramas) are "historical objects themselves, and as such testify to the moment of their making" (p. 125). The way to study these films is therefore to contextualize them, which in practice can mean several different things: looking at the precise conditions under which the film was produced, including biographical details concerning the film makers; examining how the film was influenced by or shows traces of specific political events and larger ideological patterns; noting the reception of the film, particularly any controversy it may have generated; and comparing the film against other contemporary models of historiography.

At times this line of inquiry proves extremely productive, as in, for example, Grindon's analysis of Roberto Rossellini's *The Rise to Power of Louis XIV*, produced by and first shown on French national television. In examining precisely how this telefilm makes its "address to the present" (p. 1), Grindon looks at

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Rossellini's career, the advisory role of historian Philippe Erlanger, the functioning of the Office de la Radiodiffusion-Television Française, and the "rise to power of Charles de Gaulle and his Fifth Republic" (p. 126). *The Rise to Power of Louis XIV*, from this perspective, emerges as a complex and sometimes contradictory "allegory," with various "parallels" and "analogies" to "recent French history" (p. 135). At the same time, according to Grindon, there are other noteworthy connections between Rossellini's cinematic style and the methods of *Annalist* historiography, since both present "routine activities in a unified historical landscape" (p. 163). There are also "associations" (if not direct influences) that link the film with other products of the "French cultural milieu" of the 1960s (p. 137), most prominently, Michel Foucault's *The Order of Things* (1966, 1970) and Guy Debord's *Society of the Spectacle* (1967).

For reasons that Grindon does not explore, this type of contextualization works much better with European productions than with big-budget American films. Or perhaps Grindon's affinity for Georg Lukacs's theory of realism and typage in the European historical novel means that Hollywood productions, often in the melodramatic mode, are by definition suspect. Warren Beatty's *Reds*, for instance, is not just criticized but also critiqued for "fail[ing] to develop historical analysis that can transcend personality" (p. 207). We do not, however, have to ascribe to a Lukacsian model to find in Grindon's book a valuable introduction to the historical analysis of historical fiction films.

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RICHARD MADSEN. *China and the American Dream: A Moral Inquiry*. (A Philip E. Lilienthal Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xxiii, 262. $27.50.

Richard Madsen is doubly rare among sociologists in that, although trained in the China field, he has also written thoughtfully about America, and a central interest of his work has consistently been the moral condition of his subjects.

Madsen's latest book combines both of these characteristics. The point of departure is the singularly strong reaction Americans had to the Tiananmen massacre of 1989. The author's attempt to make sense of this reaction leads him to reconstruct the history of the Chinese-American relationship from the 1960s to the present. He does this, however, not in the usual language of foreign relations studies, but in terms of such categories as myth, master story, dreams, and values. Indeed, the short answer Madsen gives to his own question is that Tiananmen supplied "an unexpected, incorrect ending" (p. 4) to the mythologized narrative about China's prospects that, over the years, Americans had nurtured.

This narrative, which the author generally refers to as the "liberal" China myth (or, more awkwardly, the "liberal master story"), was briefly challenged in the 1960s from both the Right and the Left. After the 1960s, however, it had no serious rivals. The liberal myth saw China as a "troubled modernizer," which, if you scratched deeply enough, consisted of people not very different from ourselves. It was easy, therefore, for Americans to get excited about China, to wish it well. Unfortunately, it was also easy to romanticize it—Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, ironically, pointed the way—and become bitterly disappointed when Chinese realities failed to fulfill our fantasies.

Madsen shows how during the 1970s the liberal China myth became institutionalized in various sectors of American society (religious, academic, and so on). He also takes note of the challenges to the myth (China's "atrocious" human rights record, for example) that emerged after the establishment of full diplomatic relations in 1979. By and large, however, the myth stood its ground, bolstered by the unprecedented openness and freedom characterizing Chinese and American interactions during the 1980s.

Madsen also looks at Chinese reactions to the liberal myth. One reaction that has been unusually widespread, especially among intellectuals, has been a devastating loss of cultural self-confidence. In a world in which everything of value came from America, the television documentary *Deathsong of the River* (*Heshang* [1988]) seemed to ask, what was left for China to contribute? In the final part of the book, the author, finding Chinese expectations of America no more realistic than American hopes for China, argues for the fashioning of a new set of master myths, more attuned to the very different world in which both peoples now exist.

Madsen's alternative view of the recent history of U.S.-Chinese relations has much to offer. Still, as a historian, I found myself responding nervously in two areas. First, the author's tendency to want to establish moral equivalences between China and America (albeit with qualifications) strikes me as forced. Granted, American democracy is flawed, but to suggest that democracy is simply "more deeply embedded and more fully realized" (p. 226) in America fundamentally muddies the issue.

Second, although Madsen is far from insensitive to the burdens of the past, by choosing to begin his historical analysis in the 1960s he unduly foreshortens some of his most important themes. The loss of cultural confidence of Chinese intellectuals is a long and painful story that had its inception not in the 1980s but in the late Qing dynasty. And the theme of Tiananmen as a betrayal of American hopes for China owes some of its potency (how much is hard to say) to earlier betrayals of American hopes. The liberal American myth about China—and the problems it has created—is an old, old story.

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NICHOLAS JOHN CULL. *Selling War: The British Propaganda Campaign against American "Neutrality" in World War II*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 276. $29.95.

Britain's survival in World War II depended finally on obtaining the assistance of the United States. When the war began, however, the United States was deeply isolationist—a Gallup Poll in 1939 indicated that roughly 80 percent of the American public opposed U. S. involvement in a European war—and the nation remained neutral from September 1939 until December 1941. Britain's task during that twenty-eight months that encompassed the nation's darkest days in the war was to encourage benevolent American neutrality, with an eye toward acquiring American material aid and eventually military aid as well. The task was carried out through a long-term and ultimately well-conceived (once the kinks were ironed out) campaign of propaganda, conducted in the context of Britain's official "no propaganda policy" toward the United States.

This exhaustively researched and well-written book tells the story of that campaign in clear and penetrating detail. Nicholas John Cull analyzes the prewar development of a propaganda policy for America; describes the people and departments responsible for American propaganda in the Ministry of Information, the government body established on the outbreak of war to oversee British propaganda efforts; explains both the American enthusiasts (such as newspaper publisher William Allen White) and resisters (aviator Charles Lindbergh, for one) regarding American aid to Britain; and characterizes the nature of the propaganda disseminated to American audiences. Propaganda materials included such items as traveling lecturers like novelist Helen MacInnis and film star Leslie Howard, among others; Winston Churchill's "Their Finest Hour" and "Give us the tools and we will finish the job" speeches (Cull cleverly uses these phrases as titles for chapters dealing with propaganda campaigns); war reports from London by American journalists such as Quentin Reynolds and Edward R. Murrow; and British documentary films like *London Can Take It* (1940), narrated by Reynolds. The last two chapters discuss the developing momentum in the United States toward war preparation during the last months before Pearl Harbor and a final assessment of the impact British propaganda had on U.S. policy. Cull concludes: "The United States joined a war that it knew principally through British eyes" (p. 201).

Cull assesses both British and American perspectives on a variety of levels: diplomacy, popular opinion, propaganda policy, and response to propaganda dissemination. His study leaves virtually no significant question either unraised or unanswered. Much has been written on British propaganda in World War II. A particularly enlightening and definitive work, this book will rank along side work done by Michael Balfour, Ian McLaine, Philip M. Taylor, Nicholas Pronay, and myself on the subject. Cull possesses exceptional talent as a historian, and he does great credit to Taylor, under whose guidance this study was originally undertaken as a Ph.D. thesis at Leeds University.

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SCOTT L. BILLS. *The Libyan Arena: The United States, Britain, and the Council of Foreign Ministers, 1945–1948*. (American Diplomatic History.) Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 209. $30.00.

In this modest book—a mere 164 pages of text—Scott L. Bills examines one of the obscure corners of modern history where major themes of the twentieth century converge. In the aftermath of World War II, the disposition of defeated Italy's colonies was up for discussion. At that moment the United Nations was being constructed to supersede the defunct League of Nations as a framework for peaceful conflict resolution, the Cold War was taking shape, and nationalist sentiment was growing more insistent throughout what would become known as the Third World. All of these developments influenced the debates about the future of Eritrea, Somalia, and particularly Libya.

Across the Mediterranean from Greece and Turkey, themselves early sites of contestation in the Cold War, Libya was a strategic prize but little more. Much of the local economy, never robust to begin with, had been devastated during the campaigns of World War II and oil exports were fifteen years in the future. Complicated, and to Western eyes murky, local politics impinged on the question to some degree—rudimentary nationalist parties had appeared demanding independence, and the British had promised in the midst of the war to the leader of a local religious brotherhood that the eastern part of the country would not be returned to Italian control—but, as Bills shows, most of the thinking on the matter in American, British, French, and Soviet foreign policy circles reflected rivalries among the great powers. Although the Council of Foreign Ministers commissioned a survey of local opinion that Bills argues was among the first systematic efforts to ascertain "native" opinion, it was the reintegration of Italy into a rebuilt and pro–Western Europe, the solidification of Anglo-American cooperation, the protection of existing imperial claims by the war's victors (particularly the French), and the promotion of Soviet interests that took precedence in the council discussions.

None of this is surprising, although it is useful to have a thorough review of the record, particularly as we now begin to revisit the origins of the Cold War and explore the profound effects it had in setting regional political agendas throughout the world, especially in the eastern Mediterranean. For readers better acquainted with Libyan politics and society than European diplomatic history, Bills's too-easy familiarity with the people and acronyms of Whitehall, the Quai

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d'Orsay, and Foggy Bottom sometimes confuses more than it illuminates; a glossary would have been a great help, and short biographies of the principal players would have been a welcome indulgence. Bills's intimate knowledge of the story and his faithful attention to detail also seem to discourage what would have been a more ambitious and ultimately more satisfying "big picture" of this crossroads of twentieth-century history in one of the world's less traveled byways. What might this story have presaged about the Cold War, Arab nationalism, or the United Nations? Bills resists speculating. Nonetheless, this is a workmanlike and reliable book, and the occasional spark of subtle wit makes it a pleasure to read.

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REINHOLD WAGNLEITNER. *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War: The Cultural Mission of the United States in Austria after the Second World War*. Translated by DIANA M. WOLF. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 367. Cloth $55.00, paper $24.95.

Reinhold Wagnleitner presents a chapter in the twentieth-century global ascendancy of American culture as a form of state-supported capitalism. With the soft drink as symbol, the Cold War as backdrop, and occupied Austria as setting, he examines the broad cultural campaign to export the American dream. Driven by the twin engines of official policy and corporate interest and their respective sanctioning myths, democracy and free enterprise, America's mission represented a public relations and media triumph of the first order. It combined incomparable financial resources, sophisticated marketing strategies, and uncontested political control to sell an image, values, and products.

Two lengthy introductory chapters on European images of America and patterns of American cultural policy abroad establish the comparative context. Six subsequent chapters examine the main fronts in the cultural campaign: the press, radio, information centers, educational and exchange programs, theater and music, and cinema. In each, the goal of policy was to provide positive images to counter traditional condescension toward American culture. In some, private interests (from film companies to news services) were invaluable partners in the task of polishing America's political and cultural image while dimming that of communism.

The inroads of American culture were not without multiple ironies and contradictions. While preaching democratic principles, American officials adopted paternalistic practices at times more pronounced than their Cold War opponents. In the name of free trade the United States used its occupying role to open the Austrian market to cartels (such as the Motion Picture Export Association). Despite the official ambition to enhance the image of American high culture, long-standing prejudices against the United States as a nation without notable cultural achievements were not overcome. By contrast, American popular culture, above all movies and jazz music, which American officials saw as dubious public relations material, won a wide following.

Wagnleitner notes these and other incongruities with some ambivalence. As someone from the generation that celebrated American popular culture as liberation from the traditions of conservative, Catholic Austria, he displays admiration. Moreover, he views the imposition of American culture as essential for overcoming relative backwardness and insularity. Yet he exposes the self-serving aspects of the cultural campaign, particularly the Cold War dichotomies in which American popular culture was steeped. His concluding chapter blends admiration and irony in a summary of the films and advertising—culture as a mixture of anticommunism, diversion, and invitation to consume—that inundated Austria in the early 1950s.

Because this book is a study of policy primarily from the perspective of its framers and executors, Austria is cast in an essentially passive role. Wagnleitner recognizes the readiness of the occupier to assess public opinion, but he measures the success of the cultural mission primarily in quantitative terms (the size of the market for American books, films, or radio). This is consistent with the premise that "Americanization" represents modern consumerism: "the pursuit of happiness as the pursuit of consumption" (p. 7). The book tends, however, as betrayed by occasional leaps into the 1980s, to pave a one-way street from the early 1950s to the present, culture being determined by economics. These tendencies notwithstanding, and despite the odd lapse in translation from the German, Wagnleitner's study illuminates both the specific character of American cultural policy in occupied Austria and the broader issue of Americanization in this century.

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GEOFFREY BEST. *War and Law since 1945*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 434. $39.95.

With this book, Geoffrey Best builds on his earlier and well-received study *Humanity in Warfare* (1980), which mainly covered developments from the later Enlightenment period until 1945. Best describes and analyzes key developments in the evolution of the codification of the laws of war, or international humanitarian law (IHL). He exhaustively surveys key legal and political developments leading up to the Diplomatic Conference of 1949, which adopted the four Geneva Conventions, and similar developments in the Diplomatic Conference on Humanitarian Law held from 1974 to 1977, which resulted in the adoption of the two Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions. The

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Geneva Conventions and the Additional Protocols (the latter not yet ratified by some major players due to certain "controversial" provisions) constitute major turning points in IHL codification in the post–1945 period. Best's extensive use of primary sources, which are—for obvious reasons—more readily available for the 1947–49 period than for the 1974–77 period, provide the reader with a fascinating portrait of the ways in which the international context affected the dynamics of the conference proceedings, namely the increasing East-West polarization in the former case and the growing North-South cleavages in the latter. In the process, the author unearths some true gems regarding the shifting agenda, posturing, realignments, and compromises inherent in all such undertakings. What emerges is a picture of considerable progress, tainted by the growing use and abuse of humanitarian impulses in the debate over the regulation of violence.

Herein lies the greatest challenge for the laws of war: the modalities of incorporating humanitarian norms in the growing corpus of IHL that, on the one hand, would reflect the progressive universalization of these norms and thus the law's conceptual enrichment, while, on the other hand, would retain the law's relevance in the battlefield, and thus the adherence of the forces that would do the actual fighting.

Best sets the stage for a thorough discussion of some of these issues with a short, beautifully written chapter titled "Humanitarian Practice and the Laws of War" (pp. 235–52), which is by far the most thought-provoking part of his book. In it, he discusses the doctrine of belligerent equality, which is at the core of the *jus ad bellum–jus in bello* separation, the moral consequences of this separation for military necessity (one of the most critical yet elusive concepts), and the diverging agendas of the war-fighting and humanitarian constituencies: the former more concerned with applying relevant laws to the appropriate type of conflict, the latter with enforcing basic humanitarian norms, irrespective of the formal classification of the conflict. It can be argued that this divergence is a reaction to the growing influence of the famous Martens clause, which is premised on the substantive intersections between human rights law and the laws of war. It is a trend that, contrary to what Best alleges (for example [p. 247], when he says that in interstate conflict "human rights law is of little relevance"), has had its share of both successes and failures. An example of success would be Article 75 of Additional Protocol I, which, based on articles 5 and 11 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and articles 14 and 15 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, is easily enforceable; an example of failure would be the section on civil defense of the same protocol (articles 61–67), which includes some of its least practical provisions (here I agree with Best's observations on pp. 322–23).

To be sure, there are also provisions on whose merit and relevance the jury is still out. One of the most controversial is Article 44 section 3 of Additional Protocol I (pp. 341–42) which—in its attempt to define combatancy in light of the guerrilla experience in anticolonial/national liberation warfare—had to accommodate two conflicting issues: the need to preserve the effectiveness of guerrillas, which is premised on the conflation of the civilian/soldier, combatant/noncombatant distinction, and the need to protect the civilian population from abuse in the hands of the detaining power, which, operating in a milieu of intense guerrilla activity, will increasingly tend to treat growing numbers of civilians as potential or actual guerrilla fighters.

It must be obvious by now that Best's subject is full of attempts to square an incredible number of circles. Best does a good job in laying out through a comprehensive use of historical examples some of the key facets of this endeavor, an endeavor whose perennial challenge is to ensure that, in the author's own words, "protective enthusiasm" does not "run riskily ahead of armed-conflict practicality."

My only major criticism of this book is that Best says little about how recent developments in United Nations case law may affect the aforementioned challenges. Does U.N. Security Council Resolution 688 in the aftermath of the Gulf War set an important precedent, or should it be viewed within the context of containing a traditional pattern of aggression? Do Security Council resolutions 794 (for Somalia) and 770 (for the former Yugoslavia) and their reference to the possibility of the forcible—if necessary—protection of humanitarian relief and assistance operations constitute the first steps toward the progressive militarization of humanitarianism? More generally, is there any validity in the concerns expressed by certain Third World countries that the quest for humanitarian assistance will constitute the *jus ad bellum* of the "new world order," thus accentuating the North-South faultlines?

This is neverthelesss an important book that should attract the attention of policy-making and activist circles in addition to the usual scholarly ones. Although Best claims that his book is least intended for law students, they would be well advised to heed his warning that less "protective enthusiasm" is sometimes better.

GEORGE ANDREOPOULOS
Yale University

ANCIENT

JOHN BOARDMAN. *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity*. (The A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1993; Bollingen Series 35, number 42.) London: Thames and Hudson; distributed by Princeton University Press, Princeton. 1994. Pp. 352. $49.50.

Art students marvel at the pervasiveness of Greek influence once it reached its zenith in the fifth century B.C. Avid borrowers themselves during their formative phases, Greek artists at their height produced idioms

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almost irresistible to other cultures. Subject study pulls the fine arts of the peoples who absorbed this Hellenic emanation into one comprehensive focus, a gigantic task, that taxes even John Boardman's formidable erudition. It proffers a dazzling array of hybrid artifacts, touched by the hot breath of Greek genius, with provenances as diverse as northern India, North Africa, Central Europe, and, of course, Italy.

Boardman's scheme excludes not only some of the lesser cultures of the Mediterranean past but also the arts of the most intensive Hellenizers of all times, the Romans, on the grounds that their culture fused with that of the Greeks too intimately to qualify for his criterion of "influence." Indeed, early Hellenistic Italy constitutes one of the art historian's nightmares, as here Greco-Etruscan, Greco-Roman, and imported Greek artifacts are difficult and, not infrequently, impossible to sort out. Also excluded from Boardman's purview are the arts of all areas governed by the Roman empire and Constantinople, with the exception of Egyptian and Coptic art.

Boardman's attempt to trace the complex developments in Egyptian art after the Greek conquest to religious factors (rather than to political ideology) is not felicitous (pp. 174–80). The Ptolemaic rulers sponsored deliberately hybrid Greco-Egyptian art forms, but they also promoted themselves as new pharaohs, which required the conservation of the millennia-old royal iconography of Egypt. In late antiquity Christianity swept into Egypt, along with its scriptures, Greek art styles. That the "promise of eternity" held out by the new religion was not the dominant factor here, as Boardman will have it, is shown by the circumstance that much pagan-Greek mythological lore also found its way into Coptic iconography.

Throughout, the book pays small attention to the graphic arts, which is regrettable inasmuch as painting, as an illusionistic medium, was a uniquely Greek creation, and its influence on other arts can be readily isolated wherever samples survive. Boardman's most interesting speculations deal with the channels through which Greek styles and schemes were communicated, and with the explanation of the Greek phenomenon. As for the first question, not much can be recovered from the historical record, but it is clear that the conduits were manifold. The Persian emperors employed Greek craftsmen for their building projects, both hired and enslaved. For the Etruscans the physical presence of Greek artisans in their midst has to be surmised. There was a lively trade in all types of movable artifacts, but especially in painted pottery, an inexpensive medium that disseminated Hellenic mythological lore as well as iconographical schemes and draughting techniques. (Boardman refuses to redress the old speculation of the circulation of pattern books in antiquity, a hypothesis that has probability but no evidence on its side.) The campaigns of Alexander the Great entailed the deliberate dissemination of Greek cultural elements for political purposes, a strategy that produced in India the most blatantly hybrid Greek art forms found anywhere (Gandhara and Greco-Bactrian artifacts are representative of this trend).

What were the properties of Greek art that made it alluring to rival cultures? Boardman isolates three factors. One is what he calls "Greek realism": the circumstance that in sculpture and painting the Athenian Greeks of the fifth century B.C. imitated the perception of the human eye. His second category is the narrative propensity of Greek art. His third category is mostly applicable to architecture, but is somewhat tenuous: the decorative detail of Greek art. Yet virtually all subsidiary elements in Greek design, its finials, ripples, meanders, lotus motifs, moldings and the like, have antecedents elsewhere, mostly in Egypt. Although applied by Greek artisans with exquisite finesse, and influential in Greek revivals, it would seem that such elements require an eye already attuned to things Greek to be considered deserving of imitation.

The published volumes of the A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts include works that are cornerstones of art history, such as Kenneth Clark's *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form* (1956) and E. H. Gombrich's *Art and Illusion* (1960). The present volume is unlikely to attain such stellar status, but it will reward the reader with stimulating insights and a mass of documentation.

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MICHAEL ATTYAH FLOWER. *Theopompus of Chios: History and Rhetoric in the Fourth Century BC*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 252. $49.95.

Michael Attyah Flower's study of Theopompus, the Greek historian of the fourth century B.C. whose voluminous works now survive only in quotations and paraphrases in subsequent ancient authors, concentrates on two seemingly contradictory but actually complementary tasks: freeing Theopompus's work from the biographical traditions relating to their author, and yet seeing Theopompus in his historical context. The resulting understanding of Theopompus's qualities as a historian and the techniques employed to reach this understanding reverse (quite consciously) most of the conclusions and methods of Gordon S. Shrimpton's monograph on the same topic (*Theopompus the Historian* [1991]). Flower is more in sympathy with the work of W. R. Connor ("Theopompus' Treatment of Cimon," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 4 [1963]: 107–14; "History without Heroes: Theopompus' Treatment of Philip of Macedon," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 8 [1967]: 133–54; and *Theopompus and Fifth-Century Athens* [1968]).

On the one hand, Flower works hard to free Theopompus from a kind of kudzu jungle of tradition, scholarly and otherwise, about his life, particularly his intellectual life. This fictionalized biographical tradi-

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tion has often guided, and thus distorted, interpretations of Theopompus's work (much as in the case of interpretations of Sappho's works). Flower concludes, for instance, that Theopompus was not a student of the famous rhetorician Isocrates and that there was no Isocratean school of rhetorical history, although this idea has been a scholarly commonplace. He reminds us that a historian's use of rhetorical techniques is historiographically neutral; rhetoric can either illuminate or obscure. Flower's minimalist approach to biographical material about Theopompus tends to avoid preconceptions about the historian's ideas and prejudices and to focus attention on the fragments themselves.

On the other hand, Flower works equally hard to place Theopompus's work in what he believes to be its appropriate historical context; Greek historiographical tradition and the intellectual and political mind-set of the educated elite of fourth-century Greece. He sees Theopompus as a less talented but not incompetent successor of Herodotus and, to a lesser degree, Thucydides. Flower believes that Theopompus's notorious moralizing about Macedonian and Greek depravity is simply part of the omnipresent tendency toward moralizing explanation for the decline of Greek political power.

There are things that could have been improved upon. Flower's avoidance of Greek will annoy the scholarly reader and his tendency to announce in a note that some scholar's views do not persuade without being more specific seems despotic. His discussion of the failure of Theopompus and other fourth-century Greeks to find a more convincing explanation than moral decay for the declining powers of the Greek *poleis* seems to stop short; he does not pursue the cultural reasons for this societal blindness. Like the object of his study (although hardly to the same degree), Flower has a better grasp of Greek than of Macedonian customs and institutions.

Yet Flower's portrayal of Theopompus's views and techniques is generally a convincing one because he argues with great clarity and avoids oversimplification, prefering nuance. He does not make the error of becoming Theopompus's advocate and overestimating the quality of a conventional historian. He nevertheless successfully defends Theopompus from charges of deliberate falsification of events. This lean, stripped-down portrayal of Theopompus and his work is a service to other historians, one likely to save them from indulging in deductions based on preconceptions Flower has shown to be dubious.

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RICHARD A. BILLOWS. *Kings and Colonists: Aspects of Macedonian Imperialism*. (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, number 22.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1995. Pp. xv, 239. $71.50.

As the subtitle of this book implies, Richard A. Billows's effort is dedicated to explaining the phenomenon of Macedonian imperialism. What is not clear from the title, however, is that the author admittedly has little interest here in the "process of conquest, the political history of the [Macedonian] empire, and the institutions of rule." Rather, Billows tries "to understand the aims, outlooks, and life-styles of the people who made the imperial endeavor work" (p. xv). Chronologically, Billows ranges from the reign of Philip II into the third century B.C., with his geographical focus being on Asia Minor and Syria/Palestine. Even within this geographically circumscribed area, however, Billows attempts no systematic synthesis, wisely preferring to concentrate on the epigraphical (although by no means limiting himself to such) evidence to provide a depth of analysis infrequently provided for the "Macedonians" of western Asia.

Billows's seven chapters are suggestive and should be noted in lieu of extensive discussion: "The King, the Army, and Macedonian Imperialism"; "Imperial Propaganda and Justification"; "Macedonian Kings and Greek Cities: Mechanisms of Interaction"; "Macedonian Dynasts in Asia Minor"; "Kings and Estate-Holders in Asia"; "Macedonian Settlers and Colonists in Asia"; and "The Effects on Macedonia of the Macedonian Empire." Each of these is appropriately argued as Billows focuses intensively on issues of importance to the extension of Macedonian power. This is not to say that Billows's selection of issues is haphazard. Rather, he lucidly organizes his investigation to explore the resources and capabilities of Argead Macedon, the ways by which that state and its successors justified the conquest and consolidation of foreign lands, the respective and generally mutually beneficial (given the fact that the Macedonians were not going to go away) relationships between Macedonian dynasts and ideally autonomous Greek cities, the rise of Anatolian dynasts before and after Alexander's conquest, the arrangements that tied the recipients of largess to political overlords, the situations of those who migrated to the new lands in search of opportunity, and the effect of that emigration on Macedon itself.

Billows's effort will intrigue the specialist and be of great help to advanced undergraduates and graduate students, but it is by no means intended as a general introduction to the Hellenistic age. Although space restricts a detailed response to Billows's arguments, at least one comment about the Macedonian background is in order. In his first chapter, Billows correctly notes that traditionally "it was not resources which Macedonia lacked, but unity, organisation, and infrastructure" (p. 8). Perhaps Billows could have gone one step further, however, to note that Macedon's wealth was largely responsible for its social retardation before Philip II both, because it constantly attracted foreign intervention and because it permitted a conservative aristocracy to retain its regional strength far longer than similar nobilities could elsewhere. This is a minor point, but it helps to underscore the magnitude of the social revolution that swept Macedonia in the late fifth

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and fourth centuries, propelling it to conquest. Perhaps Billows's most intriguing chapter is his last, for there he lucidly, and I think correctly, refutes the argument so often proffered that Alexander the Great was the ruin of Macedon through his devastating impact on its manpower. Although Alexander's impact was certainly significant, Billows makes the solid case that Macedon's downfall owed far more to Gallic ravages in the 270s than it did to Alexander's maniacal dream of world conquest.

In short, Billows has given us a fine contribution that allows a better understanding of Macedon's historical impact. The book is required reading for anyone interested in Macedonian history or the formation of Hellenistic culture.

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EDWARD M. HARRIS. *Aeschines and Athenian Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 233.

Edward M. Harris has made a significant contribution to the scholarship of mid to late fourth-century Athens by presenting a thorough picture of the life and political career of Aeschines. The evidence for Aeschines's life is derived almost completely from the three speeches that defined the relationship between Aeschines and his political rival, Demosthenes. Harris has therefore developed a helpful and well-argued protocol for the historical use of the speeches given at Athenian law trials. In particular, he has used this system to produce an extensive treatment of the Peace of Philocrates, which figures prominently in all three speeches because it was that event and the circumstances surrounding it that both brought Aeschines into the forefront of Athenian politics and contributed to his political demise.

Harris portrays Aeschines as a man of modest background and means who was able, probably because of his speaking abilities and some helpful political connections, to participate in Athenian politics. Although Harris's close attention to the sources succeeds in demythologizing the relationship between Aeschines and Demosthenes, he also brings to light in great detail that in most instances Demosthenes simply outclassed Aeschines. Demosthenes's wealth funded numerous liturgies. Demosthenes divorced himself as quickly as possible from association with the Peace of Philocrates. Perhaps most significant, despite the fact that both orators erred in thinking that Philip was especially concerned with Athens, it was Demosthenes's assessment of Philip that proved to be correct. Thus, by 440, when it was no longer possible for even Aeschines to imagine that Philip intended any special benefits for Athens, it was Demosthenes who had the plan that the Athenians subsequently followed.

Harris's revelation that Aeschines did not betray Athens and was not a member of a pro-Macedonian party loses some of its thunder because the refutation of a strict party structure was argued convincingly by Fordyce Mitchel in his Semple Lecture, delivered in 1968 (published as *Lykourgan Athens: 338–322* [1970]). It is difficult to imagine any scholar writing about the Lykourgan era and omitting Mitchel's seminal essay from the bibliography. Harris, however, has done just that. He has also omitted Raphael Sealey's *A History of the Greek City-States* (1976), as well as Sealey's *Demosthenes and His Time* (1993), which also take for granted a flexibility of alignment. Harris continues to accept the notion that the roles of general and politician diverged in the fourth century and concludes that Phocion, who did speak in the Assembly, was exhibiting "unfashionable ambition" (p. 39), a notion challenged by Lawrence Tritle (*Ancient History Bulletin* 7 [1992]: 125–29).

The presentation of the text itself detracts from a basically strong argument. There are at least sixteen typographical errors, which in a number of cases contribute to ambiguity of meaning. Even more disconcerting is the practice of placing a footnote at the end of the paragraph to cover all of the citations from that paragraph. This practice is time-consuming, unclear, and, in many instances, frustrating.

Harris's work substantiates the more realistic view that, despite personal antagonisms as well as different backgrounds and abilities, all of the Athenian leaders worked diligently to further the cause of Athens. This study complements and adds to the work being done on the orators of fourth-century Athens.

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ROBERT GARLAND. *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 222. $39.95.

This is a book that, for better or worse, one cannot imagine being written by a Frenchman. Robert Garland makes a commendable attempt at realizing the "subjugated history" of the deformed using the index-card approach of the positivist historian. If the result at times frustrates our desire to see more deeply into the subjective experience of the deformed or more broadly into the worldview that marginalized them, the blame must be laid squarely on the shoulders of the ancients themselves. In the ancient world, the fully formed adult male was the paradigm of human perfection, provided, of course, that his body was not bent by toil and that his mind was molded by a classical literary education. Such persons enjoyed a near-monopoly on literary expression and they did not trouble themselves with recording the predicament of the oppressed.

In antiquity, the prevalence of deformity at birth was probably higher than it is now (about 4 percent) because of endogamy and poor nutrition. Exposure of imperfect infants was widely tolerated in both Greece and Rome, although required only by the militaristic state of Sparta and by the early Roman law code of the XII Tables. Then there were many types of postnatally acquired disabilities: infectious disease, malnu-

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trition, accidents in sport or work, and war. (We hear little in literary or epigraphic sources about disabled military veterans, who must have been numerous). Regrettably, Garland does not discuss eunuchs, the ancient world's man-made monstrosities.

In chapter 2 Garland concludes that, given the limitations of our evidence, "any attempt to proffer a sociology of the disabled in Greco-Roman culture quickly becomes trite to the point of banality" (p. 44). But in chapter 3 he has some interesting things to say about the emperor's relationship to the monstrous (dwarves, sex pets, and fools), whose abnormal physical condition was analogous to the emperor's social position (with an apt reference to the exotic tastes of Michael Jackson). The Romans were more superstitious about deformities than the Greeks, and in chapter 4 Garland shows how the social order was encoded in the body: high rates of reported intersexual births during the years 133–92 B.C. coincided with a time of great social disorder in the republic. "In other words, the monster's lack of physical differentiation symbolizes the breakdown of social relations" (p. 69 n. 4).

Garland discusses in chapter 6 the relation of god-given talent to deformity in ancient myth. (He does well to cite the cult status of Stephen Hawking, but references to Athena and Artemis as "goddesses who suffer from a hormone imbalance" [p. 103] may startle some readers). Chapter 7 entices the gaze with sixty-four images of deformity ancient and modern.

In general, no Greek or Roman seems to have challenged their culture's prevailing assumption that the deformed are an appropriate target for ridicule. Modern readers should note how Garland's last chapter, on racial deformity, contains a discussion of "the deformed race of women" and their place on "the continuum of abnormality."

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RICHARD DUNCAN-JONES. *Money and Government in the Roman Empire*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xix, 300. $79.95.

This book presents the reader with an enormous mine of information about Roman coinage and the imperial economy, which Richard Duncan-Jones analyzes with considerable statistical sophistication. The material is organized in three parts, moving from the general to the specific: "The economics of Empire," "The Coin-Evidence," and "Money and Money-Supply." The economic historian and the numismatist are likely to see different strengths in the book.

In the detailed chapters of part 3 Duncan-Jones addresses issues that preoccupy numismatists, such as how many coins were minted in each reign with how many dies, how quickly coins circulated or disappeared from circulation, and how much coins of the same type varied in fineness and weight. Much of the analysis is quite technical, but conclusions of general interest emerge. Duncan-Jones estimates that on average HS 200 million in new coin was minted each year (p. 111) and that the total in circulation in the mid-second century A.D. was HS 20 billion, of which 70 percent of the face value was in gold *aurei*. Furthermore, he suggests that "the localisation of coin-types reflects the relative immobility of coin" (p. 177), a conclusion corroborated by the slow rates of wear.

It is not obvious, however, what implications these findings may have for our interpretation of the imperial economy. Is a pool of coin amounting to twenty billion for a population of sixty million a little or a lot? By what standard? The sluggishness of circulation of Roman coin is judged by comparison with coin of late-nineteenth-century Europe on the basis of wear, but what does the comparison demonstrate? Roman coin may have circulated more slowly than in industrialized Europe and still have functioned in an economy significantly more monetized than any previous Mediterranean economy, albeit less sophisticated than the British economy of 1900. As Duncan-Jones is careful to acknowledge, his estimates about volume and circulation are based on a series of assumptions subject to error. Without knowing what general economic questions the findings are meant to answer, however, the reader cannot know whether the potential error is significant.

Part 2 constitutes the pivot of the book. In order to draw conclusions from the 230 coin hoards listed in Appendix 10, Duncan-Jones has to decide how those hoards came into existence. On the basis of a strong correlation between the number of each emperor's *congiaria* and the number of hoards by reign, Duncan-Jones concludes that they represent donatives to soldiers, who buried them (p. 79). Donatives no doubt account for some hoards, but they cannot be the whole explanation. The size of the hoards is analyzed in terms of "median average," which obscures the fact that most of them have values far higher than a legionary could have accumulated over an entire career.

Part 1 provides a more general discussion of imperial revenues and expenditures, inflation and money supply, and taxation. The subtext is a polemic with Keith Hopkins ("Taxes and Trade in the Roman Empire (200 B.C.–A.D. 400)," *Journal of Roman Studies* 70 [1980]: 101–25). Duncan-Jones's estimate of the annual imperial budget of the second century (HS 832–983 million) is not much different from Hopkins's earlier, simpler estimate. Total inflation from Domitian through the Severans is put at 170 percent. He argues for a causal relationship between minting and inflation (p. 30)—which would be quite interesting—but it is disappointing to discover that the apparent similarity of minting and price graphs in the second century depends largely on the prices of two donkeys in Egypt in the 140s. In the end Duncan-Jones is not able to resolve the empirical and conceptual problems (noted by Christopher Howgego, "The Supply and Use of Money in The Roman World 200 B.C. to A.D. 300," *Journal of Roman Studies* 82 [1992]: 1–31) that would

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allow him to use the volume of newly minted coin to measure money supply in order to draw compelling conclusions of this kind.

Appendix 4 gathers the fragmentary and imprecise *testimonia* for levels of provincial taxation. It provides a frustrating reminder of how difficult it will be for Roman historians to lay a sound empirical base for quantitative conclusions about the imperial economy as a whole. Even if this book does not decisively settle some central debates of Roman economic history, its data and arguments will enrich the debates in important ways.

RICHARD P. SALLER
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JILL HARRIES. *Sidonius Apollinaris and the Fall of Rome, A.D. 407–485*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. vii, 292. $47.00.

Whether one believes that Rome fell in 476 (or, by some interpretations, at all), it is indisputable that the middle decades of the fifth century constituted a crucial period in the political and military history of the western empire and in particular of Gaul, its chief remaining province. That this was precisely the period in which Sidonius Apollinaris (431/2–ca. 485) composed nine books of letters, three imperial panegyrics, and other occasional poems, and served as count of the Auvergne, patrician and prefect of Rome, and bishop of Clermont, justifies the theme of Jill Harries's book. The title echoes, with more precision and a different focus, C. E. Stevens's landmark *Sidonius Apollinaris and His Age* (1933). Although it takes issue with this work at many points, mostly indirectly, and far surpasses it as a political analysis of Sidonius's times, the book does not aim to replace Stevens. Harries is thus not particularly concerned with the biographical facts of Sidonius's life, nor with a literary analysis of his writings or his reputation as a Gallic saint (now vividly revealed in fragments of his epitaph, published by F. Prévot in *Antiquité Tardive* 1 [1993]: 223–29.) Instead, she examines Sidonius's direct involvement in local and imperial politics, with reference both to the larger processes that shaped events (military, diplomatic, cultural) and to the ambitions, attitudes, and actions of his contemporaries. Her main argument, sustained throughout, is that to aristocrats like Sidonius "the empire meant the opportunity to rise in the world through the holding of office under the emperors" (p. 17), and that the fall of Rome in the West could be defined by the extinction of that opportunity.

The book is divided into two main parts, largely chronological, on Sidonius's secular career (to ca. 470) and his ecclesiastical career thereafter, with an introduction on how to read, or "decode," Sidonius and an epilogue on the end of Roman Gaul. The introduction supplies a minimum of literary analysis to explain the political aspects of Sidonius's writings (p. 2) and, in view of opportunities for distortion, to affirm his reliability as a source (p. 11). Although clearly useful, this analysis might have been pressed a little harder to show just how multilayered the political aspects of Sidonius's writings were. Treatment of the verse panegyrics, for instance, would have benefited from Geoffrey Harrison's dissertation (1983), which revealed the role that these narratives—highly ritualized, even "liturgical," in form and content—played in affirming a system of conventional Roman values for the benefit of emperor and audience alike. Indeed, as Harries convincingly demonstrates throughout the book, it was Sidonius's unwavering loyalty to a literary and political ideal of *romanitas*, newly fused with Christianity, that helps to explain the seeming contradictions of his own behavior toward the non-Roman masters of Gaul. The book's greatest strength is its careful narrative of events and sharp analysis of the political and military calculations and miscalculations that led from the barbarian crossing of the Rhine in 406 to the Roman withdrawal from Provence in 476, all seen through the perspective of Sidonius's career. That in the end discontinuity overshadows continuity and Sidonius's own narrow definition of *romanitas* prevails over all the possible (and wider) modern definitions is an inevitable consequence of the author's debatable but defensible privileging of that perspective for an understanding of the fall of Rome.

A postscript: the surnames and initials of several authors are misspelled in the bibliography: G. Collins should read G. Congès; A. Dill should read S. Dill; F. Dobeau should read F. Dolbeau; and P. Hitchener should read R. B. Hitchner.

WILLIAM E. KLINGSHIRN
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MEDIEVAL

CAROLINE WALKER BYNUM. *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1995. Pp. xx, 368. $29.95.

In his *First Epistle to the Corinthians* St. Paul says, "But some will say How are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come?" Caroline Walker Bynum's elegant, fascinating, deeply original, beautifully written, and profoundly challenging book listens to Christian thinkers pondering Paul's question between the second century and the fourteenth. "Resurrection," says Bynum, "is victory over partition and putrefaction; it is both the anesthesia of glory and the reunuion of particles of self . . . Resurrection," she goes on, "made decay incorruptible. To ask why people in late antiquity had the stubborn courage to face the putrefaction that joins death to life is to ask for causal explanation at a level that no modern theory addresses" (pp. 58, 113). These words give a feel for Bynum's humane approach. She neither condescends to her ancient and medieval writers nor to her modern readers. She knows, and says without ambiguity, that discussions of resurrection were about death (about life, too, I would add, and I do not think Bynum would

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disagree) and not displaced discussions of power, status, sensuality, or gender. This remarkable book is required reading for students of Christian thought: of both theology and philosophy, of biblical exegesis, of the social practices touching death, of art history, and, of course, of the burgeoning field of body studies.

Bynum focuses in particular on the metaphors for resurrection used in Christian texts stemming from the periods around 200, 400, 1200, and 1300. She promises another book on the early medieval period. By 200 a dominant tradition, represented by Tertullian among others, argued that physical, earthly bodies will arise. Origen tried to argue for the resurrection of only spiritual, or spiritualized, bodies and he was followed by John Scottus, Honorius of Augustodonum, and various heretical groups. Nevertheless, and despite both philosophical and intuitive barriers, the idea of full bodily resurrection prevailed. In the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries the spiritual tradition enjoyed a recurrence in the idea that the soul alone was raised, but this idea was eventually set aside in deference to the old belief that exact earthly bodies will rise up on the last day.

The tenacious belief in bodily resurrection brought a number of intriguing challenges to its adherents. In the grave bodies rot. The bodies of martyrs were sometimes burned and/or divided. How, therefore, could a whole body arise? What was to be the fate of a body that was eaten by beasts? If it was, even in part, digested did it become something else entirely, that is, part of the body of the beast that ate it? Would fingernail and hair clippings, or shed blood, or tears rise up with their original bearers? Would aborted fetuses arise? At what age would bodies arise? Would the body have the same blemishes that it had in life? These were not idle questions because, as Bynum shows, they were part of a larger discourse about identity and self. In facing the excruciatingly difficult questions of life and death and life again, thinkers, not to mention ordinary believers, had to ask what makes me "me."

Among many important arguments in Bynum's book, this one is crucial: for a single person to exist there had to be both body and soul. In other words, the roots of seemingly modern notions of personal identity reach far back into the Middle Ages.

THOMAS F. X. NOBLE
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JOHN BINNS. *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ: The Monasteries of Palestine, 314–631.* (Oxford Early Christian Studies.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 276. $55.00.

In this book John Binns hopes to offer a study of Palestinian monasticism that will ameliorate the relative neglect of this area in comparison with the numerous recent studies of asceticism in Egypt and Syria. In so doing the author builds on his recent translation, along with R. M. Price, of Cyril of Scythopolis's *Lives of the Monks of Palestine* (1991) and makes good use of Yizhar Hirschfeld's important archaeological study, *The Judaean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period* (1992). Because Binns focuses on Cyril, the result is a useful, if uneven, survey of the sources, material conditions, and institutional developments of Palestinian monasticism in the fifth and sixth centuries.

In addition to an introduction and conclusion, the book is divided into three parts, each with three chapters. Part 1 is devoted to the literary sources, concentrating on Cyril of Scythopolis, his career, and the sources and literary character of his writings. Binns is especially helpful in situating Cyril's *Lives* within early Christian historiography beginning with Eusebius of Caesarea, particularly its devotion to a narrative of conflict between "orthodoxy" and "heresy" (pp. 36–40). Part 2 studies the environment of the monastic movement, with chapters devoted to Jerusalem, the desert, and Scythopolis. Binns emphasizes the symbiotic relationship between the cities, especially the holy places located within them, and the desert monastic communities: ascetic withdrawal did not preclude the monks from playing important roles in political and ecclesiastical affairs. The chapter on Scythopolis is more detailed (pp. 121–47) than the other two, no doubt reflecting the author's particular interest in its son, Cyril. (Most of the action Binns describes elsewhere in the book takes place not in Scythopolis, but in the regions around Jerusalem and Jericho.)

Part 3 examines the spirituality and activities of the monks themselves. Its first chapter finds in Cyril's presentation of the lives of Euthymius and Sabas the two complementary roles of Palestinian monks: Euthymius the "ascetic" who devoted his life to solitude and fostered a highly personal relationship with his monastic disciples; and Sabas the "ambassador of Christ" who established monastic institutions and undertook political missions to bishops and emperors (pp. 154–82). Binns then turns to the conflicts within the monasteries over the Council of Chalcedon (451 C.E.) and the teachings of Origen, and he offers reasons related to the geography of Palestine, the social origins of the monks, and differing modes of monastic leadership for why each conflict proceeded as it did in Palestine (pp. 183–217). The title of this chapter, "Witnesses to Truth," suggests that Binns himself may see another determining factor, and indeed there is little here that attempts to explain how "monophysite" or "Origenist" ideas may have guided the spiritualities of different Christian ascetics (despite the brief paragraph on p. 212). A final chapter provides a rich study of miracle stories in the monastic literature, showing how these accounts point to the presence of God in the monk's struggle with his environment and his relations with both his fellow monks and lay Christians (pp. 218–44). Two appendixes on technical questions regarding John of Scythopolis and Leontius of Byzantium complete the book.

Binns's focus on Cyril has its benefits and shortcomings. The chapters on Cyril and his works, the city of

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Scythopolis, the lives of Euthymius and Sabas, and miracles are full and rewarding. Yet the spiritualities of "monophysite" and "Origenist" monks disappear, and the book's treatment of the periods that lie outside Cyril's purview (before 400 and after 553) is slight: for example, Epiphanius of Salamis's fascinating account of Palestinian Gnostic ("Archontic") monks (*Panarion* 40) is passed over in silence. General readers and undergraduates will find the frequent quotations in ancient and modern languages (mostly French) deterring, but historians interested in early Christian monasticism and Byzantine Palestine will find much of value in Binns's careful scholarship.

DAVID BRAKKE
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NANCY NETZER. *Cultural Interplay in the Eighth Century: The Trier Gospels and the Making of a Scriptorium at Echternach*. (Cambridge Studies in Paleography and Codicology.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. pp. xvi, 258. $64.95.

Twenty years ago this monograph would have been called simply *The Trier Gospels* and, although it might have contained the nearly one hundred and fifty pages of appendixes and supportive material, it would not have had the richness or complexity of the material presented by Nancy Netzer here. The title is apt, however, for, as this study shows, the Trier manuscript reveals a complex interplay of insular and Mediterranean ideas and provides a focus for appreciating the cross-currents in literate culture during the period. Netzer shows how the models and training of the two distinct scribe-artists of this manuscript are crucial in understanding the particular focus of the book, produced at Echternach at the end of the eighth century.

Netzer lays out the historical arguments for this attribution to Echternach in a series of exhautively argued chapters that show her grasp of paleographical as well as art-historical issues. She analyzes text, script, and decorated initial in a series of chapters that attempt to relate the specifics of this particular manuscript to its context. One of the most interesting chapters concerns the canon tables, based on a Roman model from two centuries before.

Art historians will focus more on Netzer's analysis of the unique Tetramorph, the most famous full-page image in the Trier Gospels, which receives a relatively short treatment. Derived from the church fathers' interpretation of Ezekiel, this image combines parts of all four evangelists. Netzer shows that it is based upon insular traditions. She is always ready to see the artist—in this case the scribe Thomas—combining different traditions and using more than one source, rather than falling back on the idea of a lost model that is so much used and abused by historians of early medieval manuscript illumination. The sheer range of materials that were available to these book-makers suggests a sophisticated interchange of continental, insular, and Mediterranean ideas.

Published as part of the series Cambridge Studies in Paleography and Codicology, this monograph is a model of the kind of detailed work that can be done exploring a particular manuscript. It is a pity, given that the supporting and documentary material is so well integrated into this book, that its plates could not have been better reproduced, especially the opening layout of four images per page that reduces both the Trier Gospels and important comparative material to equally dismal proportions. As so often happens, what is forgotten here is that medieval text is not just black-and-white information but part of a chromatically complex and richly suggestive surface, as important to the meaning of the book as its transcription. Perhaps only with the advent of computers and, ironically, the death of the book format itself will we get to see such manuscripts and be able to read their commentaries in a suitably detailed and clear format.

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ELLIOT R. WOLFSON. *Through a Speculum that Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 452. $49.50.

This massive, magisterial, and difficult work studies the problems and processes of visualizing the divine in the traditions of medieval Jewish mysticism. Elliot R. Wolfson has amassed an impressive array of texts to establish the foundational importance of seeing God for Jewish mysticism—well beyond that perceived or acknowledged in previous scholarship—and his book formulates many questions that will undoubtedly occupy subsequent investigators as they grapple with the significance of its findings. As he traces the history of the idea—from the participation in the enthronement of the divine glory on its supernal chariot recorded in the *Hekhalot* texts of the early medieval Near East, to the "complicated interweaving of the threads of philosophy and mysticism" (p. 187) among pre-Maimonidean and pre-Kabbalistic Jewish theologians (Saadiah Gaon, Shabbetai Donnolo, Judah Halevi, and others), to the attempts of German-Jewish Pietists to reconcile received anthropomorphic traditions and aniconic strictures of contemporary rationalist philosophy, and, finally to the flowering of theosophic Kabbalah in Provence and Spain in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries (manifested above all in the *Zohar*)—the impassioned drive to encounter and unite with the divine through sensory, primarily visual experience emerges as a central and organizing theme in the development of Jewish mysticism.

Wolfson's reconsideration of medieval Jewish mysticism sheds new light on numerous related issues that have long engaged its modern scholars: the nature and formation of the *Hekhalot* compositions; the transitional role of Ashkenazic Pietism in the development

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of mystical theosophy; and the relationship between revelation, ecstasy, and theosophy in the emergence of high medieval Kabbalah. Of particular importance is the erotic imagery of Jewish mystical experience, employed to describe both the perceived deity and the process whereby the mystic perceives him. Yet most engaging for me were an array of theoretical and methodological questions that contribute to the direction, coherence, and significance of Wolfson's analysis. To what extent ought one to evaluate the mystical experience—in this case, visualizing God—as a cross-cultural religious phenomenon, or should it be viewed in terms of a specific historical, cultural, and hermeneutical context? How formative are received traditions, oral and textual, in determining the nature of mystical experience and in precipitating it? What objective status has the mystical vision of the divine—veridical/ontological or docetic/psychological—given the critical role of human imagination in achieving such vision? What is the precise relationship between the ontological, "what is conceived of metaphysically as the ultimate nature of being," and the phenomenological, "what is experienced in the mystical experience of illumination" (p. 270)? Where, precisely, ought one to distinguish between anthropomorphism, attributing human traits to the deity, and theomorphism, regarding humans in divine terms?

Not surprisingly, Wolfson's survey culminates in the sefirotic Kabbalah of the *Zohar*; as such, Zoharic mysticism mediates between many of the oppositional pairs just enumerated. As the proper mystical study of God's law facilitates the visualization of God, the *Zohar* equates the object of that study with God himself. Hermeneutics thus becomes the phenomenology of experience. Ontological and phenomenological poles of mystical experience converge, as the term *zohar* itself refers both to the deity and to the enlightened state achieved by the contemplative kabbalist. Theomorphism and anthropomorphism converge as well, as do the ostensibly polar opposites of objectively existent and imaginary in the kabbalistic vision: "The corporeal figuration of the divine is not to be taken either literally or metaphorically; it is symbolic and as such allows the formless to be manifest in form, but only within the imagination" (p. 325). The erotic tendencies of Jewish mystical symbolism likewise reach their full maturity in the *Zohar*, whose Kabbalah Wolfson terms both phallocentric and homoerotic; for "the focal point of the visual encounter [between kabbalist and deity] is the male organ [in the sefirotic anatomy of God]," and "the singular bond that connects the male deity and male worshiper is the penis" (p. 370).

This book comprises a manifold contribution to our appreciation of Jewish mysticism and Jewish intellectual history in the Middle Ages. Wolfson generally articulates his controversial opinions responsibly and convincingly. He has followed the Israeli scholar Moshe Idel in arguing—and demonstrating—the value of a phenomenological, structuralist perspective in the study of mystical texts and ideas in Judaism; yet he continues to advocate a "modified contextualism," acknowledging that "the interpretative framework of a mystic's particular religion shapes his or her experience at the phenomenal level and not merely in the description or narrative account of the experience" (p. 54). Nevertheless, historians may well feel short-changed by the limited attempts to evaluate varieties of mystical texts and experiences against the background of specific sociocultural contexts. They may also find Wolfson's numerous, fascinating, but at times repetitive discussions of the eroticisms of Jewish mysticism—without a concomitant effort to assess their broader theological and cultural significance, as if exposing the erotic were itself a major goal of this investigation—slightly sensationalistic. Finally, they will certainly not find this book easy to read. Wolfson understates the case in his introduction, where he notes that "this monograph is not a textbook" (p. 10). To the contrary, it is a sophisticated critical enterprise, rife with technical terms and terminologies, many of these cultural-specific or drawn from the highly specialized vocabulary of analytic philosophy and religious phenomenology. Without a grounding in Jewish mysticism, many will find this book intimidating, if not inaccessible. In directing his work to the initiated, however, Wolfson has perhaps remained true to the esoteric character of his subject, evidencing the tension in yet one more dialectical pair: the medieval kabbalist and his modern historian.

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N. B. AITCHISON. *Armagh and the Royal Centres in Early Medieval Ireland: Monuments, Cosmology, and the Past*. New York: Boydell, for Cruithne. 1994. Pp. x, 356. $71.00.

Combining the ideas of early medieval Irish cosmographers, to whom the world was arranged according to divine logic, and those of contemporary archaeological post processualists, to whom artifacts and monuments of the past are social constructs that can never provide the hard evidence required to interpret them, makes for a heady mixture. Just such a mixture is offered by N. B. Aitchison, who sets out in this book to reconstruct and explain the physical layout of Armagh as a massive cosmographic creation of the early medieval period.

In fact, this work is two books. One is a detailed survey of all the published work on the traditional early royal provincial centers of Ireland. This constitutes a useful assemblage, although it is not original and does not gather any particularly rare material. Aitchison says nothing, for example, on what might constitute a royal site and, because he is bound closely to others' work, he says little about enigmatic Cashel.

The core of the book consists of three major asser-

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tions. The first is that the idea of the four or five provinces of Ireland, explored in depth by the Rees brothers (A. Rees and B. Rees, *Celtic Heritage* [1961]), was constructed by scholars working in the dynastic interests of the Ui Neill (pp. 129–30). The idea that the theory of the high kingship was an artifact of political propagandists is well known. No evidence for the extension of this claim is offered; we must take Aitchison's word for it.

Aitchison's second claim is that the whole Ulster Cycle of tales was composed by a group of ecclesiastics working in the political interests of the Airgialla and specifically on behalf of the subkingdom of the Aithir, which is identified with Armagh. He argues that, because these traditional tales show a multiplicity of layers of composition and feature later accretions, they must be propaganda. That they concentrate on the Ulaid, yet were written in the interests of another kingdom, Aitchison explains by stressing the satirical elements in some tales, which he believes were written to denigrate the Ulaid. How contemporaries and all later readers who thought they were hearing about the Ulaid past could have been fooled is not explained.

Finally, Aitchison asserts that he can detect in the modern street plan of Armagh the cosmographic planning of the early medieval ecclesiastical site that had been constructed in the interests of Armagh's ecclesiastic pretensions and the political ambitions of the Ui Neill (p. 294). Here hard evidence does exist, and two examples show Aitchison's unreliable use of it. A ditch excavated in 1968 conflicts with the idea that the street plan preserves medieval concentric enclosures. Aitchison explains this by firmly dating the ditch to the Iron Age, but radiocarbon estimates date it to 130–600 A.D. Aitchison also writes: "Market Street is easily recognisable as the main thoroughfare and public space within Armagh's early medieval street plan" (p. 230), but there is good evidence in the archbishop's rentals of the seventeenth century to argue that it is a creation of the 1620s. *Caveat lector*!

T. E. McNeill
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Thomas Behrmann. *Domkapitel und Schriftlichkeit in Novara (11.–13. Jahrhundert): Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte von S. Maria und S. Gaudenzio im Spiegel der urkundlichen Überlieferung.* (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, number 77.) Tübingen: Max Niemeyer. 1994. Pp. x, 385. DM 112.

Literacy is a trendy subject in many fields, and Thomas Behrmann has enriched the debate by emphasizing not just the written word but also proper legal form. This highly original and engaging book offers a new perspective on literacy by looking in close detail at how two religious communities in the northern Italian city of Novara evolved as a result of having better records. These communities, two collegiate churches, tried to follow a common life according to rules. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries their style of life experienced a profound crisis, one that more precise records either exacerbated or alleviated, depending on one's perspective.

Behrmann exploits a large collection of about 1,850 charters and other documents to explore the consequences of precise records. Better records dissolved common life by making it possible for individual church canons to disentangle their benefices from the rest of the community. Better records made absenteeism possible and caused problems as some canons lived elsewhere, a result only possible with good communications. A church with records might thrive in a land market in which gathering information was now easier. As a corporate body the canons were increasingly in debt, and land purchases do not tell the entire story. The canons also borrowed because they needed to give alms, construct buildings, and, especially, to pay their staggering legal bills, themselves an ironic result of better records. The canons owed a lot of money, and if their experience is typical of the thirteenth century, Behrmann suggests that the heightened concern over usury may partly be a reasonable desire to get some of the church's money back by pricking the consciences of the lenders. A brilliant analysis of leases clarifies how better records allowed the canons to change the terms of leases and find new tenants in a search for punctual and reliable income.

Behrmann has contributed a wealth of new insights and questions in a rewarding local study, though it would be helpful to learn more about the relatively obscure Novara. More details about traditional agriculture in the region, and Novara's relations with nearby Milan, might help scholars working outside Novara to understand how this book's findings may relate to other medieval cities and their regions. But the main focus here is on records, and it is easy to agree that written records can give people more reasons to quarrel and run up legal bills. Behrmann, with some success, makes the subtle point that proper, legal records were probably intended to prevent disputes in an increasingly commercialized and legalistic world. Good record keeping altered the basis for a common life at the same time that these records helped the community to prevail at times over outside powers like the bishop or city government. Better records, more precise about details like dates, witnesses, and numbers, may have, as Behrmann believes, contributed to making medieval society more conscious and rational about its future. His book brings together a deep analysis of documents such as contracts and wills to add economic and social insights to the more familiar literary and legal aspects of medieval written traditions.

Steven A. Epstein
University of Colorado, Boulder

María Echániz Sans. *Las mujeres de la orden militar de Santiago en la Edad Media.* (Estudios de historia.)

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Salamanca, Spain: Junta de Castilla y León. 1992. Pp. 320.

Although much scholarly energy has been devoted to the origins and development of the medieval military orders (an unusual combination of military and religious pursuits joined into one institution), even more intriguing is the association of women with these enterprises. Women played the roles of patrons and audience in the artificial warfare of the tournaments, yet with rare exceptions they were kept far from the field of battle by laws that excluded and disarmed them. At least four of the military orders nevertheless had nunneries affiliated with their organization. The Order of Santiago possesses some of the best surviving records regarding these entities, and María Echániz Sans undertakes an examination of their evolution. The Order of Santiago accepted the affiliation of nunneries for a number of reasons. The secular brothers of the order, the fighting branch, could marry, and their female offspring and widows often required protection and education. The cloistered brethren may have wanted to foster a similar spiritual opportunity for women. Monasteries especially drew patronage and bequests, and the income from these sources could finance the military expenses of commandries close to the increasingly distant frontier in Andalusia.

Echániz Sans begins with a wide-ranging introduction to women's institutional and individual spiritual development during the centuries preceding the thirteenth-century foundation of the Santiagan nunneries. Her study is continually informed by the work of other scholars both inside and outside of Spain, rather more so in women's history than in frontier warfare. The reader soon discovers that the broad title somewhat exceeds the actual coverage, for the real focus of the book is one nunnery and its excellent surviving records, Sancti Spiritus of Salamanca, founded in 1268–74. Nonetheless, references and comparisons to other nunneries frequently appear in the book, but Sancti Spiritus stands as the exemplar. One must therefore allow for the exceptional freedom granted to this nunnery due to the foresight of its remarkable foundress, María Méndez, and the royal connections of her husband, Martín Alfonso. To prevent economic drain from destabilizing Sancti Spiritus, Méndez endowed the foundation with considerable property and required the Order of Santiago to leave those holdings entailed and to permit Sancti Spiritus to elect its own *comendadora*, a privilege the five other nunneries affiliated with Santiago lacked.

The bulk of the study views the two-century endeavor of this nunnery to maintain its objectives and repulse the efforts of both ecclesiastical and secular aristocrats to erode its holdings or its way of life. Maintaining the parallel with the male order, both cloistered and secular nuns practiced their varying forms of spirituality, some within the sisterhood, some in the outside world with their families. Echániz Sans carries her examination down through the ecclesiastical reforms of Queen Isabel, reforms that were directed at ending the secular activity of the nuns while intensifying their cloistered spirituality. The author demonstrates that Sancti Spiritus nevertheless provided the model for these reforms in feminine monasticism and retained its ties to this monarchical endeavor during the sixteenth century. Although the book suffers somewhat from dissertation-style writing, it is nicely summarized and documented throughout, providing new insights into both the history of warfare and of women.

JAMES F. POWERS
Holy Cross College

ROBIN HARRIS. *Valois Guyenne: A Study of Politics, Government and Society in Late Medieval France*. (Royal Historical Society Studies in History, number 71.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell, for the Royal Historical Society. 1994. Pp. x, 227. $63.00.

When the forces of the French crown occupied Bordeaux in 1451 and 1453, they brought to an end three centuries of English rule in Aquitaine and in the process ended the Hundred Years' War. Some of the lands acquired by the French had never previously been under the monarchy's control, and the first forty years of Valois rule in the southwest deserves study. As Robin Harris points out, royal administrative records are not adequate to support such a study, but great noble houses such as those of Albret, Armagnac, and Foix did accumulate important archives that have survived.

Making heavy use of archives at the municipal and departmental levels, Harris has produced a useful book. The book begins with a brief account of the French conquest and a survey of the land known as Guyenne. It continues with three substantial chapters on government, finance, and justice. The remaining four chapters, on problems of political control, tell a dreary tale of violence and disorder in which urban oligarchies and great territorial lords nearly always seemed to come out on top.

Harris provides us with a wealth of useful information that is convenient to find within the pages of a single volume. The book makes for difficult reading, however, partly because of the densely packed factual information and partly because of stylistic infelicities that more aggressive copy-editing might have eliminated. The lack of careful editorial work is evident in various ways. Charles VII and Charles VIII are mixed up occasionally, and there are several other typographical errors. The word "gaol" is twice rendered as "goal," with unfortunate results; I suspect the use of American spell-checking software that would recognize "jail" and "goal" but not "gaol."

Despite such difficulties, the volume is rewarding for those with an interest in late-medieval French institutional history. We find no major surprises, for the royal government behaved as it had for two or three centuries in dealing with provincial populations, retaining

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with few changes existing local institutions and traditions, inefficient and often corrupt administration of justice, and ad-hoc methods of raising taxes (with numerous exemptions, claims of exemption, and private deals to raise money). The crown exercised control of the local nobility by cultivating its elite through pensions and favors and control of the municipalities by accommodations with the oligarchs.

It is possible that this book experienced unusual delays in the course of production, for the most recent item in the bibliography bears the date of 1988. Harris could have made profitable use, however, of some American studies that appeared before that date. Since royal letters of remisssion receive considerable attention in this book, the most notable omission from the bibliography is Natalie Zemon Davis's *Fiction in the Archives* (1987).

JOHN BELL HENNEMAN
Princeton University

JEAN BLACKER. *The Faces of Time: Portrayal of the Past in Old French and Latin Historical Narrative of the Anglo-Norman Regnum*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 263. $40.00.

Anglo-Norman historiography offers the richest single tradition, in both Latin and the vernacular, of historical writing from a particular region and realm known in the Middle Ages. One need only recall the names of its major figures—Dudo of St.-Quentin, Henry of Huntington, William of Malmesbury, Orderic Vitalis, William of Jumièges, Robert of Torigni, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Jordan Fantosmes, Gaimar, Wace, and Benoît de Sainte-Maure—to appreciate the literary quality and historical significance of this corpus. The reasons behind the extraordinary flourishing of historical writing in the Anglo-Norman realm have never been examined in detail. Perhaps it was because the conquest of 1066 compelled losers and winners alike to confront the causes and consequences of this momentous event: the losers to explain their failure, the winners to justify and legitimize their governance of the new, hybrid realm, and both sides to come to terms with the major dislocations and transformations in language, law, landholding, social organization, and rulers that the conquest wrought on the former Anglo-Saxon kingdom. Moreover, it is a similarly unexplained but striking fact that, at least for the vernacular, specifically Norman component of this tradition, the writing of history ends as abruptly as it began with another conquest in 1204, this time the reacquisition of Normandy (or as Powicke called it, the "loss of Normandy," seen from the English side of the channel) by Philip Augustus and the duchy's reintegration into the Capetian realm. After 1204, the center of vernacular historical writing in France moved north and east, to Flanders, to Paris and Saint-Denis, to Champagne, and ultimately throughout France, but it is virtually extinguished in Normandy proper, except for some vernacular hagiographical works studied in part by M. Dominica Legge in her book *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (1963). Although there exists a now-outdated work by R. R. Darlington on *Anglo-Norman Historians* (1947), and since then Leah Shopkow and Emily Hanawalt have written as yet unpublished books on Norman historiography, no contemporary treatment exists on the combined corpus of Anglo-Norman historiography, despite the recent growth of interest in medieval historiography as a literary phenomenon.

Jean Blacker's book is thus a potentially welcome contribution to a sorely needed consideration of this major and consequential corpus, although she has confined herself to the study of six principle historians only. Still, no one can do everything, and the six historians chosen—William of Malmesbury, Orderic Vitalis, and Geoffrey of Monmouth on the Latin side; Gaimar, Wace, and Benoît de Sainte-Maure on the vernacular—represent defensible and important choices. Where Blacker's book disappoints is in its strategy of presentation of these historians and its poverty of conclusions about their writings, the latter a function, I believe, of the former.

Rather surprisingly for someone recently trained in a literature department, Blacker declines to analyze the selected eight histories of these six historians as integral works or texts. Instead, she sets up a series of categories reminiscent of work done on medieval historiography of the vintage of Benoît Lacroix's *L'Historien au Moyen Age* (1971), which represented an attempt to see if the phenomena that essentially concerned philosophers of history—questions such as the representation of reality, knowledge of the past, narrative mimesis, the epistemologies of historical writing, and so on—could be shown to be at work in medieval writers of history. Thus, traditionally, texts were scanned to disengage from them the author's "views of" various categories and each author's responses were synoptically catalogued under the appropriate rubrics. Needless to say, this was not a promising approach to medieval historical writing, which failed to meet virtually every standard important to philosophers of history, most significantly that of "truth" (a standard of great importance to Blacker, against which she tends to judge her writers). Nor does this approach serve Blacker well. Because her topics of analysis are derived in large part from the major conventions and tropes of medieval historiography, not surprisingly she finds that these works put them to use in similar, yet distinctive ways. What gets lost in this sort of analysis is not only the specificity of the Anglo-Norman development of historical writing as a regional phenomenon, with its peculiar problematics, inflections, and contextual determinants, but also any sense of the coherence and significance of the texts themselves.

Thus, Blacker divides her book into three sections, taking up in turn "The Task and Role of the Historian," "Modes of Characterization: Images of the Kings," and "Patronage and Social Function: Users

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and Uses of History." She then proceeds to discuss each author in turn, summarizing their respective positions or "views of" the categories that Blacker herself has a priori determined. Within the discussion of any given author, comparisons are made to other writers in the chosen set, but not systematically enough to develop any real sense of the *differentiae* that might help toward the construction of a real typology of Anglo-Norman historiography (and the impulse behind this procedure, it seems, is largely taxonomic). In addition, because the texts are broken up for analysis in this way, categories like "characterization" have to bear an analytic load they cannot carry, since there is no room in the book to discuss topics such as narrative structure (which sneaks into this section, therefore, given that it is virtually impossible to discuss a medieval historical work without some sense of its overall structure). Moreover, by putting questions of patronage and authorial intention ("uses") at the end, it is impossible for her to allow these questions to inform her reading of the works themselves. What the final chapter does, in fact, is largely provide the sort of introductory material on dedications, manuscripts, and patronage contexts that, if taken seriously, should embed a text within its social context (or what I have called its "social logic") so that the deployment of even conventional tropes can be seen to have taken on new meanings. Of course, this is only possible when texts are treated whole, which Blacker resolutely refuses to do.

Throughout the book Blacker gestures in the direction of postmodern criticism, only to dismiss it as inapplicable to her subject. Thus, the reader is treated to sentences such as "Twelfth-century . . . historicians tended to think of language as a network of symbols capable of pointing to the physical world . . . not as a self-referential network of symbols never to be escaped . . . the historians of this study believed in the existence of reality" (p. xiv). Surely no one would doubt that either twelfth or twentieth-century historians believe in the existence of reality. What is at stake is the degree to which such reality can be known and in how mediated a fashion, on which there is probably far more agreement between current and medieval historians than most of us would care to confess. Hence even Blacker grudgingly concedes that "while it is doubtful that William [of Malmesbury] would have agreed with Hayden White in aligning history, myth and fiction because of the compositional properties found in common among them, William does stress the historian's role as shaper of texts" (pp. 6–7).

What is unfortunate is that one has the sense that Blacker could have written a far better book. She has read widely, often has interesting things to say, and the importance of her topic is beyond dispute. But by breaking up the topics of analysis; by putting what might be considered to be contextual determinants at the end of her long discussions of the texts themselves; and by refusing to analyze texts as works, that is, as coherent wholes whose messages can only be gleaned through close readings of the textual artifacts as such—its modes of emplotment as well as characterization, its discourse as well as doctrine, its formal as well as instrumental properties—she is unable to convey her sense of the nature of these works and the authorial intentions that generated them. Finally, by utilizing criteria of judgment derived from modern rubrics, Blacker never allows the texts she studies to surprise her, to lead her in directions not covered by those categories, themselves, as I have suggested, rather shop-worn at this date. In the end, we learn very little about these historians and their writings, except in those aspects that bear on the pre-generated categories of analysis. Anglo-Norman historiography still awaits its historian and critic.

GABRIELLE M. SPIEGEL
Johns Hopkins University

STEPHEN MORILLO. *Warfare under the Anglo-Norman Kings, 1066–1135*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1994. Pp. xii, 207. $53.00.

Recent scholarly enthusiasm for discussing theoretical aspects of English feudalism, including its introduction or even its existence, may have made attention to fighting and logistics seem old fashioned. Stephen Morillo's book, which treats the military realities of how armies were used by their commanders, is, however, a thought-provoking contribution to scholarship on the actual military practices of the first three kings of Anglo-Norman England.

The intellectual core of this work is a detailed analysis of five major battles that occurred during this period. The author sensibly establishes the framework for these in earlier chapters on the context of Anglo-Norman warfare, the whole Anglo-Norman military system, and the roles of castles and field forces on campaigns. Indeed, his analysis provides convincing reasons why battles were so relatively rare and why sensible commanders generally strove to avoid them. Of the four basic functions of field forces—ravaging, taking castles and cities, intimidation by show of force, and defending against a hostile force—mentioned in this book, only the last one is clearly analyzed. Clearly there is now need for a similarly detailed analysis of the strategic and sociopolitical contexts for all non-battle occasions when English monarchs used armed forces between 1066 and 1135.

Doubting that a purely feudal English field army ever existed, Morillo distinguishes between the institutionalized feudal tenurial system and the mechanical means used to raise armies. Raising and commanding field forces was merely one function of the royal household. Because armies were expensive to maintain, there was no permanent force and therefore little opportunity to train for complex maneuvers. Consequently, the personality and skill of commanders were important factors in the outcome of battles. The author believes that by 1124 mounted Anglo-Norman

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forces showed much greater readiness to dismount and fight on foot but does not explain why this was so.

This book could easily be longer for it excludes a number of potential topics, including the warfare of the Anglo-Norman barons and the role of those less-than-knightly feudal warriors (*vavassores*, or sergeants) who have been noticed by Charles Homer Haskins, Sally Harvey, and others. Although the book notes that the frontiers with Scotland and Wales were important areas of military activity during the period, more detailed and nuanced discussion of these would have been possible. For example, the several Welsh chronicles depict major English royal campaigns against Wales that the English sources describe as successful in disdainful terms: the English left Wales "empty."

Too often military history, especially operational matters like battles and castles, has been segregated into a separate category and disdained by those pursuing more trendy topics. Yet Karl von Clausewitz's observation that warfare is merely the ultimate diplomatic weapon implies the value of integrating military matters into a broader context. N. J. G. Pounds's recent book on castles (*The Medieval Castle in England and Wales* [1990]) is a fine example of the benefits of a holistic approach. Morillo's book takes a similarly comprehensive view of medieval warfare and will doubtless stimulate further broad thinking about this topic.

FREDERICK C. SUPPE
Ball State University

EMILIE AMT. *The Accession of Henry II in England: Royal Government Restored 1149–1159*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1993. Pp. 232. $63.00.

Emilie Amt examines the transition of power to Henry II, beginning with his arrival in England in 1149 to take charge of his mother's struggle for the crown, and ending with Henry's expedition to Toulouse in 1159 that demonstrates what he had achieved in mobilizing the kingdom's resources. He had secured recognition of his right to succeed in 1153, taken the crown in 1154, and by 1159 secured such control over England that he could use its wealth for a campaign of conquest on the Continent. Amt's book shows her to be an admirer of Henry II, viewing him as precocious in his capacity for governing, wisely selecting government agents, yet actively involved in governing his new kingdom, not shying from difficult decisions. Her Henry II is hardly a ruler who so exhausted himself in horseback riding and hunting that he had no time for the work of government. Amt's portrait of Henry in this book differs little from that of W. L. Warren in his biography, which depicted the young ruler as "determined to be not merely king, but just such a king as his grandfather had been" (*Henry II* [1973], p. 59). For example, Amt's account of currency reforms in 1158 shows "a royal government clear in its objectives and aware of how best to achieve them!" (p. 132). Yet Amt stresses the uncertainty before Stephen's death that Henry would succeed and his luck in winning the English crown, especially in the unexpected deaths of rivals or potential rivals. Had Stephen of Blois lived longer, he might have repudiated the settlement made at Winchester in 1153 and renewed the civil war.

Amt's study is not a narrative account of Henry's taking power in England but rather a detailed and sometimes technical study based on the earliest pipe rolls of Henry's reign. It was not easy for her to coax evidence from such difficult volumes, and this book is not always easy reading. It consists of a series of topical chapters, and only slowly do these seemingly disparate topics come together for the reader. Amt begins by picturing conditions in three shires: Gloucestershire, an Angevin stronghold; Oxfordshire, a disputed county; and Essex, Stephen's base of strength. She then turns to other communities: the Flemish mercenaries whom Henry expelled, Flemish financiers, and the English financial community. Part 2 of the book treats royal financial administration beginning with the sheriffs and the exchequer and moving to a more detailed discussion of royal revenues.

Amt does not hesitate to challenge some traditional interpretations. She finds little castle demolition despite the chroniclers' stress on Henry's destruction of fortifications; she sees Henry demolishing baronial castles as "an unusual punishment" (p. 79). In defiance of recent attempts to redefine "waste" in the pipe rolls in a way that downplays the civil war's destructiveness, Amt adopts a literal definition: waste is *not* "a polite fiction used to cover cases where debts could not be collected or where there was some dispute or confusion" (p. 141). She recognizes that deliberate wasting of enemy lands was a basic aspect of medieval warfare. Amt finds that Henry II did not succeed in restoring the royal demesne to its pre–civil war extent, but that he did redistribute Stephen's previously granted *terre date* among his own supporters; only supporters of Stephen who demonstrated "energetic support of the new king" (p. 164) kept their grants. Because of the alienation of so much royal demesne, Henry had to exploit other revenues, Amt discusses these sources of income: the royal forest, taxation, and profits of justice. Henry twice collected danegeld, but because it was levied on outdated assessments and riddled with exemptions, he had to shift taxation to a feudal basis with such levies as scutages and reliefs, wardships, and marriages. Amt compares Henry II's early pipe rolls with his grandfather's sole surviving pipe roll and finds that the contrast between their revenues is not so great as previously estimated. The 1130 pipe roll reflects a large backlog of income owed from previous years, while the 1150s rolls are "more truly annual accounts" (p. 181). Amt's study of Henry's taking control of England is a convincing refurbishing of his traditional portrait as a political genius.

RALPH V. TURNER
Florida State University

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ANDREW AYTON. *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III.* Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1994. Pp. xii, 304. $63.00.

Andrew Ayton has written a valuable yet ultimately frustrating study of Edwardian military service. Its value lies in his careful assessment of a whole class of virtually unexplored documents, the inventories of warhorses compiled by Edwardian military administrators and the related *restauro equorum* accounts produced during campaigns. The frustration arises because the book promises more than it delivers, a problem that starts with the subtitle; it should read "New Sources for Military Service and the Aristocracy under Edward III," for this is much more a book of source criticism than of conclusions based on the sources.

It is, to be sure, excellent source criticism. At the heart of the study are chapters on how the horse inventories (lists of warhorses, their owners, and the values of the horses, compiled when armies mustered so that later claims for compensation for lost warhorses could be settled) and *restauro equorum* accounts (actual lists of compensation claims) were produced, the history of their use from the 1280s to 1360, and an assessment of their value as sources for the personnel of Edwardian armies. These chapters are full of useful information about warhorse values, contribute significantly to our picture of fourteenth-century military administration, and will be an invaluable guide to the documents for future researchers. Ayton also examines *vadia guerre* accounts (army payrolls), letters of protection, charters of pardon, and muster rolls.

The problem is that Ayton more often tells us what could be learned from the sources than what he has learned. His unsurprising conclusions may be quickly summarized: warhorse values reflect the social status of their owners (and may in some cases let us trace an individual career that would otherwise be closed to us); values in general rose from the 1280s to the early years of the Hundred Years' War under the influence of the breeding programs initiated by Edward I, then fell again through the 1360s as the implications of the shift by the English to infantry tactics became clear to members of the military community. Ayton explores this shift in his first chapter, "The Military Revolution in Edwardian England," a synthesis of previous work on the adoption by English armies of a tactical system based on dismounted knights and longbowmen. He takes the standard picture of this shift ("revolution" may be too strong a word) as a given rather than critically examining it in light of what his sources can tell us. Again, this shows Ayton's emphasis on assessing the sources rather than sorting out all they have to say.

Since Ayton admits that this is a preliminary study, the emphasis on the sources may have been unavoidable. He does present some conclusions about knights and esquires, captains and retinues, and their warhorses that will be of interest to historians of the Edwardian military community. It is to be hoped that his valuable book will be the foundation for further studies, his own and others', of what more these sources can tell us about military service and the English aristocracy under Edward III.

STEPHEN MORILLO
Wabash College

VIRGINIA DAVIS. *William Waynflete: Bishop and Educationalist.* (Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, number 6.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1993. Pp. 193. $63.00.

Late-medieval English church history is undergoing a veritable revolution these days. An earlier picture propounded by Reformation polemicists and apologists that depicted a corrupt church in precipitous decline has given way to a needed corrective. Virginia Davis's valuable study of William Waynflete is an important contribution to a changing view of the fifteenth-century English episcopate.

William Waynflete, bishop of the powerful see of Winchester from 1447 to 1486 with close ties to Henry VI and the Lancasters, was headmaster of Winchester College, provost of Eton, and founder of Magdalen College, Oxford. An important figure in the world of English education, Waynflete's influence on the teaching of grammar, on harnessing the new technology of printing in the cause of education, and in reinvesting the resources at his disposal as bishop of Winchester in education made him "one of the great educationalists and patrons of late medieval England' (p. 4). Moreover, as a prominent patron of building, Waynflete was an important promoter of brick construction, which came to dominate Tudor architecture.

Davis begins her meticulous study with a survey of Waynflete's background and biography. Two aspects stand out. First, his early experiences as schoolmaster dominated his life and influenced his subsequent contributions to education; and second, his ties to his native Lincolnshire were maintained throughout his career as founder and patron of the Wainfleet Grammar School. As a teacher himself, Waynflete had a special interest in the teaching of grammar, which was to undergo major changes in the course of the fifteenth century. At the beginning of the century, schooling in England looked backward to earlier traditions. Donatus dominated the grammar curriculum despite the availability of some basic teaching texts in English. Waynflete's life and career coincided with some major changes in English educational practice. The number of colleges at Oxford and Cambridge increased. Humanist interests, notably in the teaching of Greek, became integrated and assimilated in the university curriculum. The writing of new grammar texts was actively promoted and their diffusion facilitated by the introduction of printing. In all these developments, Waynflete played a significant role.

Throughout this book, based on thorough archival research, Davis fleshes out a picture of Waynflete as a

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solid and steady administrator whose service to King Henry VI led to promotion to the episcopate, which in turn allowed him to become a great founder and educational patron. This examination of Waynflete's career also provides a view of how a fifteenth-century see operated in the light of low recruitment levels of the clergy, nonresidence by many clerics, and the holding of multiple benefices. Many of these practices came to be denounced by the Reformers, but these were the working conditions of an English bishop in the mid-fifteenth century. William Waynflete emerges in Davis's study as an effective bishop administrator committed to the institutions that he founded and served and as an important educational innovator of late-medieval England.

PHYLLIS B. ROBERTS
City University of New York

WILLIAM J. DOHAR. *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership: The Diocese of Hereford in the Fourteenth Century*. (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 198. $32.95.

The jacket cover announces that this is "a study of church leadership [that] also reaches into related areas of theology, law, liturgy, demography, and literature." Would that it were. There is not much more to be learned in this book than can be found in its fifteen tables and graphs. William J. Dohar pursues the modest goal of identifying trends in clerical recruitment in one small English diocese primarily on the basis of data found in a series of published episcopal registers.

Occasional glimpses into the desperate situation created for the church by the Black Death are telling. In 1349 the proliferation of vacancies forced the bishop of Hereford to advance men through the clerical ranks with great haste: William de Newnton was made an acolyte in March, subdeacon in April, deacon in June, and priest in September; John de Hulle became acolyte and subdeacon on the same day in April and by late August was a priest with a vicarage. In 1352 the only way to rescue two depopulated and impoverished parishes was to merge them.

Unfortunately such lively snapshots are rare because Dohar primarily comments cautiously on statistics, most of them unsurprising. We learn, for example, that there were many more annual ordinations in the first half of the fourteenth century than in the second, a fact that will raise no eyebrows given England's larger pre-plague population, and that the peak years for ordinations were 1349 and 1350, the two years of the most dramatic dislocations. The one blip that is really perplexing—that the third and fourth highest ordination years were 1345 and 1346—goes unexplained.

Dohar's only sustained attempt at breaking out of his quantitative straightjacket lies in his review of a visitation record for the diocese of Hereford of 1397. But it is difficult to evaluate these reports without standards for comparison. Could he have done anything else to make his study more useful? Given that statistics seem to be his main interest, one wonders why he did not control his findings with data from at least one other fourteenth-century diocese. In lieu of that, he could have gone further in treating the lives and thought-worlds of his bishops.

As it is, the little he reports about these men is often mistaken: John Trillek was not "a Paris master" (p. 16); Lewis Charlton was not "chancellor of Oxford" (p. 16). We never learn whether a given bishop was a lawyer or theologian. The riveting figure of William Courtenay enters and exits without our being told that he was a great-grandson of Edward I or that while bishop of Hereford he threatened to withhold a tenth voted by convocation until the king should provide a remedy for the grievances the clergy were suffering." All told, it is questionable how well Dohar has succeeded in mastering even the limited problem of leadership in one diocese.

ROBERT E. LERNER
Northwestern University

MODERN EUROPE

BRUCE STEPHENSON. *The Music of the Heavens: Kepler's Harmonic Astronomy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 260. $39.50.

Since its publication in 1619, Johannes Kepler's *Harmonice mundi libri v* (literally, "Five Books of the Harmonic of the World") has had few readers with patience and learning enough to follow its reasonings and calculations. In this study, Bruce Stephenson analyzes the fifth and final book of that work—Kepler's application of his theory of musical harmony to the motions of the planets—and does so with admirable intelligence and learning.

Writing to William Schickard on March 3, 1618, Kepler reported: "The speculations on the harmony of the celestial motions prosper exactly and nobly according to my desire, so that amidst the greatest pleasure I am forced to grieve, foreseeing that there will be few readers" (quoted by Stephenson as an epigraph, p. v). Among Kepler's more immediate successors, Stephenson finds only Jeremiah Horrocks and Giambattista Riccioli to have read the *Harmonice mundi* attentively, and they were far from accepting its planetary "harmonies" in detail. Today the work is chiefly cited for containing Kepler's first enunciation of "Kepler's third law," crucial to the argumentation of Isaac Newton's *Principia*; but in the seventeenth century that law came to be known mainly through the more accessible *Epitome astronomiae Copernicanae* (1618–21). Kepler's pessimism about readership proved right.

The project of Book 5 was an elaborate fitting together of principles, with the aim of finding the harmonies that God had used to determine the least and greatest speeds of each of the six planets. Far better for humans to devote themselves to such exercises in the liberal arts, and so win a vision of the

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harmony of God's creation, than to engage in religious wars—so Kepler told James I of England in his dedication of the work (the Thirty Years' War was just beginning). But the constraints Kepler sought to accommodate in his reconstruction of the divine plan made for a very difficult exercise indeed.

To begin with, Kepler retained the polyhedral theory of his *Mysterium Cosmographicum* of 1596; this accounted for the number of the planets (six) and their approximate spacings by identifying the planetary spheres with the nested spheres circumscribing and inscribing the five regular polyhedra of Euclid's *Elements*. Second, in Book 3 of the *Harmonice mundi* Kepler had derived a theory of musical intervals from the aliquot divisions of the circle that are possible by straightedge and compass alone. This theory gave him the arithmetical ratios that the actual planetary speeds must be made to fit. Next, there were Kepler's data on planetary eccentricities and aphelia, more accurate than those obtained by any earlier astronomer. Finally, in mid-May 1618 came the discovery of the empirical "third law," relating planetary periods and solar distances; Kepler spent the rest of the year, Stephenson tells us, in accommodating his treatise to this discovery.

Stephenson begins with an account of the historical background of Kepler's endeavor, the tradition of *musica mundana* that stretched back to Pythagoras and Plato, and follows it with the details of Kepler's own construction of that music, probably the most elaborate product of the tradition. To label Kepler's endeavor "mystical," Stephenson urges, is wrong; it was a rational working out of premises widely shared in seventeenth-century European culture. Kepler's contemporaries doubted not the premises but the capacity of humans to penetrate the details of God's artistic design.

Difficulties that cropped up in the course of Kepler's cutting and fitting sometimes proved ineradicable. He concealed nothing; his honesty was admirable. In the end he was unabashedly pleased with his labors, "since God also, having completed the work of creation, looked upon all things that He had made, and lo! they were very good."

The irony in this does not escape Stephenson, whose patient thoroughness and freedom from romanticism deserve our praise. He illuminates a quirky filament among the historical strands leading to modern science. And had Kepler not engaged in his arduous enterprise, and so hit on the third law, who knows whether God would have been able to say "let Newton [the Newton of the *Principia*] be"?

CURTIS WILSON
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E. J. HUNDERT. *The Enlightenment's* Fable*: Bernard Mandeville and the Discovery of Society*. (Ideas in Context, number 31.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 284. $54.95.

In this book, E. J. Hundert gives a clear and compelling account of the sources, ideas, and influence of one of the most important social thinkers of eighteenth-century Europe. In *The Fable of the Bees: Or Private Vices, Publick Benefits* (1723), Bernard Mandeville presented his picture of society as an aggregation of self-interested individuals bound together only by the tenuous ties of envy, competition, and self-interest. But it was just this pursuit of individual self-interest that produced the wealth of modern commercial society, Mandeville held. He saw it as absurd and contradictory to desire both flourishing trade and a decrease in the moral vices of individual pride and luxury; indeed, it was just these private vices that produced the public benefit of commercial wealth in modern society. Mandeville thus rejected traditional Christian moral psychology as well as the civic humanist contention that the pursuit of private gain threatened civic liberty and led to the moral decay of society.

Among the various sources for Mandeville's thought, Hundert points to the republican tradition of Mandeville's native Holland, the social and psychological assumptions of Pierre Bayle and other skeptics who were critical about the degree to which moral values influenced a social life that they saw as largely a political struggle for survival, and the materialism and naturalism of Pierre Gassendi's revived Epicureanism. For Mandeville, human pride was the driving force behind the civilizing of a once savage primitive man. Society developed from the mutual fear that the struggle for survival engendered in men, and political organization originated to tame man's savage passions and produce social peace. Moral codes were set up to control the primitive impulses of human nature, and commerce allowed men to compete with each other in non-violent ways that gratified individual desires for flattery and public recognition while at the same time enriching society. Elaborate social codes of politeness and manners were designed to elicit praise for the individual and thus to satisfy the need for approbation that flowed from human self-liking. In this society pursuit of luxury rather than discipline in work fueled the engines of commercial prosperity.

With these ideas Mandeville made an important contribution to the Enlightenment debate over how to understand the operation of acquisitive instincts in a society that had been fundamentally transformed by the wealth and power of the commercial and financial revolutions. He also contributed to the multifaceted British debate over the relationship between commerce and virtue. *The Fable of the Bees* met with a hostile reception from many thinkers such as Joseph Butler, J. J. Rousseau, and Henry Fielding, who saw Mandeville as a dangerous immoralist who threatened to subvert the historically moralized structures of traditional society. But Mandeville's ideas had important influence on other more radical Enlightenment figures such as Julien Offroy de La Mettrie, Claude-Adrien Helvetius, David Hume, and especially Adam Smith. Smith's version of a society motivated by self-

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interest reincorporated moral philosophy into the theory of society by making a place for sympathy and benevolence as passions mitigating self-interest and acting as a second motivating force for human action in commercial society.

Hundert's account of Mandeville's ideas, sources, and influence on later thinkers is both comprehensive and detailed. The sometimes difficult style of the book does not prevent the author from clearly and compellingly establishing Mandeville's important place in the history of European social thought.

ANDREW FIX
Lafayette College

RICHARD BIERNACKI. *The Fabrication of Labor: Germany and Britain, 1640–1914*. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 22.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 569. $48.00.

In this ambitious, informative, and provocative work of comparative historical sociology, Richard Biernacki argues that different cultural conceptions of labor as a commodity explain the differences between British and German forms of factory remuneration, supervision, output and cost calculations, and discipline. Furthermore, these differences explain the ideological proclivities, demands, and strategies of the nineteenth-century trade-union movements in the two countries. Finally, they shed new light on the origins of Karl Marx's ideas.

What are the conceptions that have such far-reaching explanatory power? In Britain, employers and workers shared a belief that labor as a commodity was embodied in the concrete products produced. In Germany, the shared consensus viewed labor as a commodity in terms of the purchase and disposition of labor activity or *Arbeitskraft*.

In part 1, based on extensive archival research, Biernacki explores in rich detail how these different conceptions were embedded in the concrete instrumentalities of nineteenth-century German and British woolen manufacture. The industries developed with similar technologies, product lines, and degrees of unionization, yet many aspects of manufacturing practice diverged sharply. British weavers were paid by the density of the cloth woven; German weavers by the number of "shots" of the shuttle across the loom. British factories emphasized the sharp division between inside and outside, but internal supervision was less harsh and workers could hire their own substitutes to work their looms. German factories isolated work rooms from one another, employed harsh overseers, and insisted that weavers operate their own looms. These differences did not result from utilitarian demands, Biernacki insists. Rather, workers and employers alike brought differing conceptions of the commodification of labor to the emerging factory system. These structured factory practices and responses accordingly and thus reenforced the two cultures' initially different understandings.

In part 2 Biernacki traces the emergence of these different conceptions, arguing that the British outcome was shaped by the development of free trade in manufactured goods and a market discourse before labor became a commodity. In Germany market discourse included labor power from the start. The persistence of guilds and dependent rural labor into the nineteenth century further shaped German conceptions, although the links are not clearly specified. Relying on the writings of capitalists, journalists, workers, and economic theorists, Biernacki uncovers widely shared cultural understandings that did not percolate downward from intellectuals. Rather, theory reflected social reality, as Marx's understanding of labor as a commodity shows.

In part 3 Biernacki reintrerprets the British and German labor movements, arguing that German workers' receptivity to Marxism was rooted in the common understanding of labor as a commodity that structured German factory practice and was articulated in Marx's political economy. British resistance, correspondingly, was rooted in different conceptions of labor's commodification. Although they were undoubtedly a contributing factor, conceptions of commodification cannot explain all the social and political phenomena Biernacki wishes them to. At times his arguments have a reductionist quality.

This theoretically informed book elaborates a model of cultural explanation that claims to refute utilitarian arguments and anchor culture in the "instrumentalities" of factory production without reducing culture to economics. Such an approach, Biernacki claims, is superior to those of E. P. Thompson, William Reddy, Patrick Joyce, and Gareth Stedman Jones. Although that remains an open question, the book deserves to be read seriously by labor, economic, and social historians.

MARY NOLAN
New York University

FRIEDRICH WECKERLEIN. *Streitfall Deutschland: Die britische Linke und die "Demokratisierung" des Deutschen Reiches, 1900–1918*. (Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London, number 34.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1994. Pp. 451. DM 124.

The British Labour Party has often been portrayed as essentially parochial in its orientation. Particularly during the early decades of this century, it appeared to be dominated by pragmatic trade unionists and thus cut off from its more ideologically inclined counterparts on the continent. From this perspective it would seem unlikely that a study of the British Left's attitude toward Germany from 1900 to 1918 would be fruitful. Yet by defining his subject broadly and projecting developments during this formative period of the Labour Party well into the future, Friedrich Wecker-

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lein has produced a work that deserves serious scholarly attention.

In his analysis of the prewar era Weckerlein does not differ substantially from the widely accepted view that most of those involved in the British Left were little interested in foreign affairs. He argues that, although a number of individuals played a prominent role in international congresses, the rank and file were dominated by a patriotic consensus and paid little attention to events outside of Britain. Under these circumstances it is hardly surprising that when war came most of those on the Left supported the government. It is also understandable that it was in the crucible of war that the Left's views of Germany began to clarify and harden. Weckerlein identifies two main schools of thought in this regard. One, building on prewar criticisms of the reputed authoritarianism of German Social Democracy, concluded that the German national character was fundamentally undemocratic. A second, espoused most effectively by a number of prominent leaders who had enjoyed close relations with German Social Democrats prior to the war, argued for the existence of another, better Germany that Labour should encourage and support.

The debate between advocates of these two basic tendencies, Weckerlein maintains, helped set the stage for the emergence of Labour as Britain's second strongest party after the war. He places particular stress on the participation of leading Labourites in the Union of Democratic Control, which not only provided an opportunity for the advocates of the "other Germany" thesis to gain a broader hearing but also ultimately established an avenue that would bring many dissenting Liberals into the Labour Party. He also stresses the party's increasing international importance during the war. Indeed, he describes the bitterly debated decision to participate in the projected Stockholm Conference of 1917 with representatives of the German Social Democrats as an important turning point in the history of the party. Although the conference never took place, Weckerlein argues that the debate led to bridge-building between moderates on both sides and began the process of distancing the Labour Party from the policies of the government.

Weckerlein provides an interesting analysis of Labour's response to the German revolution. Although it was greeted with enthusiasm by those who believed in the "other Germany," the majority of the Labour Party responded with skepticism to an upheaval that they considered merely the product of the German military defeat. The Majority Social Democrats who rapidly assumed control of the new German government had, after all, supported the war effort, and the antiwar Independent Social Democrats were stigmatized by many as proponents of a German version of Bolshevism. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that, in the context of the passions unleashed by the end of the brutal conflict, those in the Labour Party who were viewed as sympathetic to Germany suffered an ignominious defeat in the parliamentary elections of December 1918.

In his conclusion, Weckerlein makes it clear that the results of the "khaki election" of 1918 were an anomaly. Advocates of the "other Germany" perspective soon recovered from the debacle they had experienced; one of them, Ramsay MacDonald, became Labour's first prime minister in 1924. Moreover, Weckerlein argues that their influence was reflected in the appeasement policy of the 1930s and as late as the 1940s in the debate about what to do with the defeated Third Reich.

KENNETH CALKINS
Kent State University

T. SARAH PETERSON. *Acquired Taste: The French Origins of Modern Cooking*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 262. $34.95.

This book is a simplistic study of foods from antiquity through the early modern period, supported by a variety of unsubstantiated claims and an indiscriminate use of sources with little historical context. There are problems in the title of the book. All taste is acquired, through a combination of biological and cultural factors. The subtitle purports to treat the French origins of modern cooking, but a check of the pre–1750 primary sources shows only 49 of 217, or 23 percent, French.

The early modern period was, indeed, characterized by change in popular taste, but T. Sarah Peterson's own sources show these changes to have crossed Western Europe, rather than being generated in France. Her main thesis, that François Pierre de La Varenne's publication of *Le Cuisinier François* in 1651 "broke with Italian Renaissance food and launched modern cooking" (p. 163) is a bit like Virginia Woolf's claim that modernity began in 1910 when "human character changed" (see Virginia Woolf, *Collected Essays* [1967], pp. 320–21). La Varenne's book was based on his own teachers' earlier works, which had proliferated following the advent of printing in the mid-fifteenth century. Early modern dining shifts included etiquette changes and the process continued well into the nineteenth century. One reads that publicly the "great" endorsed the "new cooking" of La Varenne's day (p. 175). Louis XIV, however, resisted the introduction of the fork.

Peterson proposes without documentation a "Renaissance table," at which unidentified "fashion setters crunched on ears" (p. 96). In truth, there are too few menus extant from the period to establish what people really ate. The Renaissance, she writes, was peculiar in combining a moral revival with sensuality (p. 46), but this might characterize any era. After discussing the sensuality of the Greco-Roman world, which she claims the Renaissance re-created, Peterson notes that Plato criticized fine dining for diverting humans from higher, spiritual activities (pp. 46–47).

An examination of the rise of printing and the

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general increase in wealth in the early modern period would put into context the growing sophistication of cookbooks that follow Platina (p. 51) and the improvements in gardening manuals (p. 117) cited by Peterson. She notes a shift in modern cooking toward quantification (p. 176). More than just a shift in cookbook discourse, however, it is part of a larger move toward increased quantification in the sciences, as well as banking and commercial technology, in the early modern period. Peterson addresses the rise of the tuna industry in Italy, Portugal, and Spain (p. 145), but she does not connect it to the main theme of cookbooks and the upper classes in France. She implies (p. 203) that the goal of the French well-to-do was lots of salt in their food, yet salted cod seems hardly the essence of La Varenne.

Peterson's suggestion of change in early modern dining is correct, but the recipes she discusses were international rather than specifically French. Taken from many sources, they were published in a French-language salmagundi. Her book reflects much of food history's recent rise to prominence without real textual criticism of sources and their interaction and with little provided in the way of historical context for the claims that are made. Like Reay Tannahill's *Food in History* (1973), Peterson's book, in its pleasantly simplistic way, may be read as an introduction to the problem of food in history.

BERTRAM M. GORDON
Mills College

RICHARD NOLL. *The Jung Cult: Origins of a Charismatic Movement*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 387. $24.95.

Richard Noll's main intent in this book is to debunk Carl Jung and Jungian analytic psychology. But in so doing he inadvertently establishes what has long been claimed by the followers of Jung: that Jung should not be seen essentially as a disciple of Sigmund Freud, but as a man whose contact with and influence by psychoanalysis was just one part of a varied career. Jung came to psychoanalysis with strong interests in the occult, spiritism, and religion, but for several years in the first decade of the twentieth century—when he was in his late twenties and thirties—he became infatuated with Freud and psychoanalysis. Nevertheless, Jung vowed from the start (1906) to keep his intellectual freedom. He acknowledged Freud's "brilliant discoveries" but denied any "unqualified submission to a dogma" and withheld full assent both to Freud's views on sexuality and his method of psychotherapy (see William McGuire, ed., *The Freud/Jung Letters* [1974], pp. xvii–xviii).

It is the pre and post-Freudian, the mystical and religious Jung whom Noll explores in a book that has catapulted him into a fight with the Jung family over access to documents in the Library of Congress and caused Princeton University Press to cancel publication of his second book. Noll's aim is to expose what he says are the hitherto unknown or unacknowledged roots of Jungian thought in *fin-de-siècle* mysticism and irrationality. These currents of thought encompassed the occult, spiritism, neo-paganism (including sun worship), *völkisch* movements, anti-Semitism, and Nietzschean exaltation of the individual and rejection of authority. There is no doubt that Noll, a clinical psychologist turned scholar, is a master of these subjects, and he presents them impressively (if somewhat repetitively) as he attempts to show Jung caught firmly in their embrace. I say "attempts" only because too often there are conclusions based on modifiers such as "perhaps," "probably," or "it may be argued," which weaken some of Noll's arguments.

Noll argues that analytic psychology is a religious movement, indeed a cult. In particular, he repeatedly emphasizes, and with obvious disapproval, that Jung rejected Christianity in favor of exalting the sun as the origin of life and of conceptualizing God as residing within oneself. Moreover, a cult needs a charismatic leader, and that is what Jung became with his promise that people undergoing psychotherapy with him would achieve "individuation." They could duplicate what he himself had experienced in his own years of emotional crisis: spiritual liberation as a result of adapting to his "inner reality." If patients cut their ties with old allegiances (religion, family, political beliefs), therapy could provide them entrée to the wisdom of the ages, and they would emerge "wholly" themselves (pp. 231–32).

Noll contends that dishonesty and prejudice mark analytic psychology, and he raises legitimate concerns. It is possible that Jung may have fudged the scientific evidence that he offered as proof for his theory of the collective unconscious (although that evidence was not the primary basis on which he established the concept). Noll also raises a provocative issue by questioning the authenticity of Jung's autobiography, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (1962, 1963), arguing that it was manufactured by disciples to depict Jung as a "divine man" who worked miracles (p. 14). Moreover, he publicizes a disclosure made in 1989 that there had been a "Jewish quota" of 10 percent in Jung's Zurich Psychological Club until 1950.

The historiographical dimension of this book is clear. Noll extends to Jung the same kind of disapproving scrutiny recent revisionists have been directing at Freud as grounds for dismissing whole pieces of psychoanalysis. The matter at issue is whether a field of knowledge or practice is hopelessly compromised because its main founder is shown to be flawed. There is no single easy answer to this question, but as far as psychoanalysis is concerned it has become the rallying point for polemicism, miring many historical studies as they endlessly argue the issue. It is time to quit this morass and move in another direction. One hundred years have passed since the introduction of psychoanalysis. There now exist in Western culture four generations of a psychological attempt to explain and deal with human behavior, on the understanding that

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this behavior derives, at least in part, from motivations unknown to the subject. So-called "psychodynamic" theories and the psychotherapy based on them have left indelible marks on medicine and culture, which Freud's or Jung's shortcomings will never erase. The time is ripe for synthetic evaluations that can be critical but at the same time do not seek to invalidate the psychodynamic endeavor as they attempt to clarify its place in cultural, medical, and scientific history.

When it comes to considering the contentious issue of spirituality in Jungianism, I find myself in a dilemma. I have never been particularly attracted to the mystical-religious aspects of Jungian psychology and, recently, its New Age connections. Yet Noll's animus toward Jung is so strong and emotional that I must address it.

Noll is unfailingly hostile toward Jung's attempt to find meaning in contemporary religion and God by reinterpreting them in a way useful to him. Why attack Jung on this? What he sought to do is a widespread and well-documented modern and postmodern preoccupation of Western peoples and is not usually assailed. Noll angrily dwells throughout on Jung's being "anti-Christian." Yet what does Jung's being anti-Christian, or Christian, for that matter, have to do with the ultimate validity of analytic psychology? We accept that Freud's Jewishness may have affected his choice of career, certain ways that he wrote, topics that he wrote about, and his reactions to criticism of psychoanalysis. But outside of those concerned with "Aryanism," who has declared psychoanalysis unacceptable because Freud was Jewish?

This leads one to ask: do religious concerns doom a psychotherapy to ineffectiveness and its practitioners to fraud? This is an important field of historical inquiry. I (a non-religious person) see no insuperable obstacles to combining psychodynamically oriented psychotherapy with religion. Freud did not like it, but it happened early on, especially in Holland and Switzerland, and today there are serious discussions by well-trained professionals to effect a rapprochement at a quite sophisticated level.

In his concluding chapter, Noll denounces all Jungian analysts as "priest-analysts," for whom Jungianism is nothing more than a lucrative business enterprise with which to line their pockets. Obviously, everyone wants and needs to make money, but it is a *reductio ad absurdum* to deny the complexity of motivations that is involved in the choice of a professional career and the practice of psychotherapy. There are charlatans everywhere, but it would not be difficult to demonstrate that there are reputable Jungian analysts who by their therapeutic skills achieve legitimate results.

Substantive weaknesses are not the only flaws in this book. An inaccurate index and the lack of a bibliography make it taxing to pursue Noll's arguments and citations.

HANNAH S. DECKER
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JANET BROWNE. *Charles Darwin*. Volume 1, *Voyaging*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1995. Pp. xiii, 605. $35.00.

This book is the first of a two-volume biography by Janet Browne, associate editor of the *Correspondence of Charles Darwin* (1985–). It is gracefully written, readable, and informative, but this 600–page installment only takes us to the period when Darwin finally felt ready to write *The Origin of Species* (1859). Thus, although this volume provides the beginnings of a rich portrait of Darwin as a man and a scientist, as well as the story of his era, friends, and scientific circle, it is not yet clear that the complete work will constitute the promised definitive biography.

Readers already familiar with Darwin's life and work, and recent scholarship about him, might not find enough that is new to justify adding this biography to their bookshelf. Indeed, Browne admits that after starting this work in 1989, she began to think about calling it *Darwin: Another Biography*. Moreover, she found it impossible even to list in the bibliography all the recent studies of Darwin and Victorian science and society. More problematic, however, is Browne's claim that she has finally solved the central Darwin enigma: how an amiable but apparently unfocused young man from a prosperous, provincial English family was transformed into one of the most influential and controversial scientists of the nineteenth century.

Darwin's life has been the subject of numerous books, articles, films, and even novels. Therefore the revelation that he was not an isolated recluse but a man at the center of a remarkable network of close friends and far-flung correspondents seems more a cliché than a revolutionary insight. Many of the episodes and much of the dialogue in this book will be familiar to those who have read Darwin's autobiography or other biographies of him, but Browne's book should find a special place on the Darwin shelf as a unique, emotional biography. Browne places a great emphasis, for example, on Darwin's relationship with his brother Erasmus, and she suggests that being sent to boarding school at age nine was a "critical turning point ignored by generations of Darwin scholars" (p. 23). Many claims are made about his inner thoughts and states of mind; most are quite plausible, but many are undocumented. Browne tells us, for example, that Darwin knew snails and birds were less emotionally demanding than his father.

Most biographers have portrayed Darwin as a charming young man who inspired universal affection. In contrast, Browne provides evidence of other aspects of his personality, such as a capacity to generate "ill feeling" through mannerisms that seemed aloof, snobbish, and supercilious. Whereas most portrayals of Darwin emphasize his studies of diversity in animals, Browne provides interesting evidence of his early interest in human diversity. She argues that it was the shock of observing the apparent differences between "Fuegian savages" and "civilized gentlemen" that

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forced him to think about change, progress, and evolutionary theory.

Although Darwin's theory has become closely linked to his visit to the Galápagos Islands, Browne notes that even he had trouble separating his actual experiences on the islands and their later meaning. Darwin did not experience a legendary moment of revelation, and he did not truly understand the meaning of what he had seen until long after he left the archipelago. By the end of the voyage, his views about himself and his future had changed; he wanted to devote his life to science. This volume ends with Darwin making up his mind to write a book on transmutation, to be called *Natural Selection*. The twenty-year gestation that would give birth to *Origin of Species* was almost over.

Lois N. Magner
Purdue University

Paul Lawrence Farber. *The Temptations of Evolutionary Ethics*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 210. $35.00.

In his *Descent of Man* (1871), Charles Darwin openly (and bravely) included human beings in his conception of evolution. In making his defense of that inclusion, Darwin sought to explain through natural selection not only the physical form of human beings but the behavioral and ethical aspects as well. Thus began a century-long search for an ethical system derived from evolution, which is told in this closely reasoned and well-balanced history.

In this compact volume, Paul Lawrence Farber identifies three periods in the history of evolutionary ethics. The first followed soon after Darwin's work and is exemplified by Leslie Stephen's effort to explain the ethics of his own agnosticism, and by Herbert Spencer's search for his personal evolutionary based ethical system. Unfortunately for Darwinian ethics, two of Darwin's strongest defenders of evolution—Thomas Huxley and Alfred Wallace—found natural selection to be counter to a defensible ethical system. Thereafter most of the talk in the Anglo-American world—the author's prescribed limit—about an evolutionary basis for ethics was popularly supported but academically rejected, with Cambridge philosopher Henry Sedgwick's criticism being perhaps the most devastating.

The second historical stage followed from the achievement of the so-called modern synthesis in biology, which, during the 1930s, succeeded in bringing genetics to the support of Darwinian natural selection. Biologists Julian Huxley and C. H. Waddington vigorously revived evolutionary ethics only to find that ethicists continued to see any connection between evolution and ethics as an instance of the naturalistic fallacy. Darwin's ethical ideal became almost extinct among philosophers until the middle of the 1970s, when zoologist Edward Wilson brought evolution and ethics together once again with his *Sociobiology: The New Synthesis* (1975). Biologists Richard Dawkins and Richard Alexander expanded Wilson's theme by endeavoring to bring culture and biology into a single system, although Farber finds that few professional philosophers joined them. (Farber ignores Peter Singer's *Expanding Circle* [1981]).

Although the long search for evolutionary ethics turned out to have borne little intellectual fruit and fewer customers, Farber is not quite willing to forget the underlying argument that human beings are, after all, included in Darwinian evolution. Openly and rightly, Farber recognizes that most social scientists and philosophers have simply refused to recognize that sociobiology is a serious study and research program. As he acknowledges, "Sociobiology's relevance for ethics is analogous to that of the psychoanalytical movement or of cultural anthropology. It provides a description of influences on individuals, pressures exerted by groups on moral development, and unconscious motivation, all of which need to be understood in assessing individual action" (p. 156). Nevertheless, Farber concludes that he envisions no escape from the Humean conclusion that "ought" cannot be derived from "is."

Today, however, biologists Alexander and Dawkins, and philosopher Michael Ruse, among others, continue to seek an evolutionary basis for ethics. Indeed, philosopher Daniel Dennett and historian Robert Richards doubt that there is a fallacy in "ought/is." Rather, Farber's real fear seems to be that philosophers' small interest in evolutionary ethics may be either a sign of "the death throes of ethical philosophy" in general, or simply a dislike of drawing any connection between biology and human thought (p. 166). The century-long history he analyzes, however, is surely a thoughtful as well as a necessary one for students of ethics, or of Darwinian evolution.

Carl N. Degler
Stanford University

John M. Efron. *Defenders of the Race: Jewish Doctors and Race Science in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 255. $30.00.

From the nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth, racial theories were the predominant social and cultural paradigm. Members of minorities, who were denigrated by these doctrines, nonetheless subscribed to these prevailing beliefs. Within Europe, Jews were such a conspicuous minority, and were classified as a separate, mostly inferior, non-European race. John M. Efron's book looks at Jewish writers who participated in the race discourse and how their "victim's perspective" shaped their theories. Efron describes the general racial discourse and then focuses on the "Jewish racial question" and a handful of Jewish writers in England and Germany, arguing that "Jewish race science . . . calls into question the notion that postwar European decolonization was the first challenge to the hegemonic discourse of European anthropology" (p. 3). In the process he expands the concepts of "empire" and "colonized" to include the

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place of Jews in Europe. Consequently, he says Jewish physical anthropologists reversed the "European gaze" (p. 3) and "attempted to create a new, 'scientific' paradigm and agenda of Jewish self-definition and self-perception" (p. 5).

The book is an important addition to our knowledge of the pervasiveness of racial theories. Especially thoughtful is the focus on the minority perspective. Yet I found Efron's analysis to be too validating of the Jewish writers he examines, and it does not emphasize their inability to transcend the limitation of the racial discourse. Neither does he underscore the disagreements among Jewish writers. For example, among the Jewish scientists examined by Efron, the "clearest and most unambiguous expression of the purpose of Jewish race science was made by the Austrian physician Ignaz Zollschan." Zollschan's contributions are highlighted, including a reference to his antiracist campaign during the 1930s. Zollschan's theories, however, were often viewed as chauvinist, and he was at times an embarrassment to colleagues, which often translated into lack of support. Franz Boas, probably the most prominent Jewish racial scientist (an American for sure, but one who shaped the Jewish discourse on race in Europe), viewed Zollschan as too extreme in his racial views to support him. When the two met in New York, Boas, who was moving in an anti-essentialist direction, rejected Zollschan because of his overly zealous Jewish nationalism. Efron, in contrast, suggests that the two were in agreement: "Who could say ... that [Zollschan's] sincere desire to combat the dangerous and insidious theories of Aryan supremacy was a misguided expression of idealistic naivete" (p. 166)? For one, Franz Boas did, as did many in the Jewish establishment. Similar disagreements lasted into the 1930s.

Although I believe that Efron is right in emphasizing the importance of Jewish participation in delegitimizing racial theories, the critique was more ambivalent, and the critics were often implicated in the prejudicial science. Efron presents the evidence, but he contextualizes it as merely affirming the Jewish worth, not denigrating other races, because as a minority, the Jews were not in a position to do so. I doubt it.

Perhaps, as can only be expected, Jews, like other minorities, were slow to reject the theories that led to their persecution. On the last page of the book, Efron admits as much: "Because of their adoption of gentile discourse and methodology on race, Jewish race scientists were unable to escape race science's natural inclination to create racial and ethnic topologies" (p. 179). "Gentile" ought to read "general." One would hope to see a more nuanced and critical reading of the Jewish writing on race, reading that will bring out the predicament of a minority critique faced with the necessity of establishing the writer's credentials at the same time as maintaining agency and challenging general prejudicial beliefs.

ELAZAR BARKAN
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MARK S. MICALE. *Approaching Hysteria: Disease and Its Interpretations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 327. $29.95.

This is an ingenious contribution to intellectual and cultural history on a medical history topic. Mark S. Micale, a historian of European thought, in the manner of traditional grand intellectual history brings together literature, philosophy, and elite thought. What is fresh is the focus: a medical category, although one, Micale shows, that would not have been foreign to the Victorian age.

Hysteria, believed the ancient Greeks, was a disease in which a woman's uterus wandered about the body, causing symptoms that were not those of ordinary organic diseases but often mimicked them. The gendered and psychiatric understanding of the malady persisted to the late twentieth century. A neurological reading from the seventeenth century was picked up by the great French clinician of the late nineteenth century, Jean-Martin Charcot, and later Sigmund Freud made a psychologized hysteria the centerpiece of his understanding of psychoanalysis.

It is a sad comment on the condition of the discipline of history that a very large proportion of this book is devoted not to narrative or constructive analysis but to defending the account against possible attack from dogmatic colleagues with various one-sided approaches. Micale has collected and summarized an enormous number of references to the disease entity, hysteria, in both primary and secondary sources—including unpublished dissertations—from both sides of the Atlantic. His work exemplifies the benefits that can come from doing a thorough literature search, one of the arts alien to the authors of many recent heavily theoretical discussions.

Micale's previously published bibliographical essays on hysteria are incorporated into the book; they describe many authors' insights and serve collectively as a point of departure for further discussion of the disease. Despite the substantial technical material from philosophical historiography, medicine, and literature, the book is clearly written and accessible. The bibliographic essays are also updated, a substantial achievement in light of the volume of new hysteria studies published in the last twenty or twenty-five years.

Micale makes a narrative of the ways physicians constructed the disease over the centuries. Medical writers and teachers made assumptions and introduced intellectual biases in ways that nowadays are not surprising even in histories of diseases with clinical manifestations much more clear-cut than in hysteria. To this narrative, Micale adds the major new modes of interpreting hysteria: a traditional intellectual medical understanding, the psychoanalytic construction, the reinterpretations of feminists, and specialist work by interpreters of Charcot and historians of psychiatry.

Micale provides still another dimension by reviewing the issues controversial in the historiography, includ-

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ing: What is a disease? How did hysteria vary in different times and cultures? How can one see the history of hysteria as other than a chapter in the development of psychoanalysis? Can the doctor-patient relationship in hysteria respect the work of the physician but take into account the patient's point of view? What was the effect of class and gender, especially when males had hysteria?

In the final part of the book, a broad cultural history is added, with much suggestive interpretation of the way in which hysteria was not only isomorphic with general high culture trends but, as one can see in France and particularly in Gustave Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*, and similarly in the dramatizations and narratives of Charcot and Freud, how the literary and medical worlds influenced and cross-fertilized each other. Micale's specifics are delightfully suggestive, such as his paralleling the simultaneous popular interest in France in diagnosis and cure by Charcot, by Hyppolyte Bernheim, and by the faith healing at Lourdes.

Micale suggests that the recent interest in hysteria is symptomatic of several late-twentieth-century developments: the "gender revolution" (which appears most typically in interpretations of Freud's "Dora" case); the AIDS epidemic, a mysterious and menacing sexually transmitted disease; the appearance of new hysterias under different names, such as anorexia nervosa; and the attempt to take away from Freud medical and cultural authority, because his paradigm cases were cases of hysteria.

All of this adds up to a balanced and convincing synthesis of all of the writings about the history of hysteria, showing the place of hysteria in Western cultures. The inclusiveness of the survey is particularly admirable. One thing I did miss was more substantial attention to what hysteria was not, such as would be suggested by David Shapiro's limning of different neurotic styles (*Neurotic Styles* [1965]). But with Micale's book in hand, each reader can confidently build further to suit him/herself.

JOHN C. BURNHAM
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ROLF WIGGERSHAUS. *The Frankfurt School: Its History, Theories, and Political Significance*. Translated by MICHAEL ROBERTSON. (Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought.) Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 787. $60.00.

"Monograph" will not suffice. This is a colossus—of research, of detail, of control over the wide range of issues and disciplines Max Horkheimer and his coworkers addressed, and of uninterrupted clarity (maintained in an expert translation). If Rolf Wiggershaus's study does not contain everything you always wanted to know about the Frankfurt school but were afraid to ask, it contains a good deal. One fascinating motif is money: the amounts of the associates' stipends and the psychological-political uses within the school to which Horkheimer put his control over funds. This book contains a good deal more information than does Martin Jay's pioneering and now classic *Dialectical Imagination* (1973), to which Wiggershaus indicates his debt. Unlike Jay, Wiggershaus has had access to the extensive Horkheimer Archive in Frankfurt-am-Main that contains the "extraordinarily copious" papers left by Horkheimer and Friedrich Pollack, and over 200,000 pages of correspondence, manuscripts, and the like. Jay's study, moreover, ends in 1950, roughly when the Institute for Social Research reopened in Frankfurt, closing its period of exile in the United States, while Wiggershaus takes his account to Theodor Adorno's death in 1969, although he includes extensive presentation of Jürgen Habermas's place in the story and some commentary on Oskar Negt and Alfred Schmidt, who belong to Habermas's generation of heirs of the postwar Institute for Social Research. Whereas Jay emphasizes the school's overall coherence, Wiggershaus highlights its fissiparousness. In any case, these are complementary rather than competing studies and can be read together fruitfully as documents in the history of representations of their common subject.

Wiggershaus's book is more effectively organized than was the Frankfurt school which, all things considered, was not badly organized. Chronologically arranged, this account focuses on five main themes of the "school": an institutional framework, often fragmentary; a "charismatic intellectual personality filled with confidence in a new theoretical programme, able and willing to cooperate with scholars: Max Horkheimer was a 'managerial scholar' who constantly reminded his associates of the fact that they belonged to a chosen few in whose hands the further development of 'Theory' lay"; a manifesto: Horkheimer's inaugural lecture, on becoming director in 1931, "The Present State of Social Philosophy and the Tasks Facing an Institute of Social Research"; a new paradigm calling itself Critical Theory; and a journal and other publishing outlets (p. 2).

Within the first two hundred pages, we are offered extensive family backgrounds and biographical sketches (spliced into the main narrative, slightly indented and in a smaller font) of all of the major associates. In this connection, unlike many commentators, Wiggershaus not only includes Walter Benjamin but also highlights his complex impact on Horkheimer. Wiggershaus's other major undertaking, which accounts for much of the book's length, consists of lucid precis of all the books and almost all the essays published by the associates in the German and English editions of the Institute for Social Research's journal. Surprisingly, because it is the most leftist and least aesopian of Horkheimer's writings, his essay "Authoritarian State," is listed in the large bibliography—published in 1942 in mimeograph form—but not discussed. Utilizing correspondence and memos, Wiggershaus also presents the extensive debates, edit-

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ings, hesitations, scoldings, and the like that accompanied the publications. Especially interesting in this regard is the account of Adorno's hostile response to Herbert Marcuse's *Eros and Civilization* (1955) and interference with its publication in German translation. Wiggershaus pays much attention to "Horkheimer's strategy" of "presenting their own position to 'Marxist friends' as a form of radical thought, while presenting it to 'official university people' as a form of faithfulness to the European tradition in the humanities and philosophy" (p. 252).

For me, the book's most compelling (because it was the least familiar) feature is its depiction of the personalities of the associates and the relations between them. Wiggershaus offers numerous judgments, always in modulated tone. He is clearly critical of what he sees as the demeaning and often manipulative styles of Horkheimer and Adorno. But he refrains from analysis, specifically from psychoanalysis, of this part of the story. In fact, Wiggershaus refrains from big interpretation altogether, which is interesting because he is examining men who were geniuses at big interpretations. So, for example, in spite of his subtitle and fascinating account of the 1960s, Wiggershaus does not really address the Frankfurt school's political significance.

I raise these points not to criticize but to suggest that his book should provoke commentary on the psychodynamics of the Frankfurt school, on the applicability to its own history of themes from its major collective study of "Authority and the Family," on the Frankfurt school as a neo-Marxist *Männerbund* with Horkheimer as its *Grossmeister*, on the psycho-sexual, perhaps homoerotic, sources of Horkheimer's charisma, and the deference of his remarkable and charismatic associates.

PAUL BREINES
Boston College

MARVIN R. O'CONNELL. *Critics on Trial: An Introduction to the Catholic Modernist Crisis*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 394. $59.95.

The encyclicals *Lamentabili* and *Pascendi gregis* (1907) left no doubt about Pope Pius X's view of much recent scholarship, particularly in philosophy, biblical criticism, and church history. He found in this scholarship not just a syllabus of errors committed here and there by various scholars but also a coherent platform, propagated systematically, and—what was worse—deviously, by an organized "movement." To counter this conspiracy, the pope instructed bishops to exercise greater surveillance and imposed on priests and seminarians an antimodernist oath.

Marvin R. O'Connell appreciates that a church committed to orthodoxy and authority was bound to be dismayed by the pace and range of intellectual innovation. But he dismisses the notion of a conspiracy against the church. Modernism, even in its most benign form, appealed to only a small number of intellectuals, mostly in France and Italy. (O'Connell, the author of *John Ireland and the American Catholic Church* [1988], says flatly that Ireland, a leading "Americanist," would not have had "the slightest sympathy for the tenets of Modernism, even if he had understood them" [p. 356].) Furthermore, modernist scholars, although occasionally in touch with each other, were both by temperament and intellectual preoccupation indisposed to collaborative efforts. And, finally, they were, with few exceptions, desperately anxious to strengthen, not subvert, the church they loved.

Accordingly, rather than attempt to find and delineate a movement, or to generalize about the "phenomenon of Catholic Modernism," O'Connell sets out to "tell the story of the Modernists" (p. xii). No one can quarrel with his choice of protagonists: Father Alfred Loisy, the French biblical critic; the French neo-Kantians Maurice Blondel and Father Marie Paul Laberthonnière; the German-English mystic Baron Friedrich von Hügel (whom O'Connell repeatedly censures for his opaque language); the Italians Antonio Fogazzaro, a novelist, and Father Romolo Murri, a social activist; perhaps most movingly, the Irish convert Father George Tyrrell; as well as figures on the edge of Modernism such as Father Marie Joseph LaGrange, the biblical scholar, Father Henri Bremond, the apologist, and Wilfrid Ward, the biographer of Cardinal Newman.

O'Connell organizes his account chronologically. Each chapter begins with an event in the life of one of his protagonists and proceeds to examine parallel (or contrasting) contemporary events in the life of another. O'Connell is skillful enough to make this complicated schema yield a highly readable and generally persuasive multiple biography.

Perhaps because his protagonists were such pronounced individuals, perhaps because he was aware of the massive archival materials still to be assayed, perhaps because he has the American's instinctive belief that all reasonable people are naturally pioneers, O'Connell does not speculate about what led some people to be Modernists. Surely an unintended consequence is the implication that those who opposed the Modernists were somehow unnatural.

"There is little doubt," O'Connell concludes, that Pius X's assault on modernism, and the disciplinary measures he introduced, "accomplished the goals the pope had in mind." The Catholic Modernist movement—"to the degree that it had ever been a movement—collapsed into a gaggle of individual voices more or less muted" (p. 355). To assess the long-run impact on the church of the papal suppression of modernist scholarship would require a different book from this well-written and richly rewarding study.

ROBERT D. CROSS
University of Virginia

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RUSSELL J. DALTON. *The Green Rainbow: Environmental Groups in Western Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 305. $35.00.

Russell J. Dalton is an American political scientist interested in contemporary changes in Western European politics. This study of recent environmental movements, groups, and politics reflects this outlook. It will hold limited interest for historians, except for those who focus on the politics and social movements of 1970–86.

Environmentalism, Dalton believes, has since 1970 become a considerable political force in Western Europe. It does not fit neatly into the established political systems of any country, and thus, he says, it constitutes a challenge to prevailing political practice. But in the end he concludes that the challenge will reform but not transform politics as usual (p. 259). His main thesis is that ideology shapes the political behavior of environmental groups (p. 5). Along the way he concludes that environmental groups are important and popular (ten million members in all in 1985); that their membership is typically young, middle class, and well educated; and that these groups are highly diverse in matters such as size, organizational structure, styles of political action, and relationships to political parties.

Dalton's data are derived mainly from public opinion surveys, especially "Eurobarometer" polls taken by the European Community, and sixty-nine interviews conducted by Dalton and his associates with representatives of environmental organizations. His geographical scope is the European Community as of December 1975. The research is strongest on Britain and West Germany; Italy and France seem less carefully investigated. The bibliography (about 330 entries) contains just two works in French and two in Italian, but twenty-four in German. Brendan Prendiville's *Environmental Politics in France* (1994) shows what use can be made of the extensive literature in French. Dalton's focus is on the 1970s and early 1980s (the interviews took place in 1985–86). The end of the Cold War, which has reconfigured European politics, thus makes no appearance here.

The book is an uncompromising political science study. It has jargon that makes entire sections as enjoyable as tax-form instructions or computer manuals. It addresses at length various models, approaches, and theories (for example, NSM or New Social Movement theory and RM or Resource Mobilization theory) that historians are likely to find peripheral to their concerns. It has statistical regressions galore, with little skepticism about the reliability of evidence. Dalton takes at face value the results of a survey in which a majority of Western Europeans claimed to prefer environmental quality over economic growth (p. 57).

The historical chapter, perhaps of greatest potential interest to *AHR* readers, identifies two waves of environmental concern in Western European history, one from 1880 to 1910 and a second after 1967. According to Dalton, the first arose in the context of urbanization and industrialization, the growth of the natural sciences, and romantic sentiment. The second arrived amid a general surge of cultural criticism in the 1960s. Eight pages treat the history of environmentalism before 1967, most of which consists of the founding dates of various organizations.

Most historians will find little to detain them here. Scholars concerned with the emergence of NSMs in general or the comparative politics of 1970–86 in particular will want to consult this book.

J. R. MCNEILL
Georgetown University

RONALD HUTTON. *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400–1700*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 366. $26.00.

Ronald Hutton in this volume surveys recent work on popular culture in early modern England and presents the results of his own research in local archives. He first conscientiously guides us through the ritual calendar from Christmas to Halloween. Subsequent chapters discuss the Protestant attack on the old festivals after the Reformation, the attempt by Stuart kings and bishops to preserve them, and the "equilibrium" achieved after the Restoration.

At first glance this book seems extremely useful. If we want to know where and for how long some particular custom survived, this is surely the place to look. Unfortunately, the evidence is not as securely grounded as Hutton makes it appear. Churchwardens' accounts, his major sources, are indeed wonderfully informative, but they need to be used carefully and in the context of other materials. Hutton provides a long list of places holding church ales (parochial feasts) in Elizabeth's reign, with dates for their disappearance; the list looks impressive, but in fact omits many places where, even on his own evidence, they continued at least occasionally after 1603. Such records, he admits, often contain awkward gaps. Can we be sure that church ales had been abolished just because the receipts do not appear in the churchwardens' accounts? At Dursley in Gloucestershire, Hutton notes, there are no records of church ales after 1572. Yet the parish retained its brewing vessels for another twenty years and repaired them at least twice during that period. What were they doing repairing them if there were no more church ales? The chronology dissolves when examined in detail.

A more serious problem is that Hutton never seriously tries to decode the rituals he describes. His method follows the precepts of old-fashioned British empiricism, with no comparative or theoretical dimension. To take an obvious example of missed opportunities, a well-known feature of popular culture during the early modern period is the obsession with inversion. Authority is repeatedly turned upside down by Lords of Misrule, rebellious schoolboys, boy bishops, carnivalesque crossdressers, and many others. Hutton

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describes some of these customs but never explains them. Yet this mode of symbolic expression has generated an extensive literature by scholars such as Mikhail Bakhtin, Natalie Zemon Davis, and numerous anthropologists. Hutton also shows little interest in recent work on continental European popular culture, so his work collapses into a conceptual black hole. The nearest thing to a theory of cultural change he can offer is a primitive economic reductionism: in the fifteenth century the calendar customs were associated with prosperity. But elsewhere he drops this idea and relies on explanations that are internal to politics and religion, unrelated to anything else.

Hutton never asks what kind of a society it was that produced the festive culture he describes or what the various rituals actually meant to the participants. His agenda is largely defined for him by earlier historians. Four of his seven chapters open with references to other recent works that frame the discussion and exclude the nonspecialist reader. He spends much time considering whether this or that historian is right about chronology or regional differences but does not provide any theoretical foundation. The depths of historical nihilism are plumbed when we are told that the popularity of Robin Hood plays declined in the sixteenth century because people became bored with them.

The Wiltshire antiquary John Aubrey thought he had lived through a great cultural watershed, coinciding with the civil conflicts of the 1640s. Printing and the spread of literacy, Aubrey reflected, had undermined many an ancient ritual and folk belief (*Three Prose Works*, John Buchanan-Brown, ed. [1972], 290). Hutton seems to know better, assuming that neither political nor social development have anything to do with culture. A rich and interesting subject deserves better.

DAVID UNDERDOWN
Yale University

MICHAEL A. R. GRAVES. *Thomas Norton: The Parliament Man*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1994. Pp. xi, 420. $59.95.

Thomas Norton was one of the more interesting minor figures in Elizabethan England. His place in Tudor historiography stems mainly from Sir John Neale's studies of the Elizabethan parliaments, where he is depicted as an active member of the Commons, advocating the interests of the City of London and of the queen and council although he held no office beyond the secretarial position of Remembrancer of London. Certainly Norton deserves his sobriquet "the Parliament man," initially bestowed on him by William Camden. But there were many other important aspects of his life. A graduate of Cambridge and a member of the Inns of Court, he was the first to provide a complete English translation of John Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536). Together with Thomas Sackville, he wrote the drama "Gorboduc," famous among literary scholars because it was the first play in blank verse and among political historians because it was a thinly veiled treatise on the problem of succession to the throne. A protégé and unofficial agent of Sir William Cecil, Norton produced a number of propagandistic political tracts to order for the secretary and helped manage the House of Commons for him, especially after Cecil's ennobling as Lord Burghley and his elevation to the House of Lords. Some of his outspoken comments incurred the queen's wrath, and he was sent to the Tower in 1581. Later released into house arrest, he never regained Elizabeth's favor and died obscurely in 1584.

Michael A. R. Graves's biography is the first full-scale life of Norton and gives us a much broader picture of his activities outside Parliament as well as a much better understanding of his religious and political views. Neale thought Norton was a member of the Puritan "choir" in the Commons (a group that Sir Geoffrey Elton argues never existed), but Graves demonstrates convincingly that Norton, although strenuously anti-Catholic, was a diligent supporter of the royal supremacy and of the authority of bishops, a view to which he may have been inclined partly because of his marriage to a daughter of the former archbishop Thomas Cranmer. Graves also sheds light on the specific reason for Elizabeth's curious animosity toward a man who had served her well: she was evidently angered by his negative comments about her proposed marriage to her French suitor, the Duke of Alençon.

A respected parliamentary historian, Graves began his research on Norton thirty years ago. For a time, failing eyesight forced him to abandon the project of writing a book-length study. When this problem was finally resolved he was able to return to the monograph. Under the circumstances it may seem churlish to point out that the book is poorly organized and repetitive. Because it is arranged topically rather than chronologically, it treats such matters as Norton's imprisonment or his tract called the "Devices" in several places. One might also note that Graves errs in viewing Elizabeth's title "Supreme Governor of the Church" as being fundamentally different from Henry VIII's role as Supreme Head. Neither claimed sacerdotal powers and both were content to leave spiritual authority to the archbishop of Canterbury. But these are minor blemishes in a study that is both welcome and valuable.

STANFORD LEHMBERG
University of Minnesota, Twin Cities

A. J. S. GIBSON and T. C. SMOUT. *Prices, Food and Wages in Scotland, 1550–1780*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 398. $74.95.

A. J. S. Gibson and T. C. Smout's excellent, scholarly, well-written work, bristling with figures, tables, line graphs, and histograms, consists largely of statistical

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studies of the repeated debasements of Scottish coinage in the sixteenth century; the regulation of prices by boroughs and counties; reported market prices; trends and fluctuations in the prices of grain, livestock, foodstuffs, and labor; and the movement of real wages. This book constitutes an important contribution to the history of business cycles. Expressly intended as a book of sources for scholars, it goes to great lengths to explain the statistical methods employed and calls attention to the pitfalls that await the unwary. Indeed, so detailed and learned are these explanatory passages that they amount to an economic and social history of Scotland in this period. In addition, highly significant comparisons are made with England, in the course of which, incidentally, Gibson and Smout put the last nail into the coffin of the statistical studies made jointly by Henry Phelps Brown and Sheila V. Hopkins.

One of the best attributes of this book is that nearly every doubt or query that could conceivably occur to a reader is dispelled or answered. One is left with the firm impression that Gibson and Smout know what they are talking about when they deal in detail with crops, livestock, textiles, food, drink, clothing, and markets. It is doubly reassuring that the reader is clearly told that the statistical models presented are merely devices for illuminating reality without ever exactly or closely corresponding to it.

In the final chapter, Gibson and Smout adduce further evidence to put flesh on the statistical skeleton and show how the poor managed to survive despite statistics that seem to prove they could not have. We see the young woman filling her bottom drawer with clothes and bedlinen against the day of marriage; the young man saving up for their cottage and holding; and then the husband, wife, and children working to their utmost, all contributing to the family's income and practicing the "habits of frugal management taught by poverty to the indigent" (p. 350) so that money could often still be spared for elementary education.

Some readers may be left wondering how the pressure of population could possibly have caused a general rise in prices. Some may lament that Gibson and Smout occasionally follow the current fallacious or disingenuous practice of lumping together under the title of "inflation" the distinct and disparate results of the operations of markets on the one hand and debasements of the currency on the other. Nevertheless, I highly recommend this book, not only to those interested in Scottish or British history but also to a wider readership.

ERIC KERRIDGE
University College of North Wales, Bangor

LENA COWAN ORLIN. *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 309. $41.50.

Lena Cowan Orlin has written a good book, one well worth the reader's effort. It is wonderfully researched, blending an abundance of literary and archival materials to render, as she puts it, a "diagnostic of the sign 'house' in the early modern period." If in the end it succeeds best as a group of essays that suggestively discuss a topic, this should in no way diminish the book's value. And in any case, in featuring the house to problematize the meanings and relationships between private and public in post-Reformation England, Orlin indicates an important as well as interesting history. In a sophisticated analysis that examines as inextricably linked gender, identity, and patriarchal ideology, Orlin traces a complex history that includes a positive relationship between the house and the development of private male identity and the feminization of the house in the early seventeenth century. Alongside and related to this, she identifies a movement by 1605 from a cultural preoccupation with housewife to a focus on householder crime, "a shift to male violations of economic order" (p. 228).

In the first chapter, Orlin plumbs the archives, successfully providing a strong case for the cultural domestication of the murder of Thomas Ardern of Faversham, thus contextually situating a spate of dramatic literatures that made use of this crime. She reverses her method in chapter 3, working from Thomas Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (1609) to non-literary sources, usefully offering a cultural history that "seamlessly" depicts the "virtue of the (male) self and the order of society" (p. 180).

She is at her best, however, in chapter 4 when she reads *Othello* with and against a wide range of other texts, literary and otherwise. In so doing she nicely problematizes simple text/context formulizations, identifiable with any old or new historicisms. Not only does the literary text emerge from this analysis as problematical but also, more interestingly, so too do more common economic prescriptive literatures, and thus the whole of cultural production. Orlin indicates not merely the by now commonplace understanding of these literatures as contradictory of lived experience but how they render themselves failures. Thus, she convincingly shows that even as the first act of *Othello* "challenges prescription," intimating tragedy, it "nonetheless denies prescription its consequence" (p. 223). Indeed, Desdemona and Othello prove prescription "incompatible with moral principle" (p. 228).

Orlin announces that her goal is to write cultural history. She has done so very well, indeed. Where she has fallen a bit short is in her unnecessary attempts to theorize and justify her work. Fortunately, these are few, and, more importantly, her work belies her theoretical explanations. Throughout she treats ideology and particularly patriarchy as always already a reflexive cultural process, yet in her brief attempts to approach ideology and patriarchalism theoretically (chap. 2), she tends to discuss them as if they existed objectively, outside of human agency, as if they were not part of recursive cultural production.

Finally, are we not beyond treating as an "experi-

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ment" "the use of literature in cultural history" (p. 137)?

STEPHEN L. COLLINS
Babson College

ROBERT ASHTON. *Counter Revolution: The Second Civil War and Its Origins, 1646–8*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. xxi, 521.

This may well be Robert Ashton's final book. In it he confronts the vexing paradox of the English Civil War: how a profoundly conservative political culture could indulge in what some historians judge as activity so revolutionary that it demanded regicide. In the 1970s Ashton urged colleagues to transcend the chronological polarization of early Stuart scholarship, as a consequence of which historians had tended either to confine themselves to the pre–Civil War period or address almost exclusively the war years (1642–48). The nature of the manuscript sources and the ferocity of historiographical debate encouraged this compartmentalization. Geographically, Ashton advocated the integration of the high politics of London with the local politics illuminated by the growing scholarship of regional studies.

Ashton early in his career argued that conservatives were perhaps of greater significance than radicals. Many who opposed Charles I nevertheless flocked to the royal standard in 1641–43, and yet again in 1646–48. The failure of reaction, Ashton's "counter-revolution," led to the king's execution in January 1649. The mystery is not so much how Charles I incurred the odium of the realm but rather how such a politically inept ruler found sufficient support to field an army in 1642 and again in 1648. Amazingly, even when defeated, impoverished, and held captive by his enemies' army in 1647, the king still evoked sympathy among the piketrailers who had risked their lives fighting him. In spite of Charles I, royalism exhibited tremendous resilience. Ashton examines royalism between the wars: country folk nostalgic for the Book of Common Prayer, embittered and ambitious parliamentary officers, the Cavalier lunatic fringe, plotting Presbyterians, cunning Covenanters, opportunists of all sorts, and a few idealists more thick-headed than romantic in retrospect.

The trouble is that by 1646–48 royalist plotting had gone well beyond England's shores. The Cavaliers took the Civil War to sea: Rupert and others battling parliamentary army officers turned naval commanders. Unable to appropriate sufficient military and fiscal strength at home, Charles sent his minions abroad to promote the royal cause in the most cynical fashion. The king showed questionable judgment by asking the French, Dutch, Venetians, and the Pope for men, arms, and money, because bringing in foreigners to decide the Civil War widened the conflict and introduced the barbaric excesses of the Continent's wars of religion. But to solicit the Sultan of the Ottoman empire for money, which comprised part of Sir Sackville Crowe's mission in 1646–48, was even more astounding. Worse, Crowe asked for Muslim connivance in fleecing English merchants in the Ottoman empire. And why not? The king had already warred against his subjects at home; robbing a few overseas no doubt seemed a venial sin. Thus, the royalists spread the war to distant shores. The results were significant, for the disruption of trade and diplomacy had repercussions in Britain. None of this, however, figures in Ashton's account.

The absence of a global context is more the fault of the field than a criticism of Ashton. The commercial expansion that coincided with the war is most often treated separately. But for that reason Ashton is the scholar best suited to put the mercantile dimension in focus, a pressing task. Successors to Barry Supple and Ralph Davis failed to emerge in the 1980s and early 1990s. Unfortunately the field of overseas commercial expansion under Charles I was cluttered with substandard scholarship such as the embarrassing xenophobia of Kenneth Andrews and the recycled economic determinism of Robert Brenner. Only recently has a new generation of economic historians emerged.

Ashton could now rest on his laurels. His work on London and the court firmly established his mastery over the center. Now he tames the periphery by summoning an impressive array of sources drawn from regional and municipal archives. Perhaps no other historian of his generation so well bridges country and city. In the preface he expresses ambivalence about whether he can muster the time and resources to write a follow-up study. The quality of this book compels me to urge Ashton on, once more into the breach.

MARK CHARLES FISSEL
Böğaziçi Üniveritesi

ALAN MARSHALL. *Intelligence and Espionage in the Reign of Charles II, 1660–1685*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 334. $39.95.

The darker side of Restoration English politics is given a carefully researched and well-written analysis in this interesting book. Alan Marshall proves that, despite the public euphoria at Charles II's return, anxiety over the security of the regime prompted Henry Bennet, secretary of state, and his talented assistant Joseph Williamson to build a network of covert surveillance that targeted troublesome radicals and their treasonous plots against the throne. Although this intelligence-gathering system later drifted into the doldrums, it would be activated during the Popish Plot and the turmoil of its aftermath (pp. 52–62).

A large part of the book is concerned with the typical procedures of domestic espionage during these years. For instance, after the Post Office came under Bennet's control, the correspondence of suspected persons was frequently intercepted by his aides, but, after this practice was detected, people became more wary of expressing antigovernment sentiments in writ-

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ing. More reliable sources of news about radicals were the leading officials of each county, who were encouraged to send to London reports of suspicious gatherings. Several cases of timely detection are detailed, such as the energetic actions of Philip Musgrave, which warded off an insurrection in the north in 1663 (pp. 98–102).

Finding personnel willing to engage in domestic and foreign espionage was not easy, and the chapters explaining their recruitment, numbers, payments, and instructions of informers parade a series of unprincipled informers, spies, and double agents, several of whom belonged in prison rather than in the crown's service. Marshall has collected colorful details about John Beckman's activities in Tangiers in 1663 (pp. 178–82); the ubiquitous Thomas Blood, an agent provocateur of the 1670s (pp. 207–11); the double dealing of Joseph Bamfield in the Dutch Republic (pp. 168–74); and an unscrupulous enemy of Samuel Pepys, John Scott (pp. 224–32). A final chapter deals with the vindictive assassination of certain refugee regicides overseas, such as that of John Lisle in Switzerland in 1664 (pp. 295–97).

There are clear merits to Marshall's pioneering research on a controversial subject. His helpful discussion of plots and sham plots (pp. 10–12) is well illustrated in a balanced appraisal of the famous Tonge Plot of 1662 (pp. 143–49), the Popish and "Meal Tub" plots of 1678–79 (pp. 69–71, 210–15), and the fanatical Rye House Plot of 1683 (pp. 289–91). Furthermore, he presents fair grounds for disagreeing with historians such as Christopher Hill and Richard Greaves. He can amuse by presenting unflattering evidence about famous Restoration courtiers such as Clarendon, Buckingham, and Downing, and even Aphra Bean is shown in a fresh light (pp. 136–37). Ultimately, despite its many flaws, covert surveillance did allay fears and counter serious domestic threats to Charles II's survival.

ALBERT J. LOOMIE
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R. A. HOUSTON. *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment: Edinburgh, 1660–1760*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. vi, 443. $69.00.

This book by R. A. Houston promises much. It is about an important subject in Scottish history, the social context of the Edinburgh Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. The author seeks to establish the wider social and cultural background in which that great intellectual flowering took place. He also has ambitious aims: "In its treatment of social change, this book seeks to break new ground in writing Scottish history" (p. 16). Traditional scholarship is intended to blend with fresher approaches to the subject to produce a new synthesis.

At some levels, indeed, the volume is a success. It is firmly based on substantial archival research in burgh, church, and poor law records. Many of these sources have never been examined so thoroughly before, and they provide Houston with a rich trawl of fascinating information that enlivens his discussion. A general thesis emerges from assessment of this material: in the early to mid-eighteenth century, Edinburgh experienced significant social change that was relevant to the development of the Enlightenment. Urban space defined by historic jurisdictions was replaced by one where wealth and social status were decisive. The protectionism of the merchants and craftsmen broke down as market pressures intensified. Clearer social divisions emerged as popular protest became more common. Attitudes to the poor and other marginal groups began to alter.

There is much that is stimulating and intriguing in all of this, but the book as a whole is not an entirely satisfying examination of its subjects. There are, however, some exceptions, particularly the discussion of the poor and the church and theater and cultural change. The volume is much stronger on the provision of interesting facts and description of events than it is on sustained analysis. Too often the evidence is allowed to speak for itself rather than form the basis for rigorous argument. Moreover, despite the aims of the study, as specified in the introduction, there is precious little attempt made to relate the developments surveyed here to the Enlightenment. The world of the *literati* and social change seem to exist independently. Finally, the social and cultural developments Houston surveys seem to take place in something of a historical vacuum. Social history is separated from economic history and hence no clear impression emerges of the material forces that shaped the substantial changes in the nature of urban society Houston describes.

There is much of interest in this book, but it could have been better if the general argument had been developed in a more coherent fashion and greater attention given to analysis rather than description.

T. M. DEVINE
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PHILIP C. ALMOND. *Heaven and Hell in Englightenment England*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 218. $49.95.

Dealing largely with the period from the Cambridge Platonists of the late seventeenth century to David Hume in the eighteenth century, this book by Philip C. Almond draws perceptively from the publications of theologians, philosophers, and religious writers of many denominational and philosophical persuasions to present a nuanced historical account of their debates over the nature of heaven and hell. Following a topical format, Almond presents his research in five chapters (titled: "The Journey of the Soul," "From the Hour of Death to the Day of Judgement," "The Contours of Heaven and Hell," "The Last Day," and "Eternal Torments"), each broken down into a number of subtopics that serve as a focus for quoting and inter-

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preting a rich assortment from the often conflicting views of late-seventeenth and early eighteenth-century commentators. Although lacking an elaborate introduction and a conclusion, this book is well organized.

Almond shows how the Cambridge Platonists constructed their elaborate accounts of the journeys of the soul in the "aethereal, aerial or terrestrial parts," before, after, and during its existence in a body on earth, in part as a reaction against the Christian mortalists (who believed "that the soul died or slept between death and the day of judgement") and in part to ensure a "spatial location of the soul" to refute the almost atheistic view of René Descartes of the soul as a "unextended, non-corporeal substance" (pp. 31–33). In 1653, Henry More showed both his royalism and his antipathy to Descartes in a pithy aphorism: "For assuredly that Saying was nothing so true in Politics, *No Bishop, no King*; as this is in Metaphysics, *No Spirit, no God*" (p. 34). Although often vivid in their descriptions of the punishments of hell (whether conceived of as physical or mental), few writers ventured a concrete portrayal of the joys of heaven. Speculation over the end of the world and the rule of Christ continued to abound, now with strong debates over whether God would use natural or supernatural means to bring about this transformation. Would raised bodies be reassembled by reuniting particles scattered in nature (as argued by Robert Boyle)? Would the conflagration of the earth come from volcanoes, comets, falling stars, or an attraction of the earth toward the sun (as argued by Thomas Burnet and Henry More)? In addition, strong debates took place over the length of the punishment of the wicked, whether eternal punishment was the ultimate deterrent for evil on earth, or whether the justice of God used punishment as a means of reforming sinners.

This is a fascinating book with surprises for even knowledgeable readers. Rather than imposing a teleological perspective on the material, Almond pays careful attention to the multiplicity of voices that marked discussions on these important issues and provides the reader with an opportunity "to share the excitement of opening the covers of forgotten books, of rediscovering old ideas, of resurrecting lost lives, and of re-creating the past for the present" (p. 3).

PAUL CHRISTIANSON
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JOHN CANNON. *Samuel Johnson and the Politics of Hanoverian England*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. vii, 326. $59.00.

In 1994 two leading historians of eighteenth-century Britain produced compelling and provocative books on the religious and political world view of Samuel Johnson: J. C. D. Clark's *Samuel Johnson: Literature, Religion and English Cultural Politics from the Restoration to Romanticism* and John Cannon's work, here under review. Clark and Cannon, using the familiar Johnsonian texts, came up with diametrically opposed visions of the intellectual and moral worth of the great lexicographer. Clark's Johnson was a staunch Tory, a lifelong Nonjuror, a person who placed the defense of High-Church principles above all worldly concerns, and, with some genuflection toward the Brunswick dynasty after 1760, a Jacobite. Cannon's Johnson resembles nothing so much as a cool eighteenth-century Whig.

Cannon describes a Samuel Johnson whose restraint and calmness, *contra* Thomas Babington Macaulay, were palpable. His opinions were "run of the mill" and "moderate" (pp. 6, 7). Seldom viewing politics as a central concern, Johnson advanced "secular, dispassionate, and utilitarian" attitudes (p. 68), allowing, for example, for "little religious awe" (p. 135) toward the monarchy. He defended the Church of England "on wholly secular grounds" (p. 17) and paid scant regard to the "intricate doctrinal disputes which fascinated so many" (p. 22) of his contemporaries. Far from resembling a spiritual Nonjuror, Johnson's religious opinions were "rather conventional and middle-of-the-road" (p. 23), broadly those of Horace Walpole, Bishop Warburton, the elder William Pitt, and William Paley.

I am more persuaded by Clark than by Cannon. To be fair to Cannon, his reading is firmly based on contemporary sources and never lacks a surface plausibility. The good doctor said a great deal through the course of a long life and had many profound and trivial remarks lovingly related by his circle. One can therefore usually find the Johnson one seeks. Still, looking at Johnson's life in its totality, Cannon's interpretation seems lacking in the intrinsic sympathy required to take Johnson seriously as a distressed Jacobite or a tortured Christian. On religious matters, for example, it is difficult to reconcile the aging Johnson, agonized with fear of damnation yet never quite despairing of ultimate salvation, with the utilitarian, enlightened Johnson of Cannon's interpretation. Arguing that Johnson was not averse to the general spirit of the Enlightenment and that the Enlightenment was not antireligious, Cannon points out that leading philosophes and their disciples had religious sentiments. Thus, he reminds us that Denis Diderot made a formal declaration of faith in his *Pensées philosophiques* (1746), that Jean-Jacques Rousseau insisted on the importance of religion, and that Maximillien de Robespierre led the procession for the Feast of the Supreme Being. All true enough, and a utilitarian Johnson who prized religion as a form of social control might well have sympathized. We know, however, what Johnson thought of the religious commitment of Diderot and Rousseau and can imagine what he would have made of the activities of Robespierre. One suspects that Johnson did not accept the Church of England as an establishment because of social utility, but because he thought it was the "one Catholick and Apostolick Church" of the Creed.

This book is subtitled *The Politics of Hanoverian England*. In truth, nearly as much analysis, much of it

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first rate, centers on general politics as on the individual. Especially notable in this regard, chapter 7 contains a sophisticated and sometimes profound discussion of the nature of English and European nationalism before the French Revolution that ought to be read by all students of eighteenth-century literature and history.

JAMES J. SACK
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DAVID NICHOLLS. *The Lost Prime Minister: A Life of Sir Charles Dilke*. Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press. 1995. Pp. xxix, 386. $55.00.

Sir Charles Dilke (1843–1911) is now remembered by most historians of modern Britain for his involvement in a divorce scandal, complete with lurid sexual details, that ruined his career, a fate perhaps second only to Charles Parnell in political importance. In 1885, when the allegations of misconduct became public, Dilke had acquired a substantial claim to succeed William Gladstone as leader of a radicalized Liberal Party. David Nicholls argues in this biography that the divorce affair has wrongly overshadowed the political contributions made both before and after his disgrace. Nicholls rejects the conventional conclusion that Dilke had a career of unfulfilled promise, and he attempts to place Dilke's life in the overall perspective of English radicalism.

Despite the author's intention to rescue Dilke from association only with the divorce scandal, the reassessment of Dilke's private life and the various interpretations of his conduct will inevitably draw the reader's attention more rapidly than the complexities of legislative maneuvering. The thorough and thoughtful consideration of motives and evidence has produced as definitive an account of the scandal as is possible at this time. Nicholls rejects the idea that Dilke fell victim to political plotting. Dilke sought the attention of many women, several of them married, and the complications of his relationships, particularly with the enigmatic Virginia Crawford, explain fully how Dilke came to grief.

More than the destruction of a single career, however, the Dilke scandal ended the collaboration between Dilke and Joseph Chamberlain that had propelled both men to the center of politics. In the context of Gladstone's formal commitment to Home Rule for Ireland, and Chamberlain's subsequent defection on this issue, Dilke's potential leadership of radical liberalism ended as well. The author places Dilke's life and that of the Liberal Party in interesting conjunction, and if his discussion will not convince every reader, the story certainly provides much intellectual stimulation.

The attempt to rescue Dilke's parliamentary significance after his return in 1892 is less persuasive. That Dilke led a political life of unusual independence may be conceded, and Dilke's expertise in diplomacy and related defense matters as well as some domestic issues is also clear. His relative lack of effectiveness in debate and distance from the leadership of both parties limited his standing and ensured that his work, while important, would stand apart from the agendas put forward by successive governments. No matter how they are viewed, Dilke's political activities after the scandal could not measure up to the influence he had exercised prior to 1885. Nevertheless, for those scholars interested in late-Victorian and Edwardian politics, this book will provide entertaining reading. The conclusions advanced by Nicholls merit careful consideration even if, in the end, Dilke remains the lost prime minister.

RICHARD A. COSGROVE
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ANNIE E. COOMBES. *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. vii, 280. $45.00.

Annie E. Coombes's copiously illustrated book analyzes British visual representations of Africa between 1890 and 1913, almost all of them circulated among general audiences. It reproduces from the popular press such images as commemorative photographs, in which victorious imperial soldiers are shown surrounded by captured artworks that will soon be shipped home and lately conquered Africans posed in submissive attitudes, and media artists' portrayals of colonial battles, as well as of the imagined African barbarism that ostensibly justified rule by the superior English race. The book also includes anthropologists' drawings depicting their conjectural reconstruction of the historical process that yielded Africans' design motifs, a supposed course of cultural degeneration during which accurately observed natural objects were by degrees reduced to abstract forms; photographs and architectural plans of displays of African material culture in museums under state, university, and private control; and souvenirs from the diverse imperial exhibitions held under commercial and missionary auspices (postcards, programs, and photographs of the Africans who were brought to the exhibitions as live displays). And Coombes invites abstract contemplation of the artworks the British seized; photographed as decontextualized, freestanding objects, they are presented as works conventionally accorded the status of high art.

Considered alone, Coombes's illustrations seem to convey a clear message: Africans produced magnificent art, but a distorted vision of it was promulgated at the turn of the century, figuring in Britain's pretensions to a civilizing mission to inferior races. Thus, most African art was consigned to curio status. Incontrovertibly impressive pieces were said to have been made in the distant past, before their producers suffered degeneration—regression along the unilinear evolutionary scale of human development postulated by nineteenth-century anthropologists—which manifested itself in interdependent racial and behavioral

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characteristics. But the text of the book is intended to show that the significance of its illustrations is not straightforward. Coombes aims to demonstrate that "the insidious appeal of colonial ideology" to the "British imperial/colonial psyche" can be understood "only by coming to terms with the heterogeneity of responses to, and involvement in, Africa" (p. 2).

The text is far from compelling, however, in no small part because it fails to satisfy the technical standards of professional scholarship. Coombes's supporting data are sometimes inappropriate. For example, she rightly notes that many Britons understood the physical aspects of exotic peoples to be indexes to their places among the world's hierarchy of races, but she chooses to substantiate her assertion with a quotation from the Smithsonian Institution's W. H. Holmes (p. 122). And her bibliographic citations often omit titles and authors of articles. I am not being excessively pedantic. Readers cannot judge whether Coombes is justified in claiming that she has charted views held by persons of diverse political and intellectual allegiances unless they can identify her sources. And her writing is often opaque because she makes liberal use of the quotation mark as emotional punctuation (which may denote any attitude ranging from irony to sincerity). Coombes bears the ultimate responsibility for her technical and stylistic inadequacies, but they also suggest that Yale University Press expended little or no editorial effort to improve her manuscript.

More important, Coombes's account belies her thesis that a polyphonic discourse rationalized colonial rule. Perhaps her subject does not lend itself to her argument; as she observes, museum and exhibition displays of colonial trophies were intended to instill a sense of national identity and purpose, obliterating spectators' consciousness of their own society's antagonistic class divisions. So, indeed, were displays of quite different sorts of artworks mounted during the period Coombes's book covers (see, for example, Seth Koven, "The Whitechapel Picture Exhibitions and the Politics of Seeing," in Daniel J. Sherman and Irit Rogoff, eds., *Museum Culture* [1994], 22–48). But Coombes seems deaf to some sounds of discord. Anthropologists who designed public presentations of African artifacts, she asserts, courted support for their fledgling discipline by pandering to uneducated prejudices; by making their science accessible, they unintentionally "speeded the disintegration of a division between the 'scientific' and the 'popular' which it sought to maintain" (p. 127). This generalization forecasts a counterfactual future for anthropology. She interprets ethnographic lectures offered under museum auspices as justification of colonialists' determination to eradicate "*rite[s] de passage* that served to strengthen traditional ties and ruling structures" (p. 144), apparently unaware of colonial rulers' avowed intentions to preserve traditional structures as vehicles for imperial administration. And although she recognizes the "ambivalent" attitudes of evangelical missions to the colonial enterprise (p. 161), she might have made more of her information about the special character of mission exhibitions that were attended by members of the working classes from whom missionaries were recruited, and who appreciated African displays in a distinctive fashion. In sum, marvelous though Coombes's diverse images are, it is a pity that she has contemplated them with so historically naive an eye.

HENRIKA KUKLICK
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MARIEL GRANT. *Propaganda and the Role of the State in Inter-War Britain*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 284. $59.00.

Mariel Grant's well-researched monograph explores the often ambivalent attitude of British government officials toward public relations in the 1920s and 1930s. The British governing elites came to recognize both the importance and dangers of propaganda during World War I. They centralized their efforts at disseminating official information late in the war, but they quickly dismantled this bureaucratic machinery after 1918. Propaganda acquired a poor reputation during the conflict and peacetime austerity made such efforts at mass persuasion an easy target for budget cutters. Still, as Grant demonstrates in admirable detail, Whitehall never abandoned its willingness to advertise the work of government agencies during the interwar period. No longer the obligation of a centralized agency, public relations became the responsibility of individual departments that practiced it with varying degrees of commitment and success.

Grant concentrates her research on three specific campaigns: the attempt by the Post Office to improve its reputation among British citizens; the Ministry of Health's efforts to raise public awareness about medical issues; and the cooperative effort by a number of government agencies to increase the consumption of milk. Each of these campaigns involved its own peculiarities, but a certain pattern emerges from the details. Although the British governing class reluctantly acknowledged the power of advertising, it distrusted the practice of advertising as both vulgar and manipulative, an occupation unworthy of a gentleman.

In governmental agencies, British public relations would emphasize persuading the elites, who in turn would set an example for the remainder of the population. Such thinking resulted in a number of curious anomalies that Grant exposes, occasionally with the help of exclamation points. Officials of the Post Office established a lecture series to publicize its services but refused to advertise it because they feared it might draw too large a response. An official in the Ministry of Health rejected an attempt to publicize the National Insurance scheme because, as Grant paraphrases the memorandum, "any attempt to advertise the administration of health services might prove depressing!" (p. 139). The "Drink More Milk" campaign failed among the working classes in part because "posters with Latin

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mottoes were unlikely to appeal to this audience" (p. 213).

Grant argues that the miserable showing of the Ministry of Information at the beginning of World War II stemmed in part from the administrative policies of the interwar years. Attempts to centralize propaganda faced stiff opposition from departments accustomed to greater autonomy. Efforts to reach a popular audience could not succeed as long as "experts" felt more comfortable dealing with elites. Once again social class rather than political affiliation offers a thematic armature to understand the evolution of bureaucracy in Britain. Grant's thorough and nuanced study provides a further illustration of how the governing classes in Britain resisted populist methods of mass communication.

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Philippe Hamon. *L'argent du roi: Les finances sous François I^e^*. Foreword by Jean Jacquart. (Ministère de l'Économie et du Budget.) Paris: Comité pour l'Histoire Economique et Financière de la France. 1994. Pp. xliii, 609. 249 fr.

In this book Philippe Hamon provides us with a major new thesis on the fiscal and administrative history of the reign of Francis I. Going well beyond the traditional boundaries of this genre, Hamon has imposed a structuralist approach to his treatment of the period from 1515 to 1547. The work is organized around two principal themes: the financial organization of the kingdom, and the personnel involved in finding and administering the funds demanded by the king. Public credit and access to loans constitute indispensable links between these two structures, explaining both the promotions and disgrace of various officials in the course of the reign.

Undertaking an analysis of the financial organization of the kingdom during this period, Hamon traces in great detail the functioning of its fiscal machine. He begins by treating the royal expenses, demonstrating that there were regular increases in payouts for the army, marines, mercenaries, fortifications, and diplomats. These increases were concentrated around the five periods of warfare that punctuated the reign: 1515, with the victory at Marignan; 1521–25, marked by the loss of Milan as well as the invasion of Provence and the defeat at Pavia; 1527–29, with the failure of the Italian campaign; 1536–37 with the taking of Savoy and Piedmont and the second campaign in Provence; and finally the campaigns of 1542–46.

Examining the income side of fiscal policy, Hamon shows that expenses forced the monarchy into a series of structural modifications to increase its revenues. The *Ordinaire* and *Extraordinaire* were eventually merged, salt taxes were imposed, *décimes* were levied on the church after the Concordat of 1516, crown lands were sold, cities were imposed, and officials were asked to suggest possible new taxes. After studying direct taxes (*tailles*), however, Hamon argues that, despite certain regional differences, there was not the massive general increase that other historians have suggested.

The most interesting part of this section is the chapter on credit, showing how royal officials were expected rapidly to provide the money needed by the king through loans and credit operations, eventually recuperating their funds through crown revenues. Royal officials thus had to have close connections and credibility with the Italian merchant-bankers stationed in Lyon and the Paris financial community. Hamon distinguishes two periods in the process of building up royal credit. The first saw crown finances in the hands of Semblancay, who had a more traditional approach to loans. He borrowed heavily from the Italians in the form of short-term loans; with the military setbacks of 1521–23, in the face of heavy debts, he was accused of graft, tried, and eventually executed in 1527. The second period, under Cardinal Tournon, saw a more organized approach to credit with fewer short-term loans, an absolute insistence on meeting payments, and the organization of longer term financing through *Le Grand Parti* after 1542.

The distinctions between the approaches of Semblancay and Tournon dominate the second section of the book, in which Hamon concentrates on how the monarchy attempted to set up a more rational, responsive fiscal administration. He sees the move in this direction as fundamentally influenced by the trials of Semblancay and at least seven other high-finance officials. The housecleaning after 1522–23 allowed the king's council to intervene more directly and to renew financial administration, putting more accent on financial "specialists," on the implication of the chancellor in financial decisions, and on the creation of a major new source of revenue in the *rentes* on the *Hôtel de Ville* in Paris.

Hamon's book renews the older works by Alfred Spont, Roger Doucet, and Martin Wolfe concerning finance under Francis I. The book regularly integrates their findings on the different questions examined, going on to nuance their conclusions. This book is a rigorous, logical demonstration of the implications of fiscal management for a Renaissance kingdom. Hamon is always prudent not to conclude too much concerning the "modernism" of the reforms undertaken and to emphasize that all of the financial officials discussed were dealing with a fundamentally imperfect system. This prudence, however, becomes a problem in that he tends to multiply the proofs given for each point; the book's 559 pages could have benefited from a number of cuts and revisions. Hamon's work is clearly designed for specialists in the field and is indispensable reading for anyone working on early modern state-building.

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Malcolm Greenshields. *An Economy of Violence in Early Modern France: Crime and Justice in the Haute*

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Auvergne, 1587–1664. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 262. $45.00.

Basing his investigation on a careful reading of local court records and the reports prepared by the royal mounted constabulary (*maréchaussée*), Malcolm Greenshields takes us into the isolated, mountainous region of the Haute Auvergne (essentially the modern department of Cantal) in order to explore the nature and causes of criminal behavior, especially acts of physical violence. Although crime and justice in the Auvergne in particular and in southern France in general have been ably studied in recent years—the work of Nicole Castan and Yves Castan, Iain Cameron, Arlette Lebigre, Steven Reinhardt, and Julius Ruff come to mind—Greenshields makes a genuine contribution to the literature, first by offering a sophisticated and insightful interpretation of the words and gestures of his "sensitive and violent men and women" (p. 122), and second by concentrating on an era that remains poorly understood by historians of criminality (pioneering studies by Robert Muchembled, Christiane Plessix-Buisset, and Alfred Soman notwithstanding, most scholarship on criminal justice in early modern France concentrates on the eighteenth century).

Given his interest in physical violence, Greenshields returns repeatedly to the fundamental issues of honor, reputation, property, and dignity. He shows how various social and occupational groups and the two sexes perceived these matters, interpreted violations of them, and responded in often ritualistic (as well as bloody) ways. He is equally sensitive to the geographical setting of violent confrontation, literally "the fields of combat." The time period covered allows for a fruitful discussion of the sensibilities and criminal behavior of two groups, the nobility and the clergy, that one encounters only infrequently in the criminal records of a later era. Such durable themes in the historical literature on criminal justice and rural life as the inadequacy of the forces of order in the countryside, the vertical and horizontal solidarities and antagonisms in small villages, and the progressive intervention of the central state into remote areas (and their own diverse modes of private justice) are handled well even if the conclusions are not especially novel. Greenshields is keenly aware of the limitations as well as the value of his sources; the book is punctuated by useful observations about methodology. Scholars will also appreciate the clear and concise review of criminal judicial procedure in this period preceding the appearance of the famous ordinance of August 1670.

One can respect the basic integrity of this book while regretting the treatment of certain subjects. As if to set his work apart from that of his predecessors—an unnecessary exercise, because the book stands on its own merits even if it frequently confirms the findings of others—Greenshields continually relates his material to the concept of "psychic property." Defined as "all that a person possesses, mentally and physically, that can be violated" (p. 2), the concept is simply too broad to be of much lasting value. The chapter on the *Grands Jours* (1665–66) adds little that is new to existing studies of this extraordinary court of assize, although some readers will welcome a reliable account in English. The section on peasant uprisings has a dated quality about it, viewing as it does this aspect of collective violence largely through the interpretive lens provided by Roland Mousnier and Boris Porchnev several decades ago. This said, the book remains well researched, thoughtful, and eminently readable. It merits the serious attention of social and legal historians.

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PIERRE MANENT. *An Intellectual History of Liberalism*. Translated by REBECCA BALINSKI. Foreword by JERROLD SIEGEL. (New French Thought.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 127.

"Given the characteristics of the Catholic Church, find the political form X that makes it possible to ensure the secular world's independence" (p. 9). Thus does Pierre Manent throw down the gauntlet. Liberalism is the missing X in the political equation. It emerges Hegel-like as a response to the political power of the church.

It is logical then that this intellectual history of Liberalism should begin with Machiavelli, for he was the first to conceive of a system of politics outside the restraints of the Christian world. For Manent, Machiavelli, although no Liberal, did clear the ground, describing a real world, a political universe where there was the possibility, even the necessity of doing evil. Taking its basic world view from Machiavelli, Liberalism did of course draw a different lesson; institutions—the church, the aristocracy, and later the state—are evil and must be resisted. Furthermore, it was Machiavelli who introduced the quality of suspicion in the universe, and Liberals learned to be suspicious of institutions. Basic to this Liberal philosophy is the view that men freed from the evils of institutions, left to their own devices and desires, will produce good.

In this great Liberal Chain of Being, Manent represents Rousseau as sharing that most common of Liberal insights, "that all the political misfortunes of European peoples come from Christianity" (p. 68). But for Manent, Rousseau is also the great critical voice within Liberalism, striking at that sense of self-love that is at the heart of Liberal philosophy.

The chapter devoted to François Guizot is the supreme achievement of this brilliant work, the best treatment we have of Guizot as political philosopher. Manent places Guizot firmly within the tradition of Liberalism, but he also sees him as one who attempted to rearrange the whole tradition, to reorder the classic conception of power as evil. Instructed by the French Revolution and his years of service during the Resto-

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ration, Guizot sought to rescue Liberalism from its historic fear of power by proposing the startling notion that power—when properly expressed through institutions such as representative government—can be good. Guizot argued that, by belittling power, Liberals had misjudged Nature, and that power can be beneficent when "it is the brave who command, the clever who rule" (p. 98). Thus, Manent sees Guizot trying "to convince his Liberal friends of the nobility of governing" (p. 86) as the true ancestor of modern Liberalism, of our modern conviction that power properly exercised in Liberal hands can best achieve Liberal ends.

STANLEY MELLON
EMERITUS
University of Illinois, Chicago

ARLETTE FARGE. *Subversive Words: Public Opinion in Eighteenth-Century France*. Translated by ROSEMARY MORRIS. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 219. Cloth $42.50, paper $15.95.

At last we have a book on public opinion in the Old Regime that is not an account of the origins of the revolution. The freshness of Arlette Farge's work comes from her refusal to consider public opinion in a unilinear or teleological fashion. Instead of treating it as a swelling tide of radical sentiment reaching a final explosion in 1789, she approaches it as a series of moments in which journalists, diarists, police spies, and rulers were astonished by the words of those who were supposed to keep silent. Farge emphasizes the fragmented and intermittent nature of popular rumors and criticism. Her own anecdotal, simple, and energetic style is consonant with her subject. Yet, even though the book has no explicit theoretical or synthetic aims, it intelligently highlights some of the structures of a regime that stimulated the production of iconoclastic language in the process of trying to stamp it out. I am not sure that a more profound book on eighteenth-century France has ever been written with so few pretensions and such a light stylistic touch.

Farge uses placards, leaflets, and pamphlets to show how ordinary people responded in periodic outbursts to particular events, policies, or personages. She also analyzes how these outbursts registered in the minds of the elite and state servants. Above all, she takes us into the world of the Paris police spies who listened to popular exclamations and transcribed them into reports sent regularly to the lieutenant general of police. The critical words that were expressed outside the formal organization of the monarchy thus entered into it through the mechanisms of surveillance and repression. Throughout the book, Farge appears to suggest that it was not critical speech per se that was novel, for grumbling against the regime had always existed. Rather, it was the interaction between popular opinions and the new efforts to tame the public that gave birth to "subversive words."

In the early eighteenth century, the literate and well-to-do were already fascinated by "the people," but only in two contexts. The first was when particular individuals were the participants in a bizarre accident or gross act of cruelty. Thus, Jean Buvat wrote in his memoirs in 1717, "In a street in Faubourg Saint-Marceau, they found the body of a girl roasted on a spit, the spit being stuck through her head" (p. 15). The second was when a crowd assembled to complain or to celebrate in an explosive manner. The common person was either a freak curiosity or part of an impulsive and simple-minded aggregate. Farge, however, suggests that this attitude changed in the second quarter of the century, primarily in response to the frequent outbursts against the persecution of Jansenists. The change was not simply the result of a quantitative rise in popular opposition to royal religious policies. Rather, it came from the legitimizing attention that popular discourse received in the Jansenist press. The *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques* studded its pages with the dialogues of ordinary people grumbling against the state. The change also stemmed from the police, which circulated its own rumors and popular newssheets to combat antigovernment opinion. The ordinary person was now surrounded by an overabundance of news and editorial gossip. Farge stresses that hardly anyone took what they read at face value. Everyone was compelled to select among the competing words, and in this context ordinary people inevitably came to feel that they had a right to form their own opinion. Hence, the status of opinion changed in the minds of both the people and the police. Instead of being merely an impulsive response to a monolithic policy, it now appeared to be a legitimate reality and a necessary way of finding a view of the world amid the information coming from all sides.

Farge devotes much space to popular remarks about the king. She draws on all the dossiers on seditious remarks in the years 1661–1775 from the Bastille Archives. Chapter 5, entitled "Who is to Stop Me Killing the King," contains the most intriguing claim in the book, namely the argument that the absolutist system, with its emphasis on the unmediated relationship of submission between subject and king, produced its obverse in the form of a regicidal topos. The argument is provocative and debatable, and probably true. It is worth repeating, however, that the point of the book is not to explain the origins of antimonarchical sentiment in the revolution. Farge is plainly aware that the creation of revolutionary culture involves factors other than those which figure in her book. Her aim is to draw attention to popular opposition in the Old Regime and the intimate relationship between those who spoke out and those who sought to control. The book succeeds admirably in its aim.

DANIEL GORDON
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

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JOHN HARDMAN. *French Politics, 1774–1789: From the Accession of Louis XVI to the Fall of the Bastille*. New York: Longman. 1995. Pp. x, 283.

"French politics" in the last reign of the absolute monarchy needs to be defined and John Hardman does so in his introduction. This is not a narrative political history, nor is it about policies (the great issues of the reign such as the reform movement), the regime's financial Achilles heel, or foreign policy. Hardman alludes to these subjects in passing but does not elaborate on them. Rather this book is a detailed description of the ministers of government who served Louis XVI.

Part 1 is devoted to a discussion of each of the ministers: his family background, how he became a minister, what support he had from different social classes, why he departed from the king's service, and his relations with other ministers. Special attention is given to rivalries, enmities, or alliances among the ministers.

In part 2 Hardman devotes a chapter to each of seven different topics, all under the subject of politics. The first deals with the question of whether there was a prime minister in the government of Louis XVI. Only two ministers approached that status, but none had the kind of authority exercised by Cardinal André de Fleury in the previous reign. At the beginning of his reign, Louis was told by Jean-Frédéric de Maurepas that he must either be his own prime minister or appoint one. Hardman argues that Louis did neither, "which was arguably the fundamental weakness of his reign" (p. 118). Other topics include a survey of the finance ministers, how decisions were made, Louis's relations with his ministers, the political role of Marie Antoinette, the relation between the crown and the parliament, and a brief discussion of public opinion during the reign. At the end of the text useful tables list the ministers of the different departments and the dates during which they served, the king's residences away from Versailles, a glossary of French terms, and "principal sources cited."

This is a welcome contribution to the political history of eighteenth-century France. There is nothing like it, and it is to be hoped that this work will inspire further research in this field. I have reservations, however, about the reliability of some of Hardman's primary sources. It is hard to believe, for example, that Charles Gravier de Vergennes could be the author of the foolish essay attributed to him by J. L. Soulavie. And Hardman also relies on the two essays attributed to Charles-Alexandre de Calonne but not signed by him. He quotes from one of them the claim that "Necker did not include in his *Compte rendu* [of 1781] as expenditures the interest charges on his loans" (p. 138), but Necker did include those costs. He did not include the cost of loans made after its publication, which was entirely proper. This was one of the errors made by Jean Marquet de Bourgade in his manuscript attacking the *Compte rendu*, on which Hardman also relies.

ROBERT D. HARRIS
University of Idaho

JAMES H. JOHNSON. *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History*. (Studies of the History of Society and Culture, number 21.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 384. $35.00.

James H. Johnson has made a major contribution to an important new problem: how to reconstruct the ways by which people listened to music and interpreted that experience. In raising this question for Paris between about 1750 and 1850, he has written a social history of the Opéra in social, political, and intellectual terms. It is an approachable and stimulating book that the publisher has made particularly attractive, but one that also has serious problems in the definition and elucidation of its subject.

The book is valuable chiefly for tracing a key 100 years in the history of the Opéra in broad perspective. Johnson's discussion of the changing nature of box-holding, based on intimate knowledge of the sources, has many implications for the evolution of the French upper classes. The history of the Opéra during the revolution offers a productive, balanced interpretation of political influence; the treatment of the institution under Napoleon fills a large gap in our knowledge of that period. And Johnson's ideas on Giacchino Antonio Rossini—that he challenged the listening habits of his audience—give fresh new perspectives on the most widely known composer of the nineteenth century.

In the course of telling this history, Johnson asks a bold question: did opera-goers listen? He characterizes opera-goers of 1750 as so caught up in social duties that they did not, in fact, listen, except in quite superficial ways: "The attitude of spectators as they watched it all was more amusement than absorption" (p. 23). He sees taste as being dictated by the highest nobility to the rest of the public, done by groups rather than individuals, since "Collective judgment held a legitimacy not granted to private opinion" (p. 33). He drives home the point firmly with a rich, vivid sequence of comments and anecdotes from sources of the time.

The problem here is that the tolerance granted diverse social behaviors in musical gatherings of the eighteenth century does not mean that people did not or indeed could not listen. The distinction between "amusement" and "absorption" is highly problematic, bearing the burden of post-romantic aesthetics that tolerate only a limited range of musical genres and social values. The letters of the marquis d'Argenson, for example, show us the kind of highly sophisticated musical connoisseurship with which amateurs (many of them not of the nobility) judged voices and built up a profound respect for the vocal styles of Jean-Baptiste Lully and Jean-Philippe Rameau. They indeed brought about the first canonic thinking for old music in

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France, the repertory of operas and motets called *la musique ancienne*.

Johnson then argues that audiences became attentive—absorbed rather than entertained—during the July Monarchy. He sees that change evolving within the new manners and mores of the rising bourgeoisie; propriety replaced gallantry in upper-class life, and this motivated people to listen harder. Etiquette clearly became more restrictive in the course of the nineteenth century, and the shift from aristocratic to bourgeois cultures can explain much of the change. But I did not come away from the book convinced that it happened so suddenly or comprehensively in this period. Stories about gallant gentleman *sous les coulisses* are just as easy to find as what Johnson offers; Richard Wagner, after all, left Paris in disgust in 1842. The market for sheet music exploded during this period, bringing a vast new public to concerts to hear crude medleys of popular opera tunes rather than Ludwig van Beethoven, and it was only when such people receded from concert life in the 1850s and 1860s that concert life became sedate and focused on musical classics. Even at that, the change can be argued more in terms of ideology than actual habits of listening: after 1850 the canonically grounded world of concert life exuded arrogant new intellectual pretensions.

Johnson also sees a close relationship between the lack of attentiveness and the focus of taste on programmatic meanings in music, and, by the same token, between new audience behavior and the rising appreciation of "absolute" music. This is an interesting but overdrawn framework; one should characterize neither eighteenth-century commentary as narrowly programmatic nor that of the 1830s as uninterested in text or poetic implication. Beethoven's quartets were interpreted in poetic, sometimes even programmatic terms, and symphony orchestras continued to play as much vocal as instrumental music—opera excerpts especially—until the end of century.

WILLIAM WEBER
California State University, Long Beach

DAVID S. BARNES. *The Making of a Social Disease: Tuberculosis in Nineteenth-Century France*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 305. $42.00.

This book follows the evolution of tuberculosis in nineteenth-century France from a romantic disease of "heightened sensibility" to its reconstruction as a social disease. David S. Barnes emphasizes that as physicians and the public reconceptualized tuberculosis, their primary goal was to preserve the social order. Tuberculosis, the paradigmatic endemic disease of the nineteenth century, was a social disease and a social problem. This was true not only in France but in the United States as well. But the context in which the disease was reconfigured was peculiar to France, where tuberculosis became part of the declinist mentality that pervaded medical and political circles after the French defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. Tuberculosis, along with syphilis, alcoholism, and high infant mortality, was part of the larger discourse on the medical causes of national decline.

The years 1819 and 1919 are the chronological limits of this study. In 1819 Laennec's *Treatise on Mediate Auscultation* appeared, which introduced the stethoscope to physicians. This technology improved diagnostic accuracy and made possible the differentiation of tuberculosis from other lung diseases. In 1919 the Honnorat Law established sanatoria throughout France, in recognition of the state's public health responsibilities and the fact that rest cures were the most promising therapy for the disease.

The heart of the book is a sustained discussion of cultural, medical, and alternative discourses of tuberculosis. Following a chapter on the romantic construction of tuberculosis, illustrated by novels and the theater, Barnes analyzes the medical approach he terms "bacillocentrism," which focused on the *vibrio cholerae* as a specific causative agent. This orientation dominated medical and political discourse and led to a public health policy based on identification and isolation of the diseased. This policy was the focus of the official "War on Tuberculosis" that reached its peak by the end of the century.

The chapter that sets this book apart from other studies of tuberculosis is Barnes's development of an alternative discourse promoted by one group of leftist critics. Although mainstream socialists went along with the official campaign, the revolutionary syndicalists challenged it. Citing overwork and low wages as the main causes of the disease, these critics believed tuberculosis was inherent in the logic of capitalism. They called for, in the short run, reduced working hours and higher wages, and in the long run, the overthrow of capitalism. Whereas the dominant approach was aimed at preserving the social order, the alternative hoped for its destruction. Barnes uses this leftist critique to argue that, in spite of what traditional histories have maintained, there was no public consensus on the disease. Rather, medical knowledge was a hotly contested area.

This is a vivid, carefully researched, and well-written account, which moves well beyond the progressive ideology of positivism and Whiggism, both out of style among social historians of medicine, to incorporate recent interpretive strategies. Barnes's debt to Michel Foucault is clear, and he provides a finely tuned analysis of class and gender. This study—the first in English about tuberculosis in France—is a welcome addition to the growing list of books on tuberculosis, including the recent works in English by Linda Bryder (*Below the Magic Mountain* [1988]), Barbara Bates (*Bargaining for Life* [1992]), and Barbara Rosenkrantz (*From Consumption to Tuberculosis* [1994]). Barnes's book makes an important contribution to our increasingly finely textured tableau of medicine, disease, and

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public health in nineteenth-century France and to the history of disease. It should be warmly received by historians of medicine, historians of France, and social historians.

ANN F. LA BERGE
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

ELIZABETH ANNE MCCAULEY. *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848–1871*. (Yale Publications in the History of Art.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 448. $45.00.

The main title of Elizabeth Anne McCauley's valuable new book is taken from Baudelaire's famous diatribe in 1855 against the rising popular enthusiasm for photography. Baudelaire's vehement, and often paradoxical, antipathy to the aesthetic claims made on behalf of photography is one of many contemporary signs of the cultural confusion generated by the spread of this new image-making technology. For Baudelaire and others, the pervasiveness of photography was emblematic of the larger shoddiness and vulgarity of Second Empire material culture and in a more general sense indicative of an erosion of imaginative and perceptual capacities. For its defenders, photography was simply one of many technological innovations linked with progressive social ideals and processes of democratization. McCauley's book is a rich contribution to a materialist history of photography during this period, covering two crucial decades in which photography as a technical practice became fully embedded in networks of social, political, and cultural relations, and she goes a long way toward outlining some of the concrete institutional and economic conditions of photographic production during these years.

McCauley begins her study nearly ten years after the invention of photography, as it was becoming a true medium of mass reproducibility, especially after 1851 when collodion-on-glass negatives supplanted the one-of-a-kind daguerreotype and the more painterly paper negative processes. She provides a panoramic survey of the leading commercial enterprises and businesses through which photographs reached consumers in the 1850s and 1860s. Paris was unquestionably the center of commercial photography in Europe at mid-century and is the exclusive focus of her study, but Paris also provided models for the organization of production and consumption that were exported all over the world, and hence McCauley's historical assessment of various Parisian photographic establishments has a wider resonance.

One of the strengths of this book is the subtlety with which McCauley describes the position of photography within a Second Empire program of modernization and material progress. In the context of the firm of Hyppolyte Collard, which specialized in images of industry, topography, and government construction projects, McCauley makes clear that there can be no easy correlation between the dominant ideological needs of the French state and the practices of photographers in its direct employ. Instead, as she does in each of her chapters on individual photographic firms, she outlines the intricate and often divergent imperatives that characterized the outlook of consumers, institutions, and photographers themselves. This is especially evident in her discussion of the difficulties that photographers, in particular the Gouin-Braquehais studio, had in producing erotic and pornographic images, both in terms of legal opposition and of the shifting tastes of an urban male audience.

Perhaps her most interesting chapter is on the best known of the photographers covered in the book, Nadar and his studio. McCauley shows, in ways that have not been done by other historians, how this studio carefully managed an output of celebrity portraits that effectively produced a popular belief in a nonexistent counter culture, and stimulated consumer demand to be similarly photographed. Nadar's portraits were an early instance of how mass circulating imagery produced models of consumable "life styles." She also details how Nadar mastered the use of costume, pose, and lighting to create the idea that his portraits had a greater psychological depth than other commercially available options. Such work was an indication as well of the increasing specialization and subdivision of the market for photographic portraits. Finally, she provides a telling account of the ultimate financial failure of Nadar's enterprise as it proved increasingly unable to compete with larger and more adaptable competitors in the early 1860s.

Not only will this book be important for current historical discussions of nineteenth-century photography but it will also be relevant for anyone interested in building a more concrete knowledge of the larger visual culture out of which both modernism and subsequent forms of mass media developed.

JONATHAN CRARY
Columbia University

BARRY BERGDOLL. *Léon Vaudoyer: Historicism in the Age of Industry*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press or the Architectural History Foundation, New York. 1994. Pp. viii, 349. $65.00.

This is, quite simply, a superb book. In it, Barry Bergdoll describes in meticulous, detailed, yet vivid terms, the life and work of Léon Vaudoyer (1803–72), one of the leading French academic architects of the nineteenth century. He goes far beyond the limited boundaries of the typical monograph, however, broadening the scope of the study to include in considerable depth the political as well as architectural context. In setting the stage for an account of Vaudoyer's professional practice and academic career, Bergdoll goes back to the late eighteenth century and the body of architectural thought Vaudoyer inherited through his father, also an architect and major force in the French academy, showing the changes it underwent during the French Revolution, and bringing the discussion up to

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the early years of the twentieth century. His account thus spans the nineteenth century.

The book has been germinating since Bergdoll's undergraduate days. The important exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art of Beaux-Arts drawings catalyzed a brilliant renaissance in the study of nineteenth-century French academic architecture and resulted in a series of excellent publications, most notably by Neil Levine, David Van Zanten, and Richard Chaffee, as well as Bergdoll's own doctoral dissertation in 1986. Since then, Bergdoll's work has been further enlarged by access to the rich archives of the Vaudoyer family, among which are private letters, memos, and journals of both father and son.

Vaudoyer, a pillar of the academic community by the time of the Second Empire, in fact designed little. Of the two monumental complexes attributed to him—the remodeling of the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers and Marseille Cathedral—neither has been recognized as particularly distinguished. Bergdoll's thesis is that despite this meager record, Vaudoyer was a highly significant force in architectural thinking, whose progressive theory provided much of the substructure on which modernism was built. Believing that architecture was the "écriture d'un peuple," and the most complete embodiment of the spirit of an age, Vaudoyer also believed it was—or should be—firmly grounded in the past. He rejected, however, the theories of his late-eighteenth-century predecessors, such as Quatremère de Quincy or Jacques-Germain Soufflot, both of whom held to an ideal historical style, the classical Greek. Vaudoyer's conviction was that architectural design should be based not on the slavish imitation of a particular style, or in fact on historical styles at all, but rather on prototypical building types—theaters, town halls, churches—that have evolved over time in response to changed circumstances of time and place. He differed, thus, from mid-nineteenth-century Eclectics, who drew on a variety of stylistic sources, synthesizing their literal quotations from the past into new synthetic forms, and he also differed from the structural rationalist Viollet-le-Duc, who advocated Gothic structure as a paradigm for modern forms. Vaudoyer believed architecture was the result of an evolutionary, not revolutionary, process, developing out of forms of the past that changed in accordance not only with new materials and technology but also with specifics of climate and region. He argued that, based on a broader, more profound historical understanding of building types, the architect could create a new modern architecture born of its own time and place.

Bergdoll's account builds up from Vaudoyer's early career to his most important work, the design and construction of Marseille Cathedral, commissioned in 1852. One of the few cathedrals designed and built in postrevolutionary France, its commission and form were indissolubly linked to the politics of the time. Bergdoll sets the stage for his description of the building itself by first describing the complex, protracted negotiations among the church, city, and state. One of the largest churches built in France in the nineteenth century, the cathedral rises, as Bergdoll describes it, from a monumental podium of warehouses in an industrialized area on the waterfront of Marseille, its thirty-meter high arch of the west front rising like a gigantic triumphal arch angled out to the sea. It functioned thus as an important civic monument to city and state (Louis Napoleon regarded the new, monumental structure as symbolic of his reign, analogous to the new Opera House, designed by Charles Garnier, in Paris). It also served as the focal point of a mid-century debate among architects over the appropriate use of historical forms in the quest for a modern architecture. It posed the problem neatly: how could modern architects draw on the legacy of the past, using architectural forms perfected over the course of time, in their pursuit of a modern progressive form? Vaudoyer's cathedral, in the end, was, in Bergdoll's terms, a modern statement that at once drew on history, both architectural and that of Marseille, making legible the rich accretion of cultures and influences that make up Marseille, a maritime center at the crossroads of East and West, and served as a reflection of modern times. It summarized Vaudoyer's aim of creating a truly modern architecture, a manifesto of his own theoretical principles that he hoped would serve as a springboard for monumental public architecture in the future.

Vaudoyer left no school or style, but rather a methodological approach. After his death in 1872, his reputation declined precipitously in the early twentieth century, with the modernist rejection of the Beaux-Arts. His legacy continued, however, in his body of thought. It represented, in Bergdoll's words, a "synthesis of a historicist analysis of a building type and form, and a rationalist approach to hybrid masonry and iron constructions," providing a starting point for a flexible language of architecture adaptable to diverse programs and sites.

Geared to architectural historians in its meticulous research, carefully documented sources, and exemplary analyses of individual buildings and projects, Bergdoll's text is equally suited to the broader, learned public as well. It deftly sketches appropriate historical and political background, providing the context against which architecture needs to be seen and understood. Bergdoll does not skirt complicated political issues, seeing architectural design not simply as a response to structural or pragmatic concerns, but symbolic and narrative ones as well, and frequently a deliberate instrument of power. In describing Vaudoyer's unrealized project for the Sorbonne, for example, he describes how Vaudoyer aimed at transforming it not only into a testimonial to the importance and prestige of one of Europe's oldest universities but also as a palatial monument to centralized state education, loaded with political meaning; at the same time, architecturally he tried to reconcile the seemingly conflicting goals of designing an urban monument that

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spoke at once of its prestigious past and the lofty ideals of the modern educational institution. Writing in a lucid, straightforward, often eloquent manner, with technical terms clearly and consistently defined, Bergdoll transforms what might otherwise be an inaccessible or merely dull subject into something vivid, real, and fascinating.

Although the book should appeal to anyone interested in understanding historicism in the architecture of nineteenth century France, the inner workings of the French architectural system, nineteenth-century architectural practice, and the French academy, it should also prove invaluable to those studying the relationship of architecture and political power.

MEREDITH L. CLAUSEN
University of Washington

MICHAEL B. MILLER. *Shanghai on the Métro: Spies, Intrigue, and the French between the Wars*. (A Centennial Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 448. $35.00.

Espionage and intrique are subjects that few serious historians take on, perhaps less (as Michael B. Miller speculates at the end of his intelligent and dedicated attempt to redress the balance) out of worry that "the *louche* character of these predators might somehow rub off on them" than out of a reluctance to validate the view that spies and adventurers matter as much as either they themselves or their fans and chroniclers may suppose. The popular imagination frequently assigns a weight to conspiracies, intrigue, and shady dealings that sober-minded historians, critical by temperament, judge excessive (if not simply fantastic), and scholars have not often found ways to treat these colorful subjects while still limiting their importance. Miller solves this problem by treating spying, adventure-seeking, and the various forms of journalism and literature that made them a large presence in public consciousness between the two world wars as typical products of the age, and as entry-points into its mood and character. He provides a wide-ranging, fast-paced, sophisticated, and revealing account of matters usually left to less-thoughtful writers.

Miller argues that spies, intriguers, and adventurers played so large a role on the international stage in the 1920s and 1930s because the world that emerged from World War I and the Bolshevik Revolution gave much greater scope and meaning to their activities than before. Spies and spy stories were far from new, to be sure, and the conflicts and anxieties that marked the decades leading up to 1914 sometimes gave them prominence, but the war and its aftermath brought both such activities and interest in them to a higher level. Despite its horrors, the war had been an adventure for many, and accounts of spying and intrigue seemed to crystallize the heroism in a form that remained distant from the carnage; the fact that the war had expanded espionage services and brought them to a higher level of organization, paralleling capitalist modernization elsewhere, made spies more typical and permanent but not less fascinating. But it was above all the new political constellation produced by communism, fascism, the raised ideological temperature of internal politics in countries that escaped these regimes, and the presence of refugees of all sorts (most remarkably the White Russians, passionate, desperate, often corrupt, dreaming and plotting vengeance and return and frequently appearing to others as clowns or fools) that made espionage and intrigue typical features of the age. Add to this the desire of writers and editors for stories that would sell, and the availability of automobiles and airplanes in forms that preserved an aura of heroism and mastery against the looming triumph of mass travel and tourism, all in a frame still set by the persistence of European imperial power and the particular forms of internationalism it fostered, and you have the heady mix out of which Miller draws his history of spying, gun-selling, adventure-seeking, and the literature that was their essential accompaniment.

A short review cannot begin to do justice to the legion of striking characters and stories the book contains, nor to the complex work of separating out islands of fact from seas of fantasy and fiction (both in published accounts and in the archival reports of sometimes gullible or self-dramatizing agents) that Miller has accomplished here. A historian drawn to literary theory might have speculated on the complex relations between the invented and often shifting identities taken on by the people Miller deals with and the "reality effects" they drew on in order to elicit belief in their stories. Miller simply employs a stout common sense to navigate such currents, evoking the romantic pull of the world between the wars, interestingly observing the links between secret agents like Marthe Richard and long-distance pilots like Jean Mermoz, equally heroes of the interwar imagination, and providing an illuminating context for such irresistible stories as that of the "Croisière jaune," the astounding automobile trip from Beirut to Beijing organized by André Citroën and Georges-Marie Haardt, led by Haardt, in 1931–32.

Perhaps Miller has not solved all the problems of writing about his subjects. Despite its thematic coherence, the book retains a certain diffuse quality: because the many, many stories are allowed (properly enough) to have, beyond their intrinsic interest, only an exemplary status as testimonies to what makes espionage and adventure typical of the era (a point the author repeats, I think, too often), some of them become more or less interchangeable and not really essential to making the case. The matters dealt with draw the themes of organization, internationalization, and ideological conflict into new locations, but none of these motifs looks significantly different as a result. Although nominally about France, the book is really an international history, and while this is a virtue, certain general arguments or observations about French policy or the French mood rely too much on

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the special world the book invokes to be entirely persuasive. I am not sure that the French ability to absorb spy stories in a detached way reveals a country less on the edge of crisis than other features of the age may suggest. That the internment policy the French adapted in 1939 grew as much out of the confusions and difficulties that the world of intrigue presented to French officialdom as out of the country's deeper political problems is a more interesting suggestion, but one that needs to be worked into a more focused analysis of how the policy was decided. Yet such doubts are perhaps mere passing issues in a fascinating and moving book that adds much to our sense of what the world between the wars was like.

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PHILIPPE BURRIN. *La France à l'heure allemande 1940–1944*. Paris: Seuil. 1995. Pp. 559. 160 fr.

Philippe Burrin's new history of France "on German time" aims to enlarge and refocus our thinking about collaboration. Uninterested in the old game of naming villains and heroes, Burrin's tone is less polemical than most studies of occupied France, without lapsing into some sort of ethical relativism.

Burrin organizes his book as a series of overlapping circles: first, the development of state policy; second, the life of *petites accommodations*; third, the world of whole-hearted engagement alongside the Nazis. The territory of the first and last sections is familiar, but Burrin adds clarity, detail, and an unerring sense of judgment to what we already know. He writes with precision and great style. His extensive work in German as well as French archives (and he has read the relevant English-language histories) broadens both his empirical base and his perspective. In short, one feels in the hands of a complete master.

Burrin is interested in the behavior of people under difficult but in many ways ambiguous circumstances. The first contacts between *occupant et occupé* were often quite civil. Burrin finds little hatred for *les Boches* at first. German troops impressed the natives with their good manners. The bloom came off this rose soon enough. By the end of that first summer of 1940 the occupation had begun to bite, and the French increasingly settled into living not with importunate visitors but with marauders.

As relations between occupiers and occupied evolved, they were defined by a number of factors: fear and opportunism, of course, but also by individuals' concern to maintain national and personal dignity in their dealings with Germans, and by a natural wish to maintain the appearance of propriety in the eyes of their neighbors and friends. Burrin's analysis of behavior is incisive, but he recognizes how difficult it is to penetrate from public comportment to private sentiment. After all, even resistors had to offer outward compliance.

Burrin's analysis of Vichy's *politique d'etat* is devastating. In its original conception, collaboration was an attempt to use France's remaining assets to cut a better deal with Germany, in expectation of imminent British surrender. In practice, collaboration became a breathless courting of German favor, a complicated exercise in view of two things: first, the number and diversity of occupation authorities; and second, the Germans' sense that they could get most of what they wanted by force, which made the French desire to collaborate beside the point. The Germans soon learned how to squeeze Vichy for concessions merely by threatening to suspend a collaboration they had yet to engage.

The other side of this was that French authorities began to substitute their own initiative for German constraint in order to save the appearance of autonomy. And as its pretenses, and thus its raison d'être, began to fall away by 1942, Vichy drifted toward the "*état milicien*." There was, Burrin concludes, no "double game," whereby Vichy sacrificed some things to save *l'essentiel*. In the end, collaboration finished by making Vichy less France's "shield" against Germany than Hitler's against the Allies.

Burrin's final section, "Engagement," provides a rich if unsurprising look at the rogue's gallery of real *collabos*—autonomists, ideologues, volunteers for the Eastern Front, *miliciens*, journalists, and politicians—the whole sordid, ambitious world of Parisian fascists.

The most interesting part of Burrin's story, however, is what he calls accommodation, that "vast gray zone" inhabited by the mass of the French population: those who took German lovers, bought black-market goods, administered Jewish property, undertook to learn German, or simply obeyed the law. Of the elite and powerful Burrin tells a complex story. Businessmen dealt with the Germans because they had to, but business as a whole did not prosper from collaboration. Finance made out better, but more out of the economic conjuncture than through any ardor for Nazism. Burrin offers a more damning portrayal of church authorities, whose anticommunism made them rather too understanding of German depradations. About the execution of hostages, the deportation of resistors, and the persecution of the Jews they said nothing.

This survey of "accommodation" is full of fascinating cameos and demonstrations of how circumstances could warp ethical judgment, even among the relatively well intentioned. Thus, the Nobel laureat in chemistry, Frédéric Joliot-Curie, lent his laboratory to the German atomic research program to save it from being closed down. Burrin also recounts the ugly dispute between Lucien Febvre and his co-founder of the journal *Annales*, Marc Bloch, as Febvre tried to convince Bloch (a Jew) to allow his name to be dropped from the editorial board so that the Germans would let *Annales* appear in the occupied zone.

Burrin succeeds wonderfully in removing collabora-

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tion from the conceptual grip of purges and apologia. But it still is not a pretty picture he paints.

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KRISTIN ROSS. *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture*. (October Books.) Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. 1995. Pp. x, 261. $27.50.

"Magical" is an adjective frequently employed to hype commercial book sales. This book could be advertized as magical, not because it is so enticing but because it practices the art of illusion.

Kristin Ross takes the "prehistory of postmodernism" (p. 13) in France as her subject and construes it to be the product of what she calls "capitalist modernization." She uses this socioeconomic abstraction to tie together almost every cultural development from the mid–1950s to the mid–1960s, including cars, laundry detergent, cinema, women's magazines, the new novel, the *Annales* school, and structuralism. Even the war in Algeria fits.

Only magic can relate all these phenomena. The unwary reader may mistake the illusion of argumentation for its reality. Ross tries to establish relationships by techniques like juxtaposition, assertion, metaphor, and parallel discourse. By such verbal sleight of hand the author invents connections.

Ross asks, for example, what is the relationship between decolonization and modernization? She answers that "the colonies are in some sense replaced" by the modern household and "the effort that once went into maintaining and disciplining a colonial people and situation becomes instead concentrated on a particular 'level' of metropolitan existence: everyday life" (p. 77). But how could Ross, or any historian, prove such a psychic transference occurred? This is simple speculation. Similarly, Ross conjures a parallel between modern housekeeping and the torture employed by the French Army in Algeria. The military's "torture factories," she says, are "the perverse double of a newly Taylorized French notion of keeping house" (p. 121), and she notes that bathtubs and electricity, symbols of the modern home, became means of cruel interrogation in Algeria. But this "perverse double" is grotesque make-believe; there was no relationship other than what she infers by juxtaposing housekeeping and torture. "Convergent discourses" is yet another technique she uses to tie decolonization and modernization. Ross observes that the Muslim rebels in Algeria and French business in the metropole employed the same word, *cadres*. But such verbal juggling proves nothing except that organizations are staffed by *cadres*. In principle she errs by assuming that simultaneous developments are causally interdependent.

In the case of finding other relationships, Ross asserts or gratuitously associates. For example, she asserts that the French answer to the challenge of the American and Soviet social models was the happy Gallic couple. But she has no evidence for this claim except for a certain vogue of boy-meets-girl films and the public images of prominent couples like Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, neither of which proves that the French thought the couple was their response to the Americans or the Soviets. In similar fashion Ross writes: "structuralism and Annales-school historiography, cannot be separated from the ideology of capitalist modernization" (p. 190). Such an assertion is reductionist in the extreme.

Juxtaposition of phenomena, inference of a relationship by parallel discourse, imagined logic, assertion, and free association are no substitute for analysis and evidence. For Ross, evidence relies on film scripts and novel plots even when other empirical evidence is available. She writes, for example, "when modernization has run its course national subjectivity takes the place of class" (p. 149). Yet she offers no hard data about social class or perceptions of class or national identity, and she ignores relevant scholarship on the subject. In general her study startles, confounds, distorts, and misleads.

Ross also fails in her appointed task of understanding the complex process of modernization. Locating the motive for modernization in replacing empire, or craving for hygiene, or searching for functional rationality is not instructive. How, for example, would such motives explain why the Germans traveled the same path toward consumer society at the same time? Her indictment emits a stale aroma from the 1960s. Henri Lefebvre is her inspiration, and her sympathies lie with critics like the Situationists. Anti-imperialist, anticapitalist, and antitechnocratic ardor permeates her study. We are told, for example, that the "democracy of consumption" is really the "newest form of bourgeois democracy, the alibi of a class society" (p. 13). And we learn that "the primary victims" of capitalist modernization are "women, the elderly, the young, the working class, the traditional petite bourgeoisie, immigrants, the peasantry, intellectuals, and other cultural elites" (p. 96). One wonders how France managed to modernize. Finally, her eagerness to indict modernization leads her to conclude that "the logic of exclusion has its origins in the ideology of capitalist modernization." The French, by insisting that empire was extraneous to their history and by substituting the ideal of unlimited growth, formed "the basis of the neoracist consensus of today" (p. 196). These are polemics, not history, and I take exception to her allegation that the French are neoracists.

Speculation about historical relationships fails when the author has not mastered the essentials. What confidence does a reader have in a study that repeats interpretive errors corrected by recent scholarship, for example, the nature of the Léon Blum–Jimmy Byrnes accord; that renders erroneous definitions, such as the French nineteenth-century bourgeoisie, which she thinks are defined "above all by the simple fact of not working" (p. 175); that makes factual mistakes, for example, that all Algerians were citizens under the empire (p. 153); and that cannot spell François Mit-

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terrand's name correctly? The reader has good reason to doubt this book's pretensions.

This volume could have been a delightful read. Historians might have learned how film, novels, songs, and ads explain social and cultural phenomena. But Ross spoils her study by indulging her imagination and her indignation. Historians can ignore this book.

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FLORIKE EGMOND. *Underworlds: Organized Crime in the Netherlands, 1650–1800*. Cambridge, Mass.: Polity, in association with Blackwell. 1993. Pp. x, 256. $49.95.

One of the benefits derived from historical knowledge lies in the challenge it invariably presents to our most cherished stereotypes. Late in the twentieth century, Americans may have trouble recognizing as criminals men and women who worked exclusively in rural settings. They bonded in ethnic clans and were not loners; they remained unrepentant over several generations, trained not by peers but by their parents. They could be Jewish as well as "heathen" (that is, gypsy) and Christian. Finally, for the most part these Dutch criminals were interested in stealing things they could eat or wear although they could also be violent and sadistic. Dozens of such rural bands of early modern criminals based in The Netherlands over two centuries are described in great detail in Florike Egmond's study. They spurned the cities, possessed distinctive skills needed for isolated settings, and had names like Piet Pair of Shoes, Hollow-eyed Hendrik, Pistols Bram, Prince Carel, and Black Cas. Men, women, and children plied their criminal trades in a band that could number thirty to forty people, with an extended family at its center. For the most part each band stayed in its local territory, with southern Brabant and the Antwerp area having criminals who were quite distinct from those at work in the north, in Holland and its environs.

Whereas high culture of the eighteenth century may have championed the cosmopolitan and urban as ideals, the lowest orders strictly adherred to centuries-old identities that prevented the formation of a "dangerous or subversive criminal counter-society or counter-culture . . . in the Dutch Republic" (p. 181). Foreign wars fought in the Low Countries increased the numbers and violence of such groups, and while they were uniformly poor, the ebbs and flows of poverty cycles do not correlate with their most intense and outrageous activity. In Egmond's account the changes between 1650 and 1800 were on the whole minor: gypsies largely disappeared by the 1720s, violence was more common in the south, some loosening of the ethnic ties occurred by the 1790s, and Jewish bands were distinctively strong in the eighteenth century. The authorities classified all bands as low forms of life, morally as well as legally depraved, and they dished out punishments that ranged from imprisonment, flogging, and scorching by fire (for those who burned down houses where lives were threatened or lost), to hanging and breaking on the rack. Grandparents, parents, and then children could meet these fates generation by generation and still remain loyal to band and district.

This is a good book, superbly researched in local archives, tending toward the monograph rather than the general study. It is somewhat long on details and short on speculation or explanation. Perhaps the question of why such groups formed and persisted so long could only have been answered by bringing the study up to the moment of their disappearance. The Netherlands now has one of the lowest crime rates in the industrialized world and the countryside still has towns and villages where people do not always lock their doors. Clearly a massive change occurred with, or after, industrialization. This book offers one-half of the story of crime in the Low Countries. We must await its sequel until all the questions it raises are satisfactorily answered.

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JAMES M. BOYDEN. *The Courtier and the King: Ruy Gómez de Silva, Philip II, and the Court of Spain*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. x, 239. $35.00.

James M. Boyden presents us with a compact, well-written, and attractively produced biography of Philip II's famous favorite to help us sort out the many complex issues surrounding the political activities of the Prince of Éboli, as Ruy Gómez de Silva is usually known. The book consists of a first part in which Boyden shows how, through personal contact with the prince-heir and then monarch, a minor Portuguese noble could become the principal figure in Philip's government; and a second part in which he explains how Ruy Gómez skillfully converted this favoritism into a solid position for his family among Castile's territorial aristocracy. Unfortunately, Boyden chooses to squeeze his research into the defective paradigms of absolutism and state-building, although his own treatment of personal interactions at court calls for a discussion of the exercise of monarchical authority in other, more productive terms.

Boyden confronts directly the major interpretive problems of Philip's reign as they relate to Ruy Gómez. He convincingly demolishes all hypotheses attributing long duration, great stability, and broad scope to the larger groupings put together by various patrons at court. Because there were no "parties" surrounding Éboli and the duke of Alba, these entities could not have determined Habsburg policy toward Philip's domains in the Low Countries, nor could they have survived Ruy Gómez's death in 1573. Rather than depending on stable factions or articulated political programs, the famous animosity between Ruy Gómez and Alba was founded on Ruy Gómez's demand for

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social recognition based on the king's friendship and Alba's deeply entrenched view of the importance of birth and a family tradition of royal service as essential attributes for an adviser to a monarch. Boyden should, however, have responded to the hypothesis of José Martínez Millán and his research team that there were identifiable groups divided by religious outlook around these two prominent court figures.

Treating Philip's personality as he matured from a young heir-apparent to the lord of vast domains afflicted by severe fiscal and military problems, Boyden reinforces, against the somewhat revisionist picture drawn by M. A. Rodríguez-Salgado, the view of Philip as a diffident youth. His essentially reclusive personality first opened the path for the rise of an accomplished courtier like Ruy Gómez and then led the monarch to shape his role as secretary-king in ways that narrowed the political space available to his more socially inclined friend. Faced with *grandee* resentment of his upstart status and the gradual withdrawal of Philip's daily personal contact, on which his position had been based, Ruy Gómez worked to transform the largess obtained through royal favor, including valuable contacts established through socially advantageous marriages for himself and his daughter, into the foundation of the estate that would make him, just before his death, duke of Pastrana and a Castilian *grandee*. Although Boyden discusses how such a lordship could be assembled, one wishes he had provided more information about Ruy Gómez's use of his still potent personal influence with Philip to win over his aristocratic relatives and friends with royal favors.

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John Lawrence Tone. *The Fatal Knot: The Guerrilla War in Navarre and the Defeat of Napoleon in Spain*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 239. $34.95.

John Lawrence Tone has written an important monograph based primarily on the provincial and national archives of Spain, as well as the Archives de la guerre in France. The first two chapters analyze the demographic, political, social, economic, and religious elements of society in Navarre, emphasizing the differences between the two basic areas of the province—the Montãna and the Ribera—and their contributions to the war effort. From a partially completed survey compiled after the war, the author explains just who the guerrillas were by carefully extrapolating on the material to determine age, profession, and regional representation of the various guerrillas.

In detailing the activities of the guerrillas, their tactics, strategy, logistical support, economic base, and leadership, this study introduces new and important information. Tone describes the struggle between the guerrillas and French for the support of the civilians, demonstrating that a large percentage of the bourgeoisie and upper classes, concerned about social order and private property, considered the guerrillas to be bandits. Indeed, they had good reason to fear the guerrillas because several bands were no more than gangs of thugs that murdered and pillaged the populace rather than the French. Consequently, legitimate guerrilla bands brutalized the peasants unmercifully to gain their cooperation. The image of the guerrillas portrayed by the author is not pretty; they were violent and ruthless, inflicting death and destruction on anyone who opposed them.

The guerrilla bands had several notable leaders, including Javier Mina and his uncle, Francisco Espoz y Mina. Tone traces their efforts to mobilize Navarre, especially the Montaña, and the adjoining provinces against the French. Through an extensive support network, Espoz organized the highly successful division of Navarre, which ultimately gained the initiative and killed or captured over 16,000 French troops within a three-year period.

Although this is a first-rate study, it would have been improved significantly with a few well-placed maps. The text, moreover, includes some statements that are difficult to substantiate. Explaining that French propaganda encouraged barbarous treatment of the Spanish as subhumans is contrary to the actual correspondence of most French commanders and diarists; in fact, this treatment was a direct response to the barbarity of the guerrillas. It would also be difficult to sustain the thesis that the French soldiers sent to Spain were "inspired . . . by the promise of booty" (pp. 146–47). Was there no interest in serving their country or emperor? With the unsustainable comment that it "seems reasonable" the guerrillas of Navarre inflicted 50,000 casualties on the French (p. 222), Tone claims this figure was "about three-fourths of the number of casualties produced by Wellington in all of his battles" (p. 177). Battles alone do not tell the story. When André Masséna invaded Portugal in 1810, he lost not only 5,000 men at Bussaco but also more than 25,000 in the campaign. Nevertheless, this is a thoughtful and provocative book that makes effective use of original documents and raises many new and significant issues about the role of the guerrillas. It is an excellent first book.

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George Esenwein and Adrian Shubert. *Spain at War: The Spanish Civil War in Context, 1931–1939*. New York: Longman. 1995. Pp. xi, 313.

Shirley Mangini. *Memories of Resistance: Women's Voices from the Spanish Civil War*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 226. $25.00.

The two books under review, each excellent in different ways, both have the Spanish Civil War as their themes, but they diverge drastically in their focus.

George Esenwein and Adrian Shubert seek to demythologize the Spanish Civil War. Their view is that it was the first European war in which propaganda

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"played a central role both in defining the aims and overall objectives of the opposing sides and in shaping the understanding of its historical significance" (p. 243). This assertion may seem questionable in light of World War I and the Russian Revolution, but it is supported by an excellent section entitled "Winning the War of Propaganda" that may in part make the case. Although the civil war was debated in mythic terms by the Left Book Club and dozens of Comintern organizations on the Left, the *Catholic Pilot* and similar publications on the Right had the advantage of continuing propaganda from the 1940s to the 1960s. One example not mentioned in the book was Francisco Franco's own cultural ministry, whose defense of *la cruzada*, the regime's crusade against the Left, led them to critically annotate all work on the civil war done throughout the world in a grotesque mockery of the historical review as propaganda. The review was sent worldwide to anyone who had ever written on Spain or shown the slightest interest in the country.

Esenwein and Shubert are critical of the historical profession's slowness to abandon the doctrinaire issues of the civil war, but given the Franco regime's long survival, it is not surprising that cold warriors such as Arthur Whitaker (*Spain and Defense of the West: Ally and Liability* [1961]) pushed aside reconsideration of the civil war to rehabilitate Franco and sanitize him as an ally of the United States. On the Left, willingness to believe ill of the Soviet Union and its allies came slowly, which led to the initial rejection of the anti–Popular Front revisionism of Burnett Bolletin (with whom Esenwein worked for seven years).

Since the 1960s, however, new research on the civil war has been prodigious. But it is Esenwein and Shubert's assertion that the old political issues of the conflict obscure more fundamental reasons of discord. They concentrate on the purely national complexities that drove Spain into civil war. In doing so, they face the general problem of peninsular diversity. Spaniards have no common nationalist ideology; basic European nationalism never has existed as a force in the modern history of Spain. Neither the historic principalities nor the Habsburg and Bourbon monarchies organically knit Spain together with deep emotional passion, although the Reconquest version of Catholicism came closest. When Spaniards finally acknowledged this diversity in the Constitution of 1978, eighteen regions composed of fifty provinces emerged with far greater autonomy than the departments of neighboring France.

Another of the special national factors that made the civil war uniquely Spanish, according to Esenwein and Shubert, was the tangled problem of the Catholic church. From 1812 on, liberals had sought to strip the church of its estates; 1937 marked the centenary of their most successful effort. This loss of wealth and power caused the church's demoralization and bitterness. Esenwein and Shubert portray well the condition of ecclesiastical affairs, although more on the fascinating anticlericalism of peasants and workers would have been welcome. I also wish actual participants had been cited, rather than what historians have said about them.

Regionalism, also fairly unique to Spain, is studied by comparing efforts to devolve made by Catalonia, the Basque Provinces, and Navarre. Regionalism is an engrossing topic, still too seldom found in the literature on Spain, and this was to me one of the best parts of the book. I would have welcomed greater space and only wish the tortured pursuit of regional autonomy by Galicia also was covered here (the only index reference to Galicia in this section seems to be missing).

The third aspect of difference was Spain's slow social evolution, considerably behind the rest of Europe. Shubert's earlier publications on Spanish social history are already well known, and this work's comprehensive coverage of social conflict in the 1930s is the best short treatment in print. There is some welcome new information on radical peasant organizations, although Edward Malefakis's much earlier (and far larger) work still remains standard.

A narrative history of the civil war follows. Although this narration is crisp, up to date, and original, keyed on following regional, religious, and social issues through the warfare from 1936 to 1939, it necessarily involves international issues and movements, which somewhat dwarfs the chief topics. Esenwein and Shubert do such a good job in the first part of their book that I did not welcome the second part, excellent as it is.

The other work under review is Shirley Mangini's new book. Mangini begins by surveying the bleak social circumstances of Spanish women in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including a useful introduction to feminist activists such as Victoria Kent, Clara Campoamor, María Teresa León, Constancia de la Mora, Isabel Oyarzábal de Palencia, Maria Lejárraga (María Martínez Sierra), and Marisa Bravo, women who began the struggle against the psychological condition of abnegation that arose from their historic subordination. How they did so is not always clear, and the actual social penalties they faced are less well described, but this is not a narrative social history so much as a personal encounter with a generation of activists. Mangini also relies heavily on the women's own voices, which excludes a long-running narrative of purely historical commentary.

Mangini's chapter on the Second Republic develops the feminist role in this five-year period with accuracy and interest, particularly in following the unsuccessful political career of Campoamor and the more successful one of Margarita Nelken, a half-German socialist who often occupied the forefront of feminist advances and failures during the republican era. Nelken's life during this period, which I have written about in *European Women on the Left* (1981), strikes me as crucial to the era, and Mangini does a much more thorough job than I did of introducing her to English-speaking audiences and in pointing out how her sexuality made her politically inappropriate as a national

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spokesperson. As a consequence, only the half-English Victoria Kent, the Communist Dolores Ibárruri, and the anarchist Federica Montseny were able to occupy national leadership roles when the civil war broke out.

Kent has never been seriously studied until now in the United States, and while Shirley Fredricks and I have written about Montseny, Mangini's version is more enlightening. Ibárruri was her own biographer, and so well known was the communist leader that she became deeply ensnared in the saint/whore dichotomy of the female Hispanic archetype. The difficulties of these leading Spanish activists were not unlike those faced by the rank-and-file militants studied in Martha Ackelsberg's *Free Women of Spain: Anarchism and the Struggle for Emancipation of Women* (1991), but Mangini's focus is on the leadership cadre of Spanish women because they wrote and have left us such a revealing record. Anyone wishing to better understand Kent, Ibárruri, or Nelken should consult this work.

The last section of Mangini's book continues into our own times, when Spanish society changed so dramatically that the coming of the constitutional monarchy in 1975–76 foreshadowed the great changes experienced in Eastern Europe after 1989. The great device in this book is its use of memory texts such as oral testimonies, diaries, autobiographies, and letters. Anyone who has dealt with personal materials in the pursuit of Spanish social history can only credit this effort as breathtakingly good, better than earlier oral projects on the period. Part of the facility shown is no doubt due to Mangini's expertise as a linguist: not all historians are as trustworthy in translating personal narration as is a specialist in literature, and this work's reliability of translation is, I think, very high. The memories of the civil war and postwar oppression recounted are authentic, polished just enough to make the book a much better read, and it is edited with insight.

The chapter "Toward a Theory of Memory Texts" examines the ideas of Gerda Lerner, Estelle Jelinik, and Robert Jay Lifton to provide perspective in analyzing the brief "flash of freedom" women experienced in the civil war. Mangini calls their postwar condition "colonized," and their prison memoirs provide a collective testimonial of abnegation. She compares the autobiographies by Ibárruri and Constancia de la Mora, communists from different social origins, as an introduction to the prison texts of incarcerated Spanish women from the late postwar era. The themes of this larger body of memory illustrate the still-wounded condition of Spanish women.

Mangini's book does not describe all aspects of the situation. The impact on women of the Right, for example, may in time be described more thoroughly by Aurora Morcillo, but this was not Mangini's intent. Religious women, female members of the Falange, and women of the middle and upper classes still await their historians, but it would be hard to believe their stories could be more stirring.

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Lee Palmer Wandel. *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands: Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 205. $39.95.

Historians, writes Lee Palmer Wandel, have been led by Peter Burke's "two-tiered model of culture" to read iconoclasm "as the response of the laity to preachers, as the extension into action of the perceptions and attitudes of theologians" (p. 9). To counter this, she reinterprets iconoclastic actions in Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel as "a form of 'speaking'" that may have "contributed to the preachers' and the magistrates' understanding of the place of images in traditional worship" and that will enrich our understanding of "the relation between the images in the churches and 'Reformation'" (p. 10). Focusing on actions, she eschews close readings of the images attacked and their prior usage, fifteenth and sixteenth-century sermons and pamphlets about images, as well as connections between towns or between iconoclasts and rebellious peasants, in favor of anthropologically inspired interpretations of sixteenth-century iconoclasm prefaced by a discussion of the influential defense of images written by John of Damascus before 754.

The brevity of Wandel's book complicates a basic problem with sources. Even in the chapter devoted to Zurich, where Wandel's archival access enriches an interpretation of events "thicker" than Charles Garside's (*Zwingli and the Arts* [1966]), the reader seeking the sort of dialogue between preachers and people Wandel herself constructed in *Always Among Us* (1990) must return to Garside for summaries of pamphlets and published sermons. For Strasbourg, her dependence primarily on accounts written "some seventy years after the events" and fragmented still further before their publication at the end of the nineteenth century (p. 109) makes unsurprising her conclusion that "for the chroniclers the focus of attack was significant not through reference to particular saints, donors . . . It was not what they represented, but what objects themselves were, qua objects—their genus not their species—that was significant" (p. 139). But Wandel attributes to the iconoclasts themselves a similar lack of concern for the meaning attached to individual objects. "The aggravating idol in the chapel," "the silver idol behind the altar in the choir," "the idolatrous spectre of the Mount of Olives," and "the idols that are more a mockery than an honor to Saint Anne"—all "idols" (*Götzen*) described in a complaint written in March 1525—"for the most part, seem not to have been representative art" (pp. 119–20). The words themselves undermine that conclusion; the actions iconoclasts took on April 1 speak louder than words. Wandel associates their removal of the image

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of the Virgin from an altar dedicated to her with that altar's cost and its possible competition with the high altar "at which masses were read for all the laity, not merely those who could donate" (pp. 121–23), that is, with reforming the economy of salvation. The iconoclasts, however, replaced the Virgin's image with a crucifix, suggesting that it was the Virgin's role as mediator rather than money expended or knees bent that offended them. This is not to deny that iconoclasts often sought to redirect the economy of salvation; curiously, as she redirects our attention Wandel ignores the links connecting some iconoclasm in Strasbourg (Miriam Usher Chrisman, *Strasbourg and the Reform* [1967]; Lorna Jane Abray, *People's Reformation* [1985]) and Basel (Hans R. Guggisberg, *Basel in the Sixteenth Centuty* [1982]) to the peasant unrest in 1524–25.

"Iconoclasts," Wandel insists, "entered] with their acts into dialogue with medieval theologians' discussions of the relation between images and divinity" (p. 192). If the complexity of that dialogue makes it impossible to capture even one side of it in 200 pages, Wandel has at least prodded us to continue the debate.

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ROBERT SOUTHARD. *Droysen and the Prussian School of History*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1995. pp. viii, 247. $39.95.

Few historians have experienced the collision of politics and scholarship as directly or intensely as did the group of German scholars in the middle of the nineteenth century known collectively as the "Prussian school." Robert Southard's study provides a close account of this collision in the experience of some of this school's leading representatives: J. G. Droysen in the first instance, but also Max Duncker, Rudolf Haym, and Heinrich von Sybel. Their view of history, Southard argues, was in most cases indebted to a reading (or misreading) of G. W. F. Hegel; it was grounded in the belief that contemporary politics was a predictable process, that the present was hostage to the teleologies of historical development, which prescribed in particular the achievement of German national unity. This confidence collapsed amid the upheavals of 1848–49, in which several of these scholars were active participants. The dashing of their hopes for unification was registered in new accents in their scholarship, which emphasized the contingencies of history and the efficacy of military power.

As Southard himself admits, this is an old-fashioned history that features ideas and historical narration. The study displays both the virtues and deficiencies of the genre. Its strength lies in a lucid and intelligent analysis of Droysen's meditations on politics and history, particularly during the turbulent months of 1848, which he spent in Frankfurt. Here Southard provides an almost day-by-day account of the historian's intellectual evolution.

The account does not, however, present a lot of new material. The analysis is based on published sources, and it reads, as Southard also acknowledges, like a dilation on parts of Leonard Krieger's *German Idea of Freedom* (1957). It is also relentlessly narrow. Southard pays scant attention to the multiple contexts—professional, intellectual, confessional, political, and even biographical—in which the story was played out. The reader interested in the broader framework will prefer to consult the work of other scholars, such as Jorn Rüsen's work (*Begriffene Geschichte* [1969]) on Droysen. Southard's neglect of context also raises questions about the definition of the "school" of historians who are the subjects of the intellectual migration described in the book. Droysen occupies the lead role and the others appear much more incidentally. The absence of Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann from the account (on the grounds that he was not significantly influenced by Hegel) seems as incongruous as the truncated presence of Sybel (who was not significantly influenced by Hegel, either). In the end, the central questions treated in this study are psychological; its principal theme is the intellectual resolution of what might be characterized as Droysen's cognitive dissonance. Given this narrow framework, however, it is a good story.

ROGER CHICKERING
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ÉVA FORGÁCS. *The Bauhaus Idea and Bauhaus Politics*. Translated by JOHN BÁTKI. New York: Central European University Press; distributed by Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 237. Cloth $49.00, paper $19.95.

Writing in the spring of 1989, Éva Forgács, a professor of art history at the Hungarian Academy of Arts and Design, sought in this study to find "a useful model of a democratic community seeking a precarious balance in a world of power politics" (p. 3). To this end, she examines the interplay between the idea and ideals of the Bauhaus and the political realities, both internal and external, in which the Bauhaus functioned. Her narrative begins before World War I, with the Werkbund controversy over means to raise the quality of industrial mass production; she then moves through the utopian idealism of craft-oriented and communal art forms in the immediate postwar period; she follows this with the decisive turn to unite art and technology in 1923 that finally resulted in the successful creation of Bauhaus designs in architecture and the applied arts. The major actors in this narrative are the successive directors of the Bauhaus (Walter Gropius, Hannes Meyer, Mies Van der Rohe) and the faculty (especially Wassily Kandinsky, Lyonel Feininger, Oskar Schlemmer, and Paul Klee). The central defining controversy, to which Forgács devotes careful attention, was the conflict that reached its height in 1921 between Gropius and Johannes Itten, who upheld a romantic

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individualistic creativity against Gropius's pragmatism in maneuvering within the changing political and economic pressures surrounding the Bauhaus.

As the most significant and influential artistic institution of Weimar Germany, the Bauhaus symbolized the struggle, success, and ultimate destruction of avant-garde ideas and forms. This story has been frequently well told and widely documented. Drawing heavily on the large number of exceptionally strong monographs and published document collections, as well as Bauhaus archives, Forgács retells the story with considerable verve, focusing on personalities and ideas, not on the objects or buildings produced. She includes in her study references to publications from countries formerly behind the Iron Curtain, although these do not particularly alter our knowledge of the Bauhaus.

What is noteworthy, however, considering the context in which the book was written, is the centrality in Forgács's tale of "spirit of the age" as the driving force and determining factor in events. Defining "the polarization of artistic individuality versus the increasing depersonalization of mass production" (p. 8) as one of the fundamental conflicts of our age, Forgács arques frequently and flamboyantly that the spirit of the age—embodied in tides, waves, currents—shaped the outcome of conflicts. She writes, for example, "Itten was backed by the spirit of the age . . . while Gropius . . . always stayed outside it" (p. 56), but later she asserts that Gropius was the victor because "the higher historical forces evidently had a say in the outcome of this episode in the eternal struggle of the two principles" (p. 78). Although this language provides a passionate and perhaps timely narrative, it also becomes a convenient vehicle for encompassing frequent contradictions in her interpretations. She is, for example, consistently critical of Gropius, for his accomodation to changing political and economic realities and for his abandonment of the utopian dreams of 1919, when he turned to industrial production. Yet, at the same time, in her final comparison of the Soviet VKhUTEMAS (Higher Artistic-Technical Studios) and the Bauhaus, she exalts the Bauhaus alternative precisely because it did accomodate mass production and produce a new liberal consumer utopia.

Beth Irwin Lewis
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Michael Burleigh. *Death and Deliverance: "Euthanasia" in Germany c. 1900–1945*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 382. Cloth $59.95, paper $18.95.

In the 1930s Stuttgart pianist Margarethe Klinckerfuss was confined to various insane asylums after having heckled Reich Youth Leader Baldur von Schirach during a public speech. She survived the war in a sanatorium called Christophsbad, under the care of a sympathetic physician who successfully resisted roving commandos sent to select patients for "euthanasia" gassings. Klinckerfuss's story is missing from Michael Burleigh's history of Nazi "euthanasia" crimes from 1939 to 1945, but the unique status of Christophsbad is well detailed. This carefully researched and impressively documented chronicle complements and surpasses all previous studies on the subject, notably the pacesetting work of Ernst Klee.

Burleigh's thematic parameters are sterilization on the one side and the Holocaust on the other. He demonstrates the interlocking of sterilization ideology and practice in Germany long before 1933, going back to "euthanasia" as it was first propounded seriously in the infamous tract, *Die Freigabe der Vernichtung lebensunwerten Lebens: Ihr Mass und ihre Form*, by Karl Binding and Alfred Hoche in 1920. There are more than just hints of the Holocaust in these earlier developments, as Burleigh makes clear when he recounts the redeployment of "euthanasia" personnel first in eastern mobile killing commandos and then in stationary camps such as Sobibor. New to me were details about such commandos set up on the Dalmatian coast around Trieste with a triple function: to kill persons with "lives unworthy of life" (as the Nazi slogan had it), to destroy partisans, and to murder Italian Jews. In all, this book brings to a rather well-known story more material on victims, perpetrators, and innocent bystanders, based in part on such evidence as interviews conducted with survivors on both sides of the fence.

There are two highlights. One is Burleigh's excellent treatment of the "euthanasia" films made for propaganda purposes. Except for the notoriously well-known "I Accuse" by Wolfgang Liebeneiner, these films were little used, in part because they were amateurish and thought to be counterproductive for propaganda purposes. It is to Burleigh's credit that he was able to discover and analyze this hitherto unknown footage. The other highlight is his account of the fates of "euthanasia" perpetrators after 1945, a truly demoralizing story. Burleigh shows that, except for the few kingpins executed after due process of law, "euthanasia" administrators either got off free or received light prison sentences. This phenomenon must be viewed against the larger canvas of judicial neglect that characterized the German attitude to Nazi crimes large and small, a history that to this day remains unwritten.

In two respects I found Burleigh's book disappointing. One concerns the less than fastidious editing. Umlauts are placed where they should not be (Blöbel; Innsbrück; Rüttke); or names and geographic terms are misspelled (Trauenstein instead of Traunstein, Bavaria). Some names are missing from the index, and the print quality often is unacceptable, with parts of entire words missing.

My other reservation is more serious. It has to do with Burleigh's blanket treatment of "euthanasia" killers as deranged or marginal people. For instance, he twice emphasizes the homosexual inclinations of Dr. Werner Heyde (also known as Sawade) as a constituent element of that physician's medical and

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personal perversity. Nonmedical, technical personnel such as truck drivers or SS warriors are frequently characterized as brutal or insensitive bullies without further probing. Criminal euthanasia as practiced under Hitler was, however, a function of the prevailing medical culture, as were most of the medical experiments of Josef Mengele in Auschwitz. Although this does not make the physicians any less responsible for their deeds, it has to be remembered that they had been conditioned in the direction of forced sterilization, "euthanasia," and finally selection on the ramp by decades of university teaching directed by a wayward medical *Zeitgeist*. Newer studies of the Wehrmacht, as a group separate from the SS, show that any army soldier was prone to committing war crimes given the right combination of circumstances, without being predisposed to amoral behavior in civilian life. Burleigh's stereotyping of perpetrator biographies obfuscates more complicated issues. The differentiated approach he has used to good effect in portraying the victims could have done much to explain why "euthanasia" staff acted as they did.

MICHAEL H. KATER
York University

BURKHARD ASMUSS. *Republik ohne Chance? Akzeptanz und Legitimation der Weimarer Republik in der deutschen Tagespresse zwischen 1918 und 1923*. (Beiträge zur Kommunikationsgeschichte, number 3.) New York: Walter de Gruyter. 1994. Pp. xviii, 619. DM 280.

The role the German press played in the delegitimation of the Weimar Republic has long been a topic of intense historical scrutiny. Not only have historians rightly attributed much of the difficulty the republic experienced in winning the support of the more moderate elements on the German Right to the corrosive antirepublican crusade of Alfred Hugenberg's press empire, but they have also shown how the weakness and declining influence of the liberal and democratic press left the republic exposed to attack from the radical Right. Burkhard Asmuss's study adds to this already impressive body of secondary literature by concentrating on the first phase in the history of the republic, the years from 1919 to 1923.

Asmuss selects eight representative newspapers, one from each of the major camps that dotted Germany's political landscape in the first years of the Weimar Republic: the racist and militantly antirepublican *Völkischer Beobachter*, acquired by the Nazi Party in 1921; the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* from the more conservative wing of the liberal-democratic camp; Hugenberg's *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*; the prorepublican Ullstein tabloid *BZ am Mittag*; *Germania*, the organ of the German Center Party; the left-liberal *Frankfurter Zeitung*; the Social Democratic *Vorwärts*, and the Communist Party's *Die Rote Fahne*. He then examines how each of these papers responded to six major crises in the early history of the Weimar Republic: the trauma of defeat and revolution in 1918–19; the Treaty of Versailles; the Kapp Putsch in the spring of 1920; the assassination of Matthias Erzberger in August 1921; the assassination of Foreign Minister Walther Rathenau in June 1922; and finally Adolf Hitler's abortive beer-hall putsch in November 1923. Asmuss thus documents the erosion of what little popular legitimacy the Weimar Republic enjoyed in the immediate postwar period, to the point that by the end of 1923 the survival of the republic was in doubt.

As useful as Asmuss's study is as a source of information on the political orientation of the eight newspapers he has selected for review, his conclusions seem almost trivial in light of the evidence he has compiled. To conclude that the legitimacy of Germany's new republican order was severely compromised by both the revolutionary trauma that accompanied its birth and the national humilitation it suffered at the hands of the victorious Entente is to repeat commonplaces about the failure of Weimar democracy that no one would seriously question. To argue as well that the fate of the republic was decided in large part by its failure to win over the support of Germany's functional elites is to offer more of the same. Asmuss's argument would have been better served had he shown how Germany's functional elites managed to gain increasing control over the popular press from 1919 to 1923 and how, once they had achieved this control, they were able to use it to frustrate the popular legitimation of Germany's fledgling parliamentary democracy. By restricting himself to the analysis of the public positions of eight newspapers, Asmuss also misses an opportunity to address the far more interesting complex of questions surrounding the role that economic power played in the formation of public opinion. The result is a work that leaves much to be desired both in its analytical strategy and its conclusions.

LARRY EUGENE JONES
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A. J. NICHOLLS. *Freedom with Responsibility: The Social Market Economy in Germany, 1918–1963*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 422. $45.00.

This book is a valuable contribution to post–1945 German history, but also one that demonstrates the difficulties of combining intellectual and political history on the one hand and economic history on the other. There was, of course, no social market economy in Germany between 1918 and 1963, and much of A. J. Nicholls's attention is taken up with the development of the neo-liberal generation of economists and their ideas during the Weimar Republic and through the National Socialist period, when neo-liberal ideas were anathema, until the post–1945 economic reconstruction when their ideas could finally be put into practice under the guiding hand of Ludwig Erhard.

Nicholls's collective biography of this liberal economic group, which included Walter Eucken, Wilhelm

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Röpke, Alexander Rüstow, Franz Böhm, Alfred Müller-Armack, and Erhard himself, is well done. He demonstrates the emergence of an important school of economists opposed to both Marxist collectivism and the nationalist historical school of German political economy. They were highly suspicious of economic management by the state as well as of corporatist domination of the economy and saw it as the primary task of the state to create an institutional framework that would allow market forces to operate. They were hostile to protectionism, cartels, and monopolies, and to domestic controls on trade and commerce, although they differed from classical liberals in being willing to accept a higher degree of regulation to ensure that the welfare advantages of competition would be realized and that the socially and economically weak would be protected. It should come as no surprise that the neo-liberals were, by and large, consistently hostile to National Socialism, the one exception being Müller-Armack, who had joined the party in 1933 but subsequently struggled with the contradictions between Nazism's ideological postulates and economic practices and his own religious beliefs and economic ideas. In any case, the regime's indifference to economic thought and theory provided the window of opportunity for these economists to develop their ideas for the postwar economy, while their generally untainted records made them natural appointees to advisory and administrative positions in the postwar occupation regime and in the early years of the Bonn Republic.

Nicholls also does a good job of charting the struggle waged by Erhard with both Allied and German proponents of economic controls and planning. After World War I, as well as after 1945, economic recovery was burdened by a deleterious system of controls, the so-called *Zwangswirtschaft*, which was supposed to provide social justice under conditions of scarcity but had the inevitable consequence of keeping goods from getting to the market and promoting black marketeering. Thanks to Erhard and the neo-liberal economists who stood behind him, the currency reform of 1948 was accompanied by a successful policy of decontrol. Similarly, Erhard was able to sell his liberal program to the Christian Democratic Union, thus moving it in a much more liberal direction than the old Center Party and enabling it to pursue policies that placed the Social Democratic Party (SPD), which was dominated by planners and collectivists, on the defensive. At the same time, Nicholls credits the social market economy and its successes with driving the SPD to ditch its Marxist baggage and adopt the Bad Godesberg Program of 1959.

Nicholls makes a good case for the decisive role of Erhard and the neo-liberals in promoting liberal policies against opposition from a variety of quarters, but he is less convincing in his argument that the "social" in "social market economy" was as seriously meant or significant for Germany's postwar success as he claims. As he confesses, social policy for Erhard was primarily "organizing an open competitive system rather than the redistribution of wealth" (p. 394). Recent economic studies suggest that the key to German economic success was the liberal economic policy, which is not to say that economic liberalism suffices to explain Germany's political and social successes.

GERALD D. FELDMAN
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ERIC LEVI. *Music in the Third Reich*. New York: St. Martin's. 1994. Pp. xiv, 303. $39.95.

Eric Levi, author of this well-organized, informative, and superbly written account of music in the Third Reich, notes the relative paucity of scholarship on this subject, compared to the treatment of the other arts under National Socialism. This is how he justifies his publication. Even though music in the Third Reich has received more attention in the last few years, this volume is a welcome addition for its readability, its sampling of a rich musical life in a period still deemed by many a musical dark age, and its clear themes, not new in substance but convincingly argued.

Levi identifies the reasons for not dealing with this fascinating yet—to some—still sensitive subject in the past. One explanation rests on the argument that as an abstract medium music is less obviously related to politics, less explicitly associated with ideology and propaganda, and thus not accessible to the political or social historian, a position not quite compelling in view of the obvious images and sounds of party rallies, pageants, the contribution of music to recreational Nazi activities and the pomp and circumstance of the serious concert and opera stages. A second reason for the obscurity of music in the Third Reich is the tendency of the musical establishment of postwar Germany to skip over those twelve years, to deny that they thrived both statistically and in the honored role music was accorded relative to the ideology that it was commissioned to reflect, magnify, and reinforce. When dealing with the Nazi era, mainstream musicologists have instead focused on the repressive mechanisms of control and Adolf Hitler's anti-Semitic policies that led to the purges of well-known musicians. This treatment of National Socialism as an alien force in the world of establishment music and musicology denies the complicity of the vast majority of German musicians who stayed, performed, and prospered, thus providing evidence for what Levi believes is the main theme of musical life in Germany in the twentieth century: its essential continuity.

Musicians stayed and made music, not necessarily out of sympathy for National Socialism but, in part, because of their shared, basically traditional attitudes toward music. Music provided a useful façade for the Third Reich. It was business as usual because the rulers did not do what they said they would in the world of music, other than follow their anti-Semitic policy, which they applied ruthlessly. Musicians benefited from the regime's eagerness to be seen as sup-

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portive of German culture; they were able to exploit the well-known power struggle within the party leadership, especially between Alfred Rosenberg and Joseph Goebbels; and they stayed and performed because of the Nazi commitment to full employment and musicians' need for jobs, a compelling factor for most people in all political systems. A review of the music of these twelve years, writes Levi, reveals continuity, normalcy, and even creativity, the main theme of the book. Continuity existed also relative to the negative reaction to musical modernism by Nazi policy makers and music journalists because such a response was inherited from the conservative trend of the late Weimar period, which continued into the postwar period.

Levi's second major theme challenges the facile equation of Nazi theory and practice, a point well taken inasmuch as historians for too long have evaluated all culture in the Third Reich on the basis of Nazi policy pronouncements, ideology, and propaganda. In reality, the collaborating music establishment managed to reassert itself by 1936 largely because of the Nazis' need for the appearance of normalcy, providing continuity founded on the like-minded attitudes of mainstream musicians and the Nazi cultural leadership. Goebbels's pragmatism, the genuinely shared musical sentiment by musicians and rulers, and internal Nazi bickering account for the marginalization of radical positions (held by Rosenberg, for example). Levi confirms what recent studies have revealed about the reality of cultural expression in Nazi Germany: the contradiction between theory and practice, the reality of ambiguities and compromises.

Levi does not engage in detailed criticism of the music created and performed in Nazi Germany, which one might expect from him because he is a frequent commentator and writer on music. Nor does he elaborate on political biographies of leading musical personalities of the era, such as Richard Strauss, Wilhelm Furtwängler, Hans Erich Pfitzner, Paul Hindemith, and Herbert von Karajan. Instead, he assesses key features of ideology, particularly the conservative tradition and its relationship to National Socialism in terms of continuity between the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich. He capably steers through the terror of early 1933 and a confusing array of contending organizations, power struggles, and regulatory and organizational measures, all of which placed the resulting Reich Music Chamber under the control of the pragmatist Goebbels, who won out over his rival, the "reactionary" Rosenberg. Rosenberg spoke on behalf of Nazi musicians; Goebbels won the fight because he represented the Nazified profession, the institutional side of music, and the Nazi control mechanisms that provided the appearance of efficiency due to the active involvement of the musical establishment. Levi then examines the Nazis' well-known anti-Semitism, which was applied consistently to musical personnel and more or less to music, and their antimodernism—including their objection to internationalism, atonality, and jazz—which, however, they did not apply consistently. I find most instructive the second half of Levi's book, concerning the administered side of musical life in Germany: performance, the repertoire, radio broadcasting, publishing, recording, music journalism, and musicology. The book includes charts, tables, a glossary, chronology, bibliography, as well as select notes and references limited to major contemporary journals, relevant secondary works, and select archival materials from the Wiener Library in London. Although one might quibble over the brevity of the notes and the bibliography; over the selective reliance on Fred K. Prieberg's *Musik im NS-Staat* (1982), the most comprehensive work to date in German; and the occasional absence of footnotes in sections of smooth narrative and analysis, the advantage to the general reader is clear. This is a concise and mature reformulation of Nazi theory and practice, supported by the rich sampling of musical examples and the cogency of analysis, reflecting and reinforcing recent trends in scholarship on music and the other arts in Nazi Germany. This book is a splendid and judicious overview and assessment for the student of culture of the twentieth century and totalitarian society.

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F. L. CARSTEN. *The German Workers and the Nazis*. Aldershot, England: Scolar. 1995. Pp. 206. $59.95.

In the conclusion to this volume, F. L. Carsten surveys quite accurately the accomodation and acquiescence of German workers to the Nazi regime, takes note of the relatively small number of resisters in their ranks, observes that "the disjointed opposition was only an irritant" (p. 182) to a regime that would have been practically impossible to overthrow under any circumstances. And yet at the beginning of the volume, he announces his intention "to combine an account of the German working class opposition to Hitler and the Nazis with a description of the workers' daily problems and mood during the twelve years of the 'Third Reich'" (preface). The volume would have made more sense had he combined an analysis of working-class conditions with its overwhelming acceptance of or acquiesence to the regime.

The harsh truth that emerges from this book is that, despite a painstaking examination in some well-researched detail of the attitudes and behavior of a small number of workers, Carsten must conclude that no working-class opposition worthy of the name existed during the Third Reich. Many scholars whose research has not been as exacting have indulged themselves in wishful thinking in this regard. At least Carsten is honest in drawing the conclusion the evidence strongly suggests. And yet one cannot help but think the study would have made a better contribution to our understanding of labor under this most radical fascist regime had it been conceived from the beginning as an

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exploration of working-class accomodation rather than of a chimerical opposition. The unfortunate but undeniable drawing power of fascism for all classes needs to be explored, especially in an age when it is raising its head once more in a post–Cold War world.

The tension between what Carsten sought and what he actually found runs through the whole book. Drawing on a wide range of printed primary sources, such as the Sopade reports of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) in exile as well as the internal reports generated by the Security Service of the SS, he brings into his examination of working-class life during Hitler's regime one incident after another of small-scale protest and resistance, but always in the context of the failure of these activities to make the slightest difference in the regime's policies. "Altogether a total of 179 labor conflicts were recorded for 1936" (p. 54), Carsten notes, but that is fairly insignificant for an industrialized nation of 62 million people. Exiled SPD leaders estimated in 1934 that they had 300 groups comprising 20,000 members in Germany, but this was not enough to roil the national waters. And even when total defeat and disaster loomed toward the end of the war, "the majority of workers continued to do their jobs as best they could" (p. 170). From the earliest days of the Third Reich to its last, the picture that emerges is one of tragic voices in the wilderness silenced by a combination of carrot and stick as well as by the necessity of making the best of an often unpropitious situation.

There are also several methodological problems with this book. Carsten does not define clearly enough who the workers were. They are presented here as those who are vaguely "lower class." This is reflected in the anomolous chapter on Jehovah's Witnesses, who were, to be sure, "humble folk," but difficult to place solidly in the working class. Nor does he adequately place in a larger interpretive framework some of the more nuanced forms of dissidence explored in the work of Detlev Peukert that expressed discontent but fell short of outright resistance.

Carsten is a distinguished scholar who in his youth fled the scourge of National Socialism. As a member of one of its targeted groups, he may, even at this distance, tend to underscore the terroristic nature of the regime at the expense of its seductive, and apparently effective, siren song, which appealed even to the working class of Germany.

RONALD SMELSER
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ANGELIKA KÖNIGSEDER and JULIANE WETZEL. *Lebensmut im Wartesaal: Die jüdischen DPs (Displaced Persons) im Nachkriegsdeutschland*. (Die Zeit des Nationalismus.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 1994. Pp. 277. DM 18.90.

Fifty years after the liberation of the last survivors of the Nazi policies of racial annihilation a growing body of memoirs by Jewish women and men tell the manifold stories of the Jewish displaced persons (DPs) in postwar Germany and Austria. Conferences and anthologies about this remnant of the Jewish people in Europe after Adolf Hitler try to preserve their unique historical experience and dwell on the various aspects of the survival of these Eastern European Jews, describe the reorganization of Jewish life in postwar Germany, and, lately, discuss the experience of the second generation, those who were born in the almost 200 important camps and assembly centers of the DPs. In the past, relevant research in Israel and the United States has focused on this chapter of Jewish and postwar history. In Germany, however, only a few publications can be found in this field. In recent years, a number of mostly younger German historians has approached the fate of the Jewish DPs.

This small volume by Angelika Königseder and Juliane Wetzel is the first attempt at a descriptive overview of all known camps in occupied Germany that existed between 1945 and the early 1950s. The study gives a short depiction of the history of the DPs in Germany, and, in an exemplary manner, concentrates on two DP camps: Föhrenwald in the American zone of occupation in Bavaria, and Belsen in the British zone in northern Germany. The authors tell the story of the liberation of some camps, the experiences of the liberators, and the various forms of social, cultural, and political reorganization in these camps. Because most camps were in the American zone, the authors concentrate on the description of the evolving relationship between American military government, American and Jewish help organizations, and the DPs. As a paperback in a widely distributed German book series, this publication must be welcomed as a contribution to a much-neglected field in German historical writing.

The research is mostly based on documents assembled in the YIVO archives in New York and in the files of the Office of Military Government, U.S. in Germany, found in the National Archives in Washington. This also indicates, however, a serious weakness of the study. Except for references to some translated works, the authors largely ignore the immense literature that has been published on the subject in Israel and the growing number of oral sources, interviews and memoirs, that can be found in archives in Israel and in the United States.

Another problem of the study relates to a more general tendency in German historical writing about the postwar period. The Jewish experience in this period is not described in context but usually isolated from German society, politics, culture, and intellectual atmosphere. Königseder and Wetzel, for example, dwell extensively on the anti-Semitism of American soldiers like General George Patton, and, except for some references to anti-Semitism in the Federal Republic throughout its history, neglect the frightening intensity of anti-Semitic sentiment in the German population that confronted the Jewish survivors in Germany. The book paints a vivid picture of life in the DP camps, yet isolates this life from the German

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historical context. Jewish history, one must recall, should never be written isolated from general history. Concerning modern German history it seems to be impossible not to deal extensively with the various social, economic, ethical, and cultural aspects of the relations between the Jewish survivors and the German population, and the evolving German administration. The Jewish DPs were a media topic in postwar Germany, and German attitudes toward them highlighted problems of historical consciousness and popular attitudes. This lack of context-oriented analysis indicates another relevant problem of the postwar period. At the same time that the reconstruction of Jewish life in the DP camps made remarkable progress, traditional German-Jewish congregations were reestablished by German-Jewish survivors in most major cities. Their relationship to the Jewish DPs was highly ambivalent, often outspokenly antagonistic, but sometimes characterized also by mutual assistance followed by the integration into the Jewish communities of those Jewish DPs who stayed in Germany after the dissolution of the DP camps. The individual and collective stories of both groups of Jews in postwar Germany are interrelated in many ways. They belong to the same history.

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DIETER DÜDING. *Zwischen Tradition und Innovation: Die sozialdemokratische Landtagsfraktion in Nordrhein-Westfalen 1946–1966*. (Politik- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte, number 37.) Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz. 1995. Pp. 407. DM 68.

Historians and political scientists specializing in post–1945 West Germany have paid much attention to its national decision-makers but hardly any to authorities of its Länder (states). In a federal system where the constituent states have a plethora of powers and some political clout, a balanced appraisal of a country's policies must include an account of the Länder's role in politics.

This volume contributes to a redressing of the balance. In focusing on the record of the Fraktion (parliamentary group) of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) in the powerful state of North Rhine–Westphalia in the first two decades of the country's existence, Dieter Düding enriches the scholarly literature on Germany's difficult postwar reconstruction and on the SPD. For readers not familiar with the SPD's post–1945 record in the area, the primary focus on the SPD's legislative group makes it too limited for a broad understanding of the party's record in this pivotal state, but Düding wanted to limit the scope of his study in order to provide the necessary depth.

Düding had difficulty reconstructing the past because the Fraktion's files for the period from 1946 to the late 1950s have disappeared, but extensive oral interviews with twenty-one SPD regional leaders and perusal of other archival materials provided enough valuable information to give readers a balanced and sympathetic appraisal. He deals first with the period from 1946 to 1950 when the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) formed a coalition government in which the SPD was the strongest junior partner. Perhaps not surprisingly, the Land SPD leaders, clinging to their Weimar tradition of espousing a strong central government in a federal setting, had misgivings about West Germany's new federal structure. They resisted establishing a Land organization to coordinate party and Fraktion policies, insisting instead on maintaining the powerful district organizations.

Düding describes in detail the Fraktion's leadership and members and their protracted struggles to socialize the coal-mining industry, to achieve parity between employer and union representatives in economic chambers, and to revamp the educational system. The British Labour government favored socialization of the coal industry, but yielded to U.S. pressure to block the move. The SPD had more success in its demand for economic democracy, but not in educational reform.

Düding then focuses on the Fraktion's defensive position in the 1950s. The parliamentary group, then in opposition, lost many of its able leaders to the national SPD, had continuing organizational problems, and neglected to establish channels of communication to the conservative-controlled media. Only in the 1960s did the Fraktion become the motor for reform. Land SPD chief Heinz Kühn modernized the organization, enhanced the party's publicity, sought to win over Catholics and farmers, and developed a competitive opposition strategy in the Land parliament by putting forth imaginative domestic policy proposals. As a consequence, the SPD finally gained a plurality of votes in the Land election of 1966 and formed a governing coalition with the Free Democratic Party.

In a useful appendix, Düding reprints sixty-six documents, primarily letters between SPD leaders, that enrich the saga of continuous parliamentary defeats interspersed by occasional successes. He promises a follow-up study of the Fraktion from 1966 to 1990 when its leaders formed the Land governments. Such a study should provide interesting contrasts between the SPD's failures from 1946 to 1966 and its triumphs thereafter.

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PEKKA KALEVI HÄMÄLÄINEN. *Uniting Germany: Actions and Reactions*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1994. Pp. xiv, 286. $19.95.

This book is a competent, comprehensive, and well-balanced survey of the background and main events of the German reunification between 1989 and 1993. Pekka Kalevi Hämäläinen's main theses are clearly stated and perfectly reasonable: reunification was driven by continuous interaction between leaders and

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the population; Chancellor Helmut Kohl's leadership was decisive, demonstrating remarkable political skill and sense of timing; reunification became possible because of the willingness, after initial reluctance, of the weakening superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, to be strongly supportive (in the case of U.S. President George Bush) or to make deals (as with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev); the even more reluctant realization of the other European partners and Israel that cooperation was their least ominous option; and holdouts—German Left intellectuals, British hardliners, American Jewish leaders, and Poles—were simply overwhelmed in the process. Sixteen compact chapters present the concrete political story from this perspective in a clear and convincing manner.

Yet this book rather pales against the best works that have appeared on the subject recently. There is something secondhand and textbookish about this perfectly adequate account. There is none of the thoughtful search for overall meaning and structure one finds in Konrad H. Jarausch's *The Rush to German Unity* (1994), which explores the concept of a post-totalitarian "civic revolution" that became "nationalized" and eventually brought about a "social revolution" in eastern Germany. Nor is the reader challenged by the kind of original analysis and the fascination of meeting the major actors through personal interviews that Timothy Garton Ash served up in his *In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent* (1993). This book lacks the scholarly depth of Stephen F. Szabo's *The Diplomacy of German Unification* (1992) or Elizabeth Pond's *Beyond the Wall: Germany's Road to Unification* (1993). Hämäläinen retells and summarizes for the general reader.

Even more sophisticated general readers, however, will find many of the analytical insights commonplace or misleading ("surprise can lead to success" [p. 101]; reunification amounted to a "political and economic *Blitzkrieg* with Kohl as commanding general and [Hans Dietrich] Genscher as the chief of staff" [p. xii]) or repeated all too often (especially concerning Kohl, the brilliant, ever underestimated statesman). Hämäläinen's efforts to excite readers with dramatic turns of phrase largely fall flat, as when, for example, he writes: "In November and December 1989 Helmut Kohl had placed himself in the driver's seat of the train of German reunification" (p. 101). Although he acknowledges the importance of the masses, he does not get much beyond tales of individual experiences told to him during his travels. The reader gets no sense of the shape and transformation of the society and little impression of economic forces, cultural atmosphere, or the nature of the East German opposition. The book does well supplying biographical background for leading figures, although in none of the depth of Garton Ash's work.

None of which makes this a bad book. It is accurate, clear, complete, and readable. It may work well as basic reading or as a resource because its strictly chronological organization in brief, lucid chapters makes it easy to find specific information. Sophisticated readers, however, will find it less satisfying.

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HAILE M. LAREBO. *The Building of an Empire: Italian Land Policy and Practice in Ethiopia 1935–1941*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xxvii, 350. $69.00.

Sixty years ago Benito Mussolini began the conquest of Ethiopia with the premise that Italy needed land for its peasants. Once the empire was founded, the exploitation of the heralded agricultural resources failed to provide food or a new homeland for Italian farmers, and it did not reduce Italy's balance of payments. The unsuccessful demographic policy was kept secret, but now that archival resources are available the true extent of the land policy can be objectively assessed. This is just what Haile M. Larebo's judicious monograph does. The book is the most serious attempt to date to evaluate Italian colonial policy, and it will remain a major study for the future. Larebo consulted the historical archives of the former Ministry of Italian Africa and of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In Rome he used the documents of the Ex-Servicemen National Association deposited at the Central State Archives. In Florence he gained access to the papers of Istituto Agronomo per l'Oltremare and in Great Britain the correspondence of the Foreign Office.

Larebo, concurring with previous studies (A. Del Boca, *Gli Italiani in Africa Orientale*, 4 vols. [1979–84]; my own *Ethiopia under Mussolini* [1985]), reaches the conclusion that the Italian experiment with colonialism in Ethiopia was doomed to fail because fascism, based on racism and the use of force, could not compel a people with an ancient civilization to submit to foreign rule. Italy, a newcomer to the field of colonialism, did not have the experience to deal with the Ethiopians and lacked knowledge of the environmental problems and the intricate land system of its new colony. Furthermore, Italy's presence lasted only a precarious five years, not long enough to implement Mussolini's megalomaniacal colonization schemes. To these drawbacks must be added the unwillingness of Italian peasants to transfer to Ethiopia, the presence of rapacious Italian commercial farmers, and the corrupt members of the Fascist Party. Finally, Ethiopia already had a vast population that cultivated the best agricultural land. It could hardly support a large number of Italian settlers.

Because Ethopia had not been pacified, a first experiment was based on a military organization. The Ex-Servicemen's National Association was given land around the capital to produce food and defend Addis Ababa. The farm units were built in a defensive fashion, but only a fraction of the promised tens of thousands of hectares of land were available, and only a few hundred farmers were in residence in 1940. In spite of these drawbacks, the association constituted the most successful experiment of colonization. At

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least one farmer was able to buy his farm and about ten were on the verge of being assigned land ownership.

Another unusual settlement scheme aimed to set aside in Ethiopia large areas for groups of farmers coming from the same region in Italy. Hence the foundation of *Ente Romagna d' Etiopia*, which was assigned land in the governorate of Amara; *Ente Veneto d' Etiopia*, which was to receive land in the governorate of Oromo-Sidama, and *Ente Puglia d' Etiopia*, which was granted a land concession in the governorate of Harar. But few Italians went to Ethiopia. Italian farmers had little to say in administration decisions about the cultivation and the use of crops. Of the 60,000 hectares called for in plans for each *ente*, only a tenth was in fact granted, and about 5 percent actually cultivated. *Ente Veneto* never went further than the planning stage. Of the fifty million lire allocated for each project, *Ente Puglia* spent twenty-nine million lire and *Ente Romagna* thirty-five million lire. The results were discouraging mostly as a result of political and military conditions; both the bickering among the national authorities and the farmer's behavior left much to be desired.

Another attempted form of colonization was commercial farming based on the cultivation of huge estates of more than 2,000 hectares. Private companies were to bring their capital to Ethiopia to contribute to the development of the empire. This policy envisioned land and food production by a few monopolistic companies, but it misfired because of a lack of communication, labor shortages, political instability, low crop output, soaring production costs, limited technical assistance, and bureaucratic interference. To encourage production the state provided subsidies in the form of reduced fuel costs and other discounts as well as through a guaranteed price of wheat. The Ethiopians were reluctant to work for the Italians, but the government collaborated with private firms by means of pressure, brutality, and forced labor. Like the other experiments, commercial farming did not help meet the food needs. In spite of a concession of almost 200,000 hectares of land, in 1941 wheat production reached only 70,000 quintals, well short of the 1,000,000 quintals needed. The only food surplus was potatoes and fruits.

The failure of demographic and commercial colonization was repeated in Italy's alleged civilization mission. This ostensible aim was to raise the standards of living of Ethiopian peasants. The basic reason for the shortfall was that Italy's main concern was to obtain enough land for its own settlers. This priority automatically clashed with Ethiopian interests, and they were not willing to give up their land. Furthermore, Italian authorities feared that cheaper Ethiopian products would compete with Italian agricultural crops, thus undercutting settler's profits. And yet the Italians felt there was a compelling need to elevate the peasantry from the backwardness that, in the conqueror's mind, was due to the land-tenure system. The *gabar*, the tribute paid by peasants, was seen as the main problem. It was not only in the best interests of the Ethiopian farmer to improve productivity but also in the best interests of the colonialists because it would boost food self-sufficiency and increase the peasants' purchasing power. But because Ethiopians without documentation could not prove land ownership, the Italians arbitrarily confiscated their land to accommodate the needs of Italian settlers, giving rise to nationwide discontent that led to the Ethiopian uprising.

At the end of the experiment to colonize Ethiopia in 1940, less than 60,000 Italians had settled there. But not all the results were negative. Larebo concludes that "the Italians had laid down developmental infrastructures and intricate agricultural policies that had the effect of vigorously forcing Ethiopia into greater participation in the world of capitalist system" (p. 294). He notes further: "Perhaps even today it would be difficult in Ethiopia to mention any major project, whether still under construction or already implemented, which had not been instigated, sometimes in a fair amount of details, during the period of occupation" (p. 294).

This book contributes to a better understanding of Italian colonial policy. It is well written, logically argued, and provides good documentation. There is, however, a statement that can be misleading that asserts that Larebo used the "historical archives of the *Comitato per La Documentazione dell' Opera dell' Italia in Africa*, successor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs" (p. xi). The *Comitato* was formed in 1952 in an effort to provide a better record of Italian contributions in Africa. In no way was it a successor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The archives of the fascist Ministry of Italian Africa are deposited at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the *Comitato* used documentation from those archives for its publications. The reader will also find irritating the large number of abbreviations used in both the text and the footnotes. One's reading is constantly interrupted by the consultation of the list of abbreviations. Furthermore, Larebo states that articles and books produced during the fascist era provide "an untapped wealth of information," (p. xiii). Scholars have disregarded the study of this literature, however, because it is misleading and unreliable.

In reconstructing the history of Italian land policy, this book offers a technical discussion of the problem that may not appeal to the average reader. Especially absent from the monograph is the political context in which Italian farmers had to operate and the role played by Ethiopian patriots in the delay and eventual failure of Italian colonial plans. In spite of these minor flaws the book remains a major and welcome contribution to the study of Ethiopia under Italian occupation.

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GEORGES CASTELLAN. *Histoire des peuples de l'Europe centrale*. Paris: Fayard. 1994. Pp. 528. 180 fr.

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The first, and probably the least tractable, of many thorny issues with which the historian of Central Europe must grapple is that of defining just what Central Europe is. It is not clearly delineated geographically. The peoples whom one might call Central Europeans have been mobile and have interlaced their settlements such that no state boundaries can rationally demark nations or the limits of the region. Almost any fixed definition is apt to provoke exception at one time and place or another. Georges Castellan has left the definition fluid for the purposes of his narrative. In the foreword he writes that Central Europe consists of the peoples who live between the Germans and the Russians, that is, the Slavs (but he names only the western Slavs and the Slovenes), Finno-Ugrians (Hungarians and Estonians), and others (Romanians, Lithuanians, and Letts). The Croats (despite their obvious Western affinities), Serbs, Bulgarians, Albanians, and eastern Slavs are not included. During the course of his account, however, Castellan unavoidably has Germanophone Austrians from the West and Russians from the East figure saliently in the affairs of the region. The author's primary interest is in the Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Magyars, and Austrians, a predilection that becomes clearer in the later chapters and as the narrative is brought to a close.

Castellan's focus on the western Slavs, Magyars, and Austrians is the natural result of his underlying premise about the region and his uniting thesis. The premise seems to be that Central Europeans are those peoples whose histories were shaped, just as were the histories of their neighbors farther west, by feudalism, Renaissance, Reformation, Counter Reformation, liberal revolutions, and capitalism. The thesis is that Central Europeans are an integral part that was, unhappily, for a couple of generations after World War II, removed from the larger entity of Europe but is now, justly and appropriately, reintegrated in that Europe.

The book is organized into three large sections: "Monarchies and Nobilities," tenth to eighteenth centuries (chapters 1–8); "Epoch of Nationalism," 1795–1914 (chapters 9–15, with a little added discourse on the Viennese cultural model); and "The Dramas of the Twentieth Century," (chapters 16–21). Within those sections, however, the narrative is not as chronologically organized as the section headings would indicate. Castellan treats an area, people, or state (Balts, the Polish Republic, or the Habsburg empire) over a specified period and then turns to another to be treated over the same period. Although he uses this organization less jarringly than one might fear, he cannot avoid some repetitions, nor can he completely smooth over an inherently disjointed method of exposition.

Given the organization, it is just as well that the author does not explicitly argue his thesis throughout the work. One knows from what point of view he writes, but the presentation is straightforward narrative, with little attempt to interpret, analyze, or synthesize. The thesis is not novel; there is little that is new in the telling of the story. It may be too much to ask that a history of such wide scope should dwell in analyses or interpretations, but the conclusion, at least, might offer something more than simply a bringing to close of the narrative.

The scholarly apparatus is spare at best. Footnotes are rare and usually only explain a word or sentence in the text. The bibliography is less than spare; it is gaunt. It is also antique; there are only sixteen entries dated after 1980. It appears that the book was intended to be read by Francophones only; there are two titles in German, two titles in Polish, two titles in Magyar, and one title in Czech. The remainder of the bibliography is composed of titles in French and English.

One should not be precious about such things, but the use of diacritical marks, which are significant mechanics in Central European languages, is, to put it charitably, whimsical throughout the book and in the bibliography and indexes.

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TRAIAN STOIANOVICH. *Balkan Worlds: The First and Last Europe*. (Sources and Studies in World History.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1994. Pp. xix, 433. Cloth $62.95, paper $24.95.

Like his mentor, Fernand Braudel, Traian Stoianovich has undertaken a "total history" of the Balkans, a region that, because of its many diverse nations and cultures, he sees as a microcosm of the world. The study is divided into two parts. Part 1, consisting of six chapters, is a "substantially" revised and much expanded version of Stoianovich's monograph *A Study of Balkan Civilization* (1967). Included are sections on earth culture, biotechnics and social biology, technology, metallurgy, society, economy, and personality and culture; this part has been revised to take into account the decline and fall of the Soviet model of social and economic development and is documented by works published since 1967. Part 2 is "wholly new" and comprises two chapters: "The Liberties and Constraints of Culture" and "The Interacting Population System."

Stoianovich immerses himself in anthropological and sociological theories, "grapples" with economic change and ecology, and assesses the role of religion, language, and national and social ideologies in the Balkans. He finds considerable interest in the relations between the Balkans and Europe under the conditions created by the end of the Cold War. This induces him to explain the emergence of integral nationalism in Yugoslavia and that country's civil war and dismemberment. He endeavors to accomplish this with objectivity and understanding toward all parties involved in the muddle. In discussing Yugoslavia's tragedy, he avoids empty rhetoric. For him, the Balkans are not a

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mere collection of warring clans and tribes but a region of rich and varied cultures and civilizations.

Stoianovich is not satisfied with simply attributing the country's problems to "nationalism," "religion," "tribalism," and "militarism" but rather seeks deeper social, economic, and cultural explanations. This is particularly evident in his balanced discussion of "ethnic cleansing." Stoianovich reminds his readers that ethnic expulsions and transfers were practiced by the Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman empires, and by more recent regimes (pp. 199–200, 280).

Similarly, his analysis of the impact on the Balkans of the new world economic system, with its emphasis on unbridled economic growth and cultural homogenization, is provocative and interesting. The attempts by corporations to control and monopolize not only the traditional resources and industries but also the newly developing media and information systems in the region deserve particular consideration. One cannot criticize the influence of capitalist monopoly control of media/information in the Balkans, however, without presenting the obviously harmful effects of previous socialist economic policies, with their controlled press and media and their extolling of the command economy and unrestricted growth.

An example of this need for balance can be seen in the book's analysis of ecological questions. It is true that the market economics of the "West" have caused damage to the environment and that the now nominally free press is restricted in its reporting by the increasing domination of corporations. Yet it is also true that the centrally planned economies of the "East" have caused ecological damage and that the socialist regimes devastated the natural environment without reports or protests from the state-run press and media.

Stoianovich does not take sides in the current Yugoslav conflict but seeks to find the underlying cultural factors and world views that have led to this tragedy. Like other informed persons, he condemns both the domestic and foreign press for fomenting and exacerbating ethnic strife in the region. He also accuses the American media of neglecting "historical and theoretical analysis" and charges that they have been "less ready to deal with the abuses of the 'human rights' of the Serbs and far less sensitive to the destruction of Orthodox monuments" (p. 306).

The author calls for a "third way" for the Balkans and Europe as a whole through the establishment of a "viable, credible, autonomous European cultural community" that will "define its natural resources as the common patrimony of the whole system of European cultures." He goes on to say that in some cases the bases for this "third way" already exist. The solution for ecological problems in the Balkans and elsewhere would be through the development of states and societies with mixed economies and with an uncompromisingly free flow of information to keep watch over environmental abuses by the public and private sectors. Stoianovich pleads for understanding and action to save the Balkans from destruction by two of the most dangerous Western legacies: integral nationalism and environmental degradation (pp. 353–54).

Stoianovich's study is impressive. The work is enriched with an extensive bibliography in several languages, maps, diagrams, and statistical tables. It is well written and includes a number of excellent vignettes on well-chosen subjects. It is a pity, however, that the index is not commensurate with the quality of the book.

This book aspires to be a "total history," and yet the author expresses his fear that it may fall short of "exploring all possible avenues and categories of the Balkan experience" (p. xvii). The book reveals how much has been done on Balkan historiography, and how much remains to be done. A long list of important subjects are still hidden from historians. At times a dearth of sources has compelled Stoianovich to resort to historical speculation. Nonetheless, this erudite tome is one of the most comprehensive studies of the Balkans to have appeared thus far.

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MARIE-JANINE CALIC. *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens 1815–1941: Der aufhaltsame Fortschritt während der Industrialisierung*. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 92.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1994. Pp. 496. DM 148.

Marie-Janine Calic's book is a social and economic history of Serbia from the end of the so-called second Serbian insurrection against Ottoman maladministration in 1815 to the involvement of Serbia/Yugoslavia in the war against Nazi Germany in 1941. Based on impeccable archival scholarship and a rich bibliography of published works, it represents a highly professional inquiry into the social, anthropological, cultural, and economic obstacles to Serbian economic and industrial development. By the concern in her introduction for the ways in which territory, frontiers, and geography—so important for a landlocked ministate like Serbia—may affect the decisions, achievements, and frustrations of governments and peoples, she reveals the influence on her scholarship of the historian Fernand Braudel and the Serbian geographer Jovan Cvijić. Other chapters deal successively with the process of transforming Serbia from a society based on principles of collective rights to one of private property and from a pastoral economy to one of cereal cultivation; with the effect of politics—the Congress of Berlin (1878) and the long "customs war" (1906–10) of Austria-Hungary against Serbia—on the country's attempt to industrialize and "integrate" with the system of a world market economy; with the problems of reconstructing a country whose losses in population during World War I alone amounted to 28 percent (perhaps too high an estimate); with the world economic crisis of 1930 to 1935; and with state interven-

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tion in the Serbian economy between 1935 and 1941. In her last chapter, she provides a "Typology of the Serbian Way of Development."

An underlying premise of the book is the idea of Norbert Elias that change has a basis not so much in "outside" as in internal influences. This inclination leads her to conclude that Serbia followed its own *Sonderweg* or special path of socioeconomic development, a path that did not allow it to profit from the advantage of being a "late starter" (an idea associated with Thorstein Veblen and Alexander Gerschenkron). She attributes the failings of that path in part to a social and cultural obstacle: the conservatism at first of the peasant extended family and the persistence of the values of the extended family even after the extended family fell apart. As a result, the "Malthusian shears" of population growth acted more effectively than in Western Europe to obstruct productivity.

She may be right on both counts. Yet every people has its own cultural, historical, and social *Sonderweg*. That verity does not obviate the fact that the growth of a world market economy has tended to increase regional inequalities, reducing the competitive ability of regions such as the Balkans at least in part because they lack an abundance of highly desired raw materials or other products—because of the unequal applicability of David Ricardo's theorem of comparative costs to all regions of the world. Calic returns to the right track, however, by underscoring another important reason for Serbia's failure to catch up economically with the well-developed countries of the world both before World War I and again between 1935 and 1941: its inability to achieve export diversification or an appropriate pattern of export and import substitution.

A current debate among economic historians turns around whether increased taxation was a factor in bringing down the standard of living of the Serbian peasantry during the nineteenth century. Dealing mostly with the period after 1880, Michael Palairet contended that taxation was less burdensome for the peasantry than for other social sectors. Calic, however, in reaching a contrary conclusion regarding the period from 1865 to 1910, concurs with the traditional Serbian/Yugoslav scholarship on this matter. In effect, both contentions may have some merit. Tax increases between 1830 and 1880 placed limits on the standard of living of the peasantry, forcing it to work more and shift from stock raising to cereal cultivation and fruit growing. But between 1880 and 1912 the incidence of taxes on the peasantry was less heavy, yet the lowered rates were added to increases that already had been made earlier.

Calic's book is a work of distinction. It also attests to the great strides made in German historical scholarship during the last two or three decades.

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SREĆKO M. DŽAJA. *Bosnien-Herzegowina in der österreichisch-ungarischen Epoche (1878–1918): Die Intelligentsia zwischen Tradition und Ideologie*. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 93.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1994. Pp. 278. DM 76.

The subtitle of this volume by Srećko M. Džaja clearly indicates the topic it covers. Did modernization and westernization of Bosnia-Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian rule succeed or did it fail and, therefore, were they at least in part responsible for the future problems of this region of the Balkans? In 1974 Thomas A. Meininger wrote a dissertation dealing with the formation of the Bulgarian nationalist intelligentsia in the middle of the nineteenth century. Džaja accepts his definition of intelligentsia-intellectuals (p. 15) as those, mainly males, who were educated enough to create, use, and disseminate culture.

Given this definition and the multireligious structure of the population, the author correctly begins with a description of the manner in which the new authorities regulated the domains of the various religious communities and authorities. The next chapter covers school systems, including the newly introduced public schools that were independent of religious institutions. This section is well documented and supported but neglects the non-educational scholarly establishments, a major contribution of the Austro-Hungarian administration that was very important in the formation of the intellectuals.

Then come two chapters dealing with the disseminators of culture, the press and the teachers and professors of the various schools, followed by a description of their "consumers," the students on the several levels of education. These chapters are also well documented by numerous statistics and other illustrative materials.

Given the unfortunate events of the last few years, most readers will find the last chapter the most interesting: "The Intelligentsia and the Historical-Political Identity of the Population." Here the views of the three major religious-national groups are discussed separately, ending with a discussion of the view of the revolutionary Young Bosnia movement.

Džaja concludes his study by pointing out that the modernization attempts failed mainly because they did not include meaningful land reform or the equally meaningful employment of newly educated intellectuals and because authorities feared the clashing nationalisms of the various segments of the population.

This is a well-written, organized and researched study that does not contain many new facts but does use them in an original manner. The conclusion repeats earlier scholars' evaluations of the Habsburg authorities' work. Proofreading is the major weakness of this study, which contains too many typographical and other rather careless errors.

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MÁRIA M. KOVÁCS. *Liberal Professions and Illiberal Politics: Hungary from the Habsburgs to the Holocaust*. New York: Oxford University Press or Woodrow Wilson Center Press, Washington, D.C. 1994. Pp. xxii, 169. $35.00.

Michael Polanyi often recalled with gratitude the liberal, pre–World War I Hungary of his youth. Like many other assimilated Jews, he and his brother Karl entered the free professions: free not only from guild regulations but from most forms of religious and racial discrimination as well. That freedom, coupled with the Magyar gentry's preference for bureaucratic careers, had made Jewish preserves of the medical, legal, and engineering professions; by 1910, Jews accounted for nearly half of Hungary's doctors and lawyers and almost 40 percent of its engineers. To Austrian anti-Semites the Hungarian capital might be "Judapest," but to Hungarians of Jewish origin the city was a haven of opportunity.

To be sure, as Mária M. Kovács's exemplary study points out, all was not well. The Jews' very prominence in the professions aroused opposition to philo-Semitism as well as to the civil liberties and developing capitalism that gave it effect. New, illiberal ideologies such as socialism and racial nationalism called the liberal order into question and appealed, among others, to those professionals who viewed overcrowding and Jewish competition as personal threats. Still, the latter found few outlets for their discontents prior to 1914.

The collapse of the Habsburg monarchy in 1918 and the formation of a short-lived Soviet Republic in 1919 convinced some radicalized doctors and engineers that the liberal order had been permanently replaced by one more scientific and planned, one in which they would constitute the ruling class. Ironically most of them, like Béla Kun and the majority of the soviet leaders, were of Jewish origin. This circumstance, added to the flood of refugee professionals from the territories lost at Trianon, prompted new calls for restricted access to professional schools. In response the counterrevolutionary government headed by Regent Miklós Horthy passed a *numerus clausus* law (1920) that established a quota for "races and nationalities" (that is, for Jews). Moreover, the medical and engineering fraternities organized anti-Semitic associations; so, ultimately, did the steadfastly liberal legal profession.

Yet, as Kovács observes, Prime Minister István Bethlen, a liberal of the old school, saw to it that the law was loosely enforced and, in 1928, rescinded. Only when the Depression catapulted Gyula Gömbös to power did anti-Semitism receive a new lease on life in the professions as well as in the country generally. Like most historians, Kovács identifies Gömbös with the "radical Right," although Gömbös proclaimed himself to be a national socialist and an admirer of Benito Mussolini, a revolutionary socialist who despised the old order. No one disputes the fact, however, that Gömbös rejected Bethlen's conservative liberalism and emboldened the anti-Semites. Yet in the end he, too, met a culturally ingrained resistance, and at his death in 1936 the Jews were not significantly worse off.

With Adolf Hitler in power in Germany, and Hungary aligned ever more closely with the revisionist Reich, the government of Béla Imrédy placed new and more oppressive restrictions on the Jews. This satisfied many doctors and engineers but not most lawyers, some of whom formed a Christian association that sought to undermine the discriminatory legislation. In 1942 these lawyers welcomed the new government of Miklós Kállay because it shared their subversive intent. Thus, it was only in 1944, after the Germans occupied Hungary, that the way was cleared for the destruction of the Hungarian Jews, many professionals included.

Kovács recounts this tragic story of liberal devolution honestly and professionally. Thus, although she has much to say about those Hungarians who embraced ideologies of resentment and hate, she does not forget those who refused to compromise with evil and who remained committed to "the survival of intelligent norms of personal conduct inherited from a once liberal and tolerant tradition" (p. 132).

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RICHARD S. WORTMAN. *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy*. Volume 1, *From Peter the Great to the Death of Nicholas I*. (Studies of the Harriman Institute.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 469. $49.50.

Richard S. Wortman has given us an important and beautiful book. He writes elegantly, argues his theses with conviction and energy, and supports his ideas with a dazzling scholarly apparatus. The volume also excels at three kinds of historical approaches. The sixty-seven illustrations show remarkable control of the arts and are placed where discussed in the text, thus providing evidence, not merely decoration. The discussion of the participation of women in monarchical myth and ceremony is integrated into the central flow of the narrative and not, as so often happens, appended as a side issue. The comparative method successfully incorporates Russian developments into general European monarchical theory, an approach fortified by the happy use of the term "Russian monarchy" rather than "autocracy," with its overtone of oriental despotism.

This book is also a pioneering work. It grapples with a most important and complex, but quite neglected, problem in imperial Russian history, namely the reasons for the unusual persistence of absolute monarchy into the twentieth century. The application of semiotic theory to this issue places Wortman in the vanguard of Russian historians.

Wortman argues that the crafted splendor in the presentation and celebration of the Russian monarchy from the seventeenth century until 1917 was intended to impress public opinion, domestic as well as foreign,

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and "indicate[s] that Russian rulers and their advisers considered the symbolic sphere of ceremonies and imagery intrinsic to their exercise of power" (p. 3). Such theatricalization resulted in the "elevation," to use Wortman's apt term, of the sovereigns into a sphere superior to their subjects, and because the court nobility participated in this display, they, too, partook of the sacralization and idealization of power through reflected glory.

The correlative thesis contends that "by displaying themselves as foreigners, or like foreigners, Russian monarchs and their servitors affirmed the permanence and inevitability of their separation from the population they ruled," and this served as "the animating myth" justifying their control and privilege (p. 5). Intrinsic to the myth of foreignness were the imperial ambitions that claimed both Byzantine and Roman origins. The script for the multifaceted presentation and celebration of power, or scenario, changed with each ruler in accordance with the needs and cultural context of the times.

The book is divided into four chronological parts. The first section, "Borrowed Signs," surveys European monarchical symbols and ceremonies in use during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as well as Russian imagery from the Kievan era until Peter the Great's bold adoption of Western forms. The second part, "Olympian Scenarios," covers the eighteenth-century monarchs who adapted Peter's presentation of the emperor as hero, god, and benefactor in conformance with baroque and Enlightenment cultural currents. "Mortal Sovereigns" describes the decision of Paul I and Alexander I to present their primary image as military leader and thus maintain their majesty in a revolutionary era dominated by notions of popular sovereignty. The last, richest, and most convincing section covers the second quarter of the nineteenth century. "The Dynastic Scenario" analyzes Nicholas I's quest to refashion the mythical and elevated image of the monarch in order to meet the challenges of liberalism and nationalism. Wortman promises a second volume to cover the period from 1855 to 1917.

Wortman convincingly demonstrates that ideas and myths inform practice and policy. Naturally, the theses become overstated and overburdened when the effort is made to fit every monarch and every reign neatly into a coherent theory and separate scenario. Although the evidence is clear in the case of Nicholas I—and all the monarchs were surely concerned about their images—it is difficult to believe that they and their retainers had such thoroughly conceived and theory-driven notions of the type of sovereignty they wanted to convey, or that they did so relentlessly throughout their reigns in conscious alliance with the historical forces of their eras. Wortman invests the reign of Empress Elizabeth, for example, with a "scenario of rejoicing" and interprets the constant court entertainments as "a protracted, unmistakable affirmation of the principle of happiness," while her wardrobe of 15,000 dresses is seen as "behavior prescribed by a scenario of demonstrative abandon from the constraints of necessity" (pp. 107–08). A less semiotic and simpler explanation, however, deserves attention: the young princess, like her mother, had always loved finery, and her quest for diversion was a factor in her not agreeing to accept the burden and inconvenience of rule until 1741; on becoming empress, she indulged herself. Similarly, Paul's preference for a parade-ground style is interpreted as reacting to the events of the French Revolution, whereas his love for the military had been in evidence since his youth and had been a proclivity of his father thirty years earlier. On another level, the fact that there was a preponderance of female monarchs throughout the eighteenth century after the death of Peter the Great in 1725 is considered evidence that "only they could claim to defend Peter's heritage without threatening a return of his punitive fury" (p. 85). First, this rationale seems patently ex post facto; second, except for the choice of Catherine I, each time a male member of the dynasty was available, he was chosen, and even Catherine II gave the impression she was ascending the throne as regent for her son. In all these cases, Wortman's strong and interesting interpretation is weakened by stretching it beyond its limits.

The myth of foreignness ("Royalty is the foreigner" [p. 22]) may also be overdrawn, although it is of course true to a certain extent. In fact, the primary Russian myth was that the original dynasty, the Riurikid, was Viking in origin; but, while this was accepted in the nineteenth century, eighteenth-century figures heatedly repudiated the myth and made bizarre attempts to invent native relatives for the founding father. Although Russian rulers were drawn to Byzantine and Western "borrowed signs," the imitation of the most modern models of monarchy emerges more as an aspect of *rattrapage* than a conscious attempt to be foreign. In addition, the foreignness of rule often alienated Russians; during the epochs of perceived "German tyranny"—the reign of Anna Ioannovna, the regency of Ivan VI, and the six-month rule of Peter III—the monarchs were vilified or overthrown. Catherine II, Peter's German-born wife, however, won popularity by russifying herself.

These reservations should not detract from the overall argument, which is sound and original. Indeed, Wortman's book has transformed the intellectual landscape for studying imperial Russian history and will surely become a classic.

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THEOPHILUS C. PROUSIS. *Russian Society and the Greek Revolution*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 259. $30.00.

This is a detailed and thorough monograph on Russian philhellenism. Theophilus C. Prousis focuses on the

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Russian response—both that of the government and that of "society"—to the Greek war of independence against the Ottoman empire in the 1820s. Practical issues of relief and refuge are examined, as is the impact of the Greek revolt on Russian writers, many of whom were already disposed to Grecophilia. Earlier decades figure largely from the standpoint of intellectual background. The book is written from a Greek perspective but is reasonably fair-minded.

Chapter 2 in particular deals with the at times agonizing conflict facing the Russian government and Tsar Alexander I in the period after 1815. Although the Russian empire was guaranteed by treaty the right to "protect" the Porte's Christian subjects (and both philhellenic sentiment and Russian interests in the Balkans pushed them in that direction), Alexander also became an increasingly avid supporter of Klemens von Metternich's legitimist policies. To Metternich and others of Europe's (non-Orthodox) conservative leadership, the Greek insurgents appeared no better than Jacobins or Carbonari. Despite occasional waverings, Alexander essentially adhered to the Metternichean party, which sharply limited the services Russia was able to render to the Greek rebels.

Prousis's chapter on Greek relief aid gives reliable figures on the emigration of Greeks from Ottoman to Russian territory, especially after the shocking murder of the patriarch of Constantinople. It also details the impressive amount of money raised in Russia for Greek relief, and the aristocratic bias in how it was distributed. Later chapters concentrate on the impact of the Greek revolt on Russian writers and how Russian philhellenism interacted with other Alexandrine literary currents.

The research that undergirds this book is impressive, with respect both to published and archival sources. It is lucidly, if not elegantly, written, and contains a great deal of information. To my way of thinking, however, the study is insufficiently analytical and too given over to the sheer accumulation of detail. One learns a great deal about the philhellenism of individual writers, or which Russians contributed to Greek relief and how much, but the listings of people and their activities (or literal translations of the high-flown rhetoric of Russian poets about classical antiquity) needs to be augmented by greater attention to the actual workings of Russian hellenism. There is too much "this person said that" or "that person donated this." Nevertheless, no one interested the rebellion of Alexander Ypsilantis, the rebirth of the Greek nation, or Russian-Ottoman relations in the early nineteenth century can afford to ignore this volume.

ABBOTT GLEASON
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ELISE KIMERLING WIRTSCHAFTER. *Structures of Society: Imperial Russia's "People of Various Ranks."* DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1994. pp. xvii, 215. $30.00.

In studies of late imperial Russia it has become commonplace to link the nation's instability and conflict to the fragmentation of a traditional society undergoing rapid change. The rigid and stagnant hierarchies and ascribed statuses of the old regime imploded under the forces of money, merit, and mobility. In her book, Elise Kimerling Wirtschafter argues that imperial Russian society had always been fragmented; moreover, on closer inspection the apparently rigid structures turn out to be shifting, porous, and indeterminate. To capture the essence of Russia's fragmentation, Wirtschafter undertakes a *Begriffsgeschichte* of a category of Russian subjects well known to students of mid-nineteenth-century intellectual life: the *raznochintsy*, or people of various ranks. Although always a small category of people, by the middle of the nineteenth century the *raznochintsy*, Wirtschafter believes, were "everywhere at hand and nowhere in particular," and thus served as a microcosm of the Russian nation. "It is possible," she writes, "to think of imperial Russia as a society of *raznochintsy* . . . Russian historians must also consider the notion of a *raznochinnyi* culture, where formal social boundaries often were inoperative" (p. 125).

To write a book about people who were everywhere and nowhere would appear to be a daunting task. But Wirtschafter, commanding a wide range of published and unpublished legal, administrative, and ecclesiastical sources, is equal to the challenge. Although the imperial government needed to categorize and rank its subjects, imprecise and even contradictory legal definitions and the resulting "malleable" social boundaries allowed the government to adapt to changing conditions. The category *raznochintsy*, for example, could include both the taxpaying and untaxed population; nonnoble officials with rank as well as officials below the Table of Ranks; and both outsiders as well as parishioners of the Russian Orthodox church. The goal of the government, Wirtschafter argues, was "not to impose rigid structures but to prevent structures and institutions from ever crystallizing," to regulate social life by administrative means, and to perpetuate "the importance of the tsarist myth and of personalized authority relationships in binding the social fabric" (p. 37).

There are a few weaknesses in this otherwise important book. The prose is often turgid and repetitious. The discussion of certain issues—the definitions of the intelligentsia and the nobles' lack of fixed status, for example—covers well-worn territory. There is occasional confusion regarding what has and has not been well-studied in the literature. Thus, on the same page we are told that "the meaning of such concepts as *obshchestvo* and *obshchestvennost'* has yet to undergo systematic investigation" and at the same time that we "need to move beyond identifiable and familiar structures, networks, organizations, and associations" (p. 15). More important, the claim of the fluidity of Russia's structures is not particularly new. As a result, Wirtschafter frequently preaches to the converted, as,

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for example, when she tells us: "It is therefore important for historians to think in terms of multiple, overlapping, and competing social frameworks" (p. 150). Social historians do little else these days.

This book nevertheless contains valuable insights and raises important questions, three of which can be noted here. First, was Russia's bourgeoisie really "missing"? Hardly. Wirtschafter sees dynamic small-scale entrepreneurship in preindustrial Russia by a "middle estate which possessed all the cultural and socioeconomic ingredients of a European middle class" (p. 136). The small impact of private entrepreneurship was due less to the persistence of an allegedly rigid estate structure than to the absence of structure, which "hampered development toward a modern industrial system by dissipating resources, both material and human" (p. 149).

Second, could Russians have forged the social bonds that would have forestalled implosion? Here, Wirtschafter is a less sure guide. On the one hand, she claims that the indeterminate structure and fragmentation of society prevented the educated public from "coalescing into a civil society" (p. 149). On the other hand, she frequently notes that the indeterminate structures "encouraged dynamic patterns of social and cultural self-definition" (p. 144) and that "elites used language to construct public identities by transforming social terminology into politicocultural categories" (p. 147). Here Wirtschafter's otherwise successful method eludes her; she seems to expect a full-blown, fixed, mature civil society when it was just as varying, indeterminate, porous, and unfixed as the social structure as a whole.

Finally, Wirtschafter's study raises one of the most important issues in the field, that of Russian particularism. In the traditional explanation of difference, Russia's social structure is portrayed as rigid and archaic, Europe's as flexible and dynamic. Although she does not say it in so many words, according to her study Europe had the firmer, more fixed social structure; Russian society was fluid and fragmented. This is indeed a suggestive way to compare Russian and European social structure. The only difficulty is that the concepts of fragmented structures and multiple identities are borrowed from European historiography. What society is not viewed these days as one of "contested terrain" and "transgressions" over "porous boundaries"? If the same fluidity can be seen in both European and Russian societies, then the implications of Wirtschafter's argument take us back to the state: in Europe spontaneous social bonds could develop, whereas in Russia they provoked the suspicion of the state. In the end, the autocracy that had so assiduously kept people apart took it in the chin.

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WILLIAM G. WAGNER. *Marriage, Property, and Law in Late Imperial Russia*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 413. $59.00.

William G. Wagner's detailed and richly documented examination of the legal debates and decisions in civil courts concerning marriage and property after the judicial reforms of 1864 is a welcome addition to the Western historiography of the development of a civil society in late imperial Russia. Wagner documents the professionalization of legal experts, proposals for the reform of marriage and property laws, and the interplay between societal demands and the structure of civil courts. He paints a complex picture. On the one hand, in a manner consistent with the Western historiography of the late imperial bureaucracy, he portrays the intractability of the autocratic system to internal reform because of competing administrative structures and a commitment to the political status quo. On the other hand, he demonstrates how jurists of various ideological persuasions perceived the need to reform the civil law according to the models of Western industrializing nations. Wagner argues that their proposals and the high court's practice of circumventing statutory law by adapting civil law to changing societal conditions had revolutionary implications. Independent of the autocracy, the Civil Cassation Department of the Senate, Russia's high court, reinterpreted civil law on the basis of notions of legality, civil equality, and the importance of emotional family relationships. In doing so, the jurists paradoxically adopted the autocracy's paternalism, viewing the law as a vehicle for transforming society. At the same time, they contested the patriarchalism and hegemony of the autocratic system, the Orthodox church's control of family, and the landed nobility's privileges.

The book is divided into two parallel parts: the first deals with reform of marriage and family law and the second with revision of property and inheritance law. In both sections Wagner looks at traditional law, the jurists' critique of tradition, the limits of legislative reform, and the high court's revision of juridical practice. He highlights the ideological conflicts over family and inheritance law as differing responses to modernization in late imperial Russia. Competing administrative, ecclesiastical, and educated elites all sought social stability, but they split over the means to achieve that end. Conservatives sought some adaptation of traditional values; progressive and populist jurists hoped to guide social change by adopting a Western legal framework.

These ideological divisions, wrapped in competing notions of authority, deepened as time went on, reducing chances for mediation and substantial legislative reform. On the one end the intransigence of the church with regard to the patriarchal family blocked any attempt to secularize divorce, earning the enmity of even conservative lay advocates of family reform. On the other end the Civil Cassation Department compensated for the inability of the governmental structure to amend the civil code; well before the

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limited statutory reforms of the 1910s, it facilitated marital separation and expanded the power of individuals to control the devolution of their property. This still fell short, however, of liberal demands for personal rights for wives and the abolition of patrimonial property and hierarchical relationships; and some progressives were also uncomfortable with the court's violation of statutory law to effect changes in civil matters. In a more positive light, Wagner argues that the flexibility the high court showed in its reinterpretation of the law allowed trained jurists to meet changing social demands. Wives, especially among the urban poor, obtained freedom from abusive husbands and the opportunity to work outside the home, and members of Russia's elite gained an expansion of testamentary power.

Wagner concludes that disputes over the definition of family and property in late imperial Russia resembled earlier conflicts that contributed to the revolutions of Western Europe and colonial America. He merely asserts this conclusion, however, without detailing similarities or implications. The same silence accompanies his claim that the Civil Cassation Department acted in a revolutionary fashion in reformulating the law. By not examining the constitutional ramifications of competing branches of governmental power, Wagner tantalizes but fails to satisfy his readers. This book complements Laura Engelstein's *The Keys to Happiness: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Russia* (1992) but does not provide equivalent analytical rigor. Nonetheless scholars and advanced graduate students will find in it much useful information about Russian jurists and the workings of the Civil Cassation Department.

Christine D. Worobec
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Savelii Dudakov. *Istoriia odnogo mifa: Ocherki russkoi literatury XIX–XX vv.* [The History of a Myth: Essays on Russian Literature of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries]. Moscow: Nauka. 1993. Pp. 280.

The dubious honor of concocting the anti-Semitic classic, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, has long been conceded to the Paris branch of the Russian secret service, the Okhrana, at the turn of the century. Investigators have emphasized the Okhrana's reliance on Western raw materials, such as M. Joli's *Le Dialogue aux Enfers* (1864), and H. Goedsche's novel *Biarritz* (1868), to prove the existence of a Jewish or Judeo-Masonic conspiracy for world domination. Savelii Dudakov reasserts a Russian claim to priority, identifying a diverse legacy of Russian memoirs and belles-lettres dating from 1812 that developed this theme.

The "hero" of Dudakov's study is O. A. Przhetslavskii (Jozef Przeclawski), a Polish renegade in Russian service who may well have helped compile an influential bureaucratic report in the 1840s that "proved" the reality of the ritual murder accusation, spread conspiracy theories in his own memoirs, and helped edit similar works by others. Emphasis on Przhetslavskii, ironically, leads Dudakov to underestimate the role of the most important purveyor of the legend, as he gives only a few pages to Iakov Brafman's *Book of the Kahal* (1869). Unlike much of the literature identified by Dudakov, which was little known or published after the conspiracy motif was already well established, Brafman's work was widely noted in Russia and was translated into a number of Western languages. Any contemporary reference to the "international Jewish kahal" almost certainly had a provenance in Brafman. His identification of the role of the kahal is the most demonstrable Russian contribution to the European-wide conspiracy theory.

Dudakov traces not so much the "history of one myth" (that is, the *Protocols*) as the development of the paranoid tendency in Russian thought. At various times not only Jews and Freemasons but also Poles, Germans, and "Illuminati" served as the cornerstone of conspiracy theories. (I was surprised to learn that my own institution was part of one such plot, uncovered by M. L. Magnitskii in a report to Tsar Nicholas I in 1831. Magnitskii demonstrated the power of the Illuminati by revealing their role in the foundation of University College—without a faculty of theology but with academic employment for Jews.)

Dudakov never effectively explains why Jews and Freemasons were eventually singled out for special distinction in the realm of conspiracies. Part of the answer lies in the process by which Jews and Freemasons were linked in the European mind, a phenomenon explored in a classic work by Jacob Katz (*Jews and Freemasons in Europe, 1723–1939* [1970]). Likewise, much is left unsaid about the evolution of a homegrown, "objective" Judeophobia in Russia (that Jews are religious fanatics and economic exploiters, for example), which eventually linked up with paranoid conspiracy fancies. Dudakov relies too much on a rather simplistic ideological causality, linking the conspiratorial mind-set to such phenomena as Pan-Slavism in the 1870s, or the post-Stalinist crisis of the "evil empire."

Dudakov does illustrate how infectious conspiracy theories were, as anti-Semites shamelessly plagiarized each other's works, in the process totally eradicating any division between literary fiction and allegedly objective facts. The most recent example he finds in Igor Shafarevich's notorious essay, "Russophobia," which turns out to owe an enormous but unacknowledged intellectual debt to the anti-Semitic works of G. Bostunich, published in the 1920s.

Dudakov has uncovered an amazing plethora of polemical-literary progenitors of the *Protocols*, and no investigator can ignore his important and informative book. Would that it had been more carefully edited: the text abounds with eccentric word-breaks, probably the result of computer typesetting rather than conspir-

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acy. Judeo-Masonic plotters, one hopes, would not have printed the Hebrew footnotes upside down!

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ARTO LUUKKANEN. *The Party of Unbelief: The Religious Policy of the Bolshevik Party, 1917–1929*. (Studia Historica, number 48.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1994. Pp. 274.

Scholarship based on the greatly expanded access over the past several years to archives in the former Soviet Union is now making its way into print. Arto Luukkanen's published dissertation employs many formerly closed archives in Moscow to narrate the inside story of the origins and evolution of the regime's policy toward religion from 1917 to 1929. He argues that the Bolsheviks sought to isolate the Russian Orthodox church immediately after the revolution and during the Civil War. The regime's strategy became substantially more aggressive under Leon Trotsky's leadership in the early 1920s. Although Trotsky was known to have headed the assault on the Orthodox church in 1922 during the "church valuables" crisis, Luukkanen credits him with other policies from 1921 to 1923, his authorship of which had been unknown or only suspected. This effort is more successful in some places than in others; for instance, his depiction of Trotsky's role at the Twelfth Party Congress in 1923 is not entirely persuasive.

Luukkanen argues that Trotsky directed the regime's attack on religion only as long as V. I. Lenin was healthy and supported him. When Lenin's health began to fade, the competition for power was directly reflected in the regime's changing posture toward religion. This linkage between Kremlin maneuvering and antireligious policy is well taken and constitutes Luukkanen's basic organizing theme. Trotsky's displacement from the antireligious apparatus by 1923 was followed by a period of greater tolerance because the regime's new leadership, specifically Joseph Stalin and Grigorii Zinoviev, was nominally concerned with cultivating good relations with the peasantry. The return to an openly aggressive strategy at decade's end accompanied the removal from power of the so-called moderates, most notably Nikolai Bukharin. These assertions are less original than the archival materials Luukkanen uses to document the shifts in policy. He separately reviews the regime's relationships toward other religious groups (Jews, Catholics, and Muslims), properly placing them in the context of the regime's overall nationalities policy.

Luukkanen's reliance on the central archives is this book's greatest strength and its greatest weakness. Although he deftly exploits his sources to produce a detailed account of Bolshevik policy making, the resulting study has the extremely narrow focus typical of many dissertations. Luukkanen rarely ventures beyond the Kremlin gates and a dozen or so high-level figures to consider how policy was actually implemented. However interesting they may be, the ideological musings of Lenin and Trotsky were far removed from the actual relationship of church and state in the countryside. Although a study encompassing the now open local archives would go far beyond the task Luukkanen sets for himself, a greater awareness of this world outside Moscow is necessary for a comprehensive understanding of Bolshevik policy toward religion. Nevertheless, this book remains extremely useful as a handbook for official policy. It is also an unparalleled resource for identifying archival materials in Moscow concerning the relationship of church and state in the early Soviet period.

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JOHN ANDERSON. *Religion, State and Politics in the Soviet Union and Successor States*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 236. Cloth $54.95, paper $18.95.

John Anderson's book fills a void, providing a short survey of religious policy and conditions in the Soviet Union and its successor states from 1954 to the present. Recognizing that religious conditions in the eras of V. I. Lenin and Joseph Stalin have been thoroughly researched, Anderson begins his story with Nikita Khrushchev, throwing new light on the antireligious campaign of the late-Khrushchev era as well as on subsequent developments.

Anderson's purview is comprehensive, covering not only the Russian Orthodox Church but also the Catholic Church, Islam, Judaism, the Armenian Apostolic Church, Lutherans, Jehovah's Witnesses, and even devotees of the Hare Krishna movement. Taking advantage of recently opened archives, Anderson offers some important corrections and revelations. He shows, for example, that the official claim that about 20,000 registered places of worship existed in the late 1970s was grossly overstated, and he provides documentation to establish that fewer than 20,000 registered places of worship remained at the close of Khrushchev's antireligious campaign in 1964. Again, in a surprising revelation, he shows that even at the height of Khrushchev's antireligious campaign, as well as later, some state and party officials spoke out against administrative violations of believers' legally enshrined rights (pp. 26–27, 73).

Where many writers have emphasized the Soviet state's power vis-à-vis the religious communities, Anderson prefers to underline the limits of state power. He notes in particular that the leadership's decision under Leonid Brezhnev to adopt a less confrontational approach in dealing with religion reflected a realization that the Khrushchev campaign had failed to uproot religion from people's hearts (p. 67). The book also includes excellent summaries of the Mikhail Gorbachev and post-Soviet developments, including the rise of Islamic parties in Central Asia.

Anderson did his research in Moscow and at Keston

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College, England. While in Moscow, Anderson made extensive use of the State Archives of the Russian Federation (formerly the Central State Archive of the October Revolution) and the archives of the Center for the Preservation of Contemporary Documentation (formerly the archive of the CPSU Central Committee). He has also made full use of a wide range of Russian-language materials (including *samizdat* sources), secondary works in English, and sundry Russian journals and newspapers.

This is a first-rate piece of scholarship and establishes Anderson as one of the foremost scholars in the area of religion and politics in Russia.

SABRINA P. RAMET
University of Washington

NEAR EAST

SURAIYA FAROQHI. *Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj under the Ottomans, 1517–1683*. New York: I. B. Tauris. 1994. Pp. xi, 244. $59.50.

One of the central threads of Islamic history has been the obligation of the faith that believers, at least once in their lifetime, make a pilgrimage to Mecca should they have the means to do so. The result, always emotional, but also diffuse, has been an enormous literature of accounts of pilgrimage, which notes the stages of travel to Mecca, describes the main buildings in that city, and conveys the individual responses of pilgrims to their experience. For over four hundred years, from 1517 on, the Ottoman empire had sovereignty over the holy cities of western Arabia, Mecca and Medina. The pilgrimage was an essential thread in the early modern and modern history of the Middle East, as Suraiya Faroqhi argues in her erudite and comprehensive study.

Faroqhi is an eminent historian of the economic and social history of the Ottoman empire. An enthusiastic practitioner of the *Annales* paradigm, she has written extensively on, among other topics, property ownership in Anatolian towns. Her work on that subject showed her the importance of the *hajj*, the pilgrimage, to ordinary Ottoman subjects and directed her to investigate that phenomenon.

Seven chapters are framed by an introduction and conclusion that connect the remote and recent past. Faroqhi's main intention is to show how the Ottoman ruling elite viewed its role in promoting and protecting the pilgrimage. As leaders of an Islamic state, indeed the preeminent Islamic state, that elite regarded their legitimacy as tied closely to the successful and safe conduct of the annual pilgrimage. To succeed, the Ottomans had to protect the often-dangerous routes to Arabia (dealing with nomadic Arab tribes that had to be coopted into allowing safe passage for pilgrims), to subsidize the religious establishments and the poor in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and to construct and refurbish the sacred sites there as an expression of their commitment. The last two chapters are among the most interesting. Here Faroqhi explores the political issues involved in the Ottomans' dealing with the presence of Iranian, Indian, Central Asian, and Moroccan pilgrims (among other non-Ottoman Muslims), and she also considers the voluminous trade—the economic dimension of pilgrimage—that accompanied the fulfillment of an obligation of the Islamic faith.

Faroqhi has exploited the richness of the Ottoman archives, the manuscript and printed sources in Turkish and Arabic, and the findings of modern scholarship to inform her discussion of the pilgrimage in Ottoman times. This is a major work of scholarship, accessible to specialists, but perhaps a little too specialized for general readers (I am equally guilty in that department). One might raise one question regarding the period on which the author concentrates: the initial date of 1517 is logical, corresponding to the completion of the Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt, whose pre-Ottoman political regime, the Mamluks, had claimed sovereignty over western Arabia; but what of 1683 (the date of the second Ottoman siege of Vienna)? It is true that by that time, the Ottomans began to experience considerable difficulty in ensuring the safe departure and return of pilgrims to Mecca; but it is not clear in Faroqhi's work what that date marks: the end of an era, a change in policy, or some other dramatic change. But this is only a minor criticism of a major work of scholarship in Ottoman and Islamic history.

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Siena College

YITZHAK NAKASH. *The Shi'is of Iraq*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 312. $35.00.

This is by far the best book among all of the works, mostly potboilers, that have appeared about Iraq since the Gulf War. Yitzhak Nakash divides his book into four parts and nine chapters. Part 3 (chaps. 5–7) deals with rituals and religious practices; part 4 describes the rise and decline of Shi'a shrine cities, especially Najaf and Karbala, and the establishment and decline of Shi'i religious and educational institutions.

Chapter 1 is the most important for historians. Nakash makes fundamental contributions to our knowledge about one of the most significant developments in modern Middle Eastern history: the rapid conversion of the southern tribes in Iraq to Shi'ism, largely in the nineteenth century. He compares this phenomenon to three other prominent cases of religious state formation in the Middle East and North Africa: the Wahhabiyya in Arabia (1745–1818, 1823–80s, and 1902–present), the Mahdiyya in the Sudan (1881–98) and the Sanusiyya in Libya in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He could have added Iran since 1978.

Before the conversion of the tribes in southern Iraq to Shi'ism, there is no evidence that suggests the Shi'is "were ever close to forming the majority of the population in Iraq before the nineteenth or even the

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twentieth century" (p. 25). Nakash thus dispels one important myth. Unfortunately, he makes no attempt to establish just what percentage of Iraq's population was Shi'i prior to the large-scale conversion of the nineteenth century.

Nakash immediately delves into the significant question of why the tribes in southern Iraq converted to Shi'ism, which resulted by 1919 in making the Shi'is the majority population of Iraq (1.5 million out of a total population of 2.85 million). He offers several reasons. First, to defend themselves against Ibn Saud's Wahhabi warriors in the late 1800s, the recently arrived Iranian *ulama* thought it in their interest to convert the tribes to Shi'ism to protect the shrine cities and the income from them. Second, the construction of the Hindiyya Canal (completed in 1803) and the subsequent abundant availability of arable farmland in the Najaf and Karabal regions allowed the Ottomans to pursue their tribal settlement policies after 1831. And, finally, Shi'ism was a medium that allowed the socially fragmented and psychologically dislocated tribesmen to adjust better to the vagaries and vicissitudes of becoming sedentary. By 1908 the Shi'is of Iraq had managed to create a nascent state. This alarmed the Sunnis who, in alliance with the British, crushed a Shi'i bid for control of the new Iraqi state in 1920. Subsequently the Sunnis, led by Sunni ex-Ottoman military officers, allied with the Hashemites of the Hijaz and with the British. This triumvirate was successful in quashing subsequent Shi'i challenges up to the revolution in 1958, where the book ends.

Nakash describes the divide-and-rule, coercive, and suppressive military policies used by the triumvirate to maintain power. He also discusses the difficulties encountered by the Iraqi Shi'is to strengthen their community after the establishment of the Iraqi state in 1920 and the Pahlavi state in Iran in 1925. A major weakness of this study is the author's failure to adequately spell out Britain's geopolitical and geostrategical polices (studies of which are notably lacking in the bibliography), which would have made clearer many of the developments and events discussed. Nevertheless, this is a fine study. It will remain the best account of the period and topic for some time. It obviates the need to turn to any of the hackneyed, polemical, and unscholarly potboilers that cascaded forth after the Gulf War.

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AFRICA

V. Y. MUDIMBE. *The Idea of Africa*. (African Systems of Thought.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press or James Currey, London. 1994. Pp. xvii, 234. Cloth $29.95, paper $11.95.

In these essays, V. Y. Mudimbe, an African social critic, novelist, and philosopher, attempts to show how the intellectual disorder characterizing current thinking about African identity holds deep political implications rooted in Africans' long experiences with outsiders, especially during the colonial era. He portrays the complexity and contradictions of the idea of Africa. He claims that current revisions of that idea, related to Martin Bernal's work on possible African influences on Greek culture (*Black Athena* [1987]), will revolutionize thinking about Africa.

This book contains a preface, five essays, and postscript. The first essay considers disparate texts, Philostratus, Robert Burton, Pope Alexander VI, and several recent historians of Western writings about cultural alterity. The second discusses ideas of Africa inspired by the American anthropologist Melville Herskovits and a recent critic of anthropologists, Jean-Loup Amselle, along with how twentieth-century European artists interpreted African art in order to bolster their own modernism. The third essay considers ways classical writers such as Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny, and Diodorus Siculus influenced Western thinking about Africa. It concludes with criticism of Bernal's *Black Athena* and its impact on African-European cultural history. The fourth considers how Christian missionaries in the Congo tried to disengage Africans from their cultural roots through language, daily routines, naming, and resettlement. It concludes with an attempt to deconstruct Zaire President Joseph Mobutu's writings as examples of such alienation. The fifth essay appraises contemporary African artists in terms of ways they try to recover cultural identity and integrity while creating in media often associated with a non-African tradition. It focuses on critical models established by Marshall Mount's categorization of contemporary African art, Christopher Miller's critique of Francophone African writers, and Bernadette Cailler's study of the French Caribbean writer Edouard Glissant.

These essays epitomize French scholasticism at its most pretentious and impenetrable. Many sources are Francophone, and the major analytical influences stem from French structuralist, deconstructionist, and postmodernist writers. This is not reader-friendly writing. It reads like poor translation of obscure French prose. None of the essays holds together. The author is exceedingly discursive and unfocused, intruding numerous odd remarks and references that distract from any issues at hand.

The flaws in these essays go beyond murky writing, slipshod organization, and unconvincing arguments. No issue is properly researched. Mudimbe's usual method is scissors-and-paste citation of disparate critics followed by scattered and narrow-focused criticisms of these writers. Less well-known authors are often preferred to key thinkers. He ignores, for example, recent major and brilliant studies of Herodotus's notions of Africa and cultural alterity, to the serious detriment of the analysis. Herskovits's interpretations are taken out of the historical context of American prewar social studies and wrongly implied to represent major contemporary views in anthropology. I found

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Mudimbe's views on anthropology, past and present, alarmingly narrow and distorted. He may be ill-read, but this appears also due to a disturbing hostility to empirical research in the social sciences. Mudimbe treats anthropology as a collection of literary texts with little or no consideration of how realities of social action, economics, environment, history, and politics inform analyses. His favorite anthropologists seem to be Claude Lévi-Strauss, Marcel Griaule, and Luc de Heusch. Mudimbe's analyses of nearly all topics, from anthropology and history to literature and art, exhibit similar tendencies to overabstraction at the expense of the particularities of life and experience. Mudimbe's use of significant works on Africa by historians, sociologists, and archaeologists is exceedingly limited, even where such works are central for dealng with such dubious and controversial writers as Bernal and Cheik Diop. Mudimbe rarely explains issues to the general reader; anyone unfamiliar with the intricacies of contemporary African studies seems unlikely to be sure what issues are involved or how they relate to broader views involving Africa or any scholarly discipline. Mudimbe has a reputation as a distinguished scholar and thinker in African studies; this book does not reflect this.

T. O. Beidelman
New York University

D. K. Fieldhouse. *Merchant Capital and Economic Decolonization: The United Africa Company 1929–1987*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xxviii, 932. $95.00.

The United Africa Company (UAC), a unit of the giant Lever combine, dominated Africa's import-export business from 1929, when it formed through the merger of two main rivals, to 1989, when it was reorganized out of existence. D. K. Fieldhouse had earlier written on Unilever's non-European industrial and plantation enterprises (*Unilever Overseas: The Anatomy of a Multinational 1895–1965* [1978]); now gaining the opportunity to read the UAC archives before they were moved, he has written a business history that addresses key questions of economic decolonization.

In two capsule chapters on the UAC, Fieldhouse shows how the visible hand of central management in London guided and controlled a firm that was otherwise a maze of specific units handling the complexities of import-export trade, mostly in West Africa and above all in Nigeria. Although the book's framework emphasizes continuity, themes of mutability emerge and ultimately gain dominance. The stock market crisis of 1929, although it did not create the UAC, gave the firm its form. World War II brought marketing boards for export produce; its aftermath brought the end to the system of pools through which trading firms controlled produce and shipping prices; decolonization brought the Africanization of existing units and the creation of new firms at the national level; and the economic crises of the 1970s and 1980s brought an end to UAC.

Fieldhouse shows that the hold-up of deliveries by Gold Coast (now Ghana) cocoa farmers in 1938 and the Accra riots of 1948 had their effects on company policy; the first led to the creation of the marketing-board system, and the second resulted in the abandonment of pools and similar restrictive practices by import-export firms. But while these events in Ghana could structure a West African market dominated by Nigeria, Ghanaians were unable to sustain their era of national prosperity and economic leadership.

This book is too long, but the attentive reader can see why Fieldhouse decided to hold on to each page. His extensive knowledge of the literature on African imperial and business history shows up not so much in the citations as in his subtle and at times stinging conclusions. Summarizing the approach of independence to Guinea in 1958, for example, he concludes that "the government had no option but to impose very strict control of imports and to adopt barter with the East European states, while disguising this as withdrawal from the international capitalist economy" (p. 367).

Especially in his discussion of the marketing board, Fieldhouse helps distinguish corporate from colonial government approaches to African economies. The governments in London and Africa, rather than trading firms, most insistently declined to put higher revenues in the hands of African producers, mistrusting their ability to invest intelligently. This analysis implicitly raises the question of which structures—governmental or corporate—have been more important in determining the Western outlook toward Africa in years since (as expressed, for instance, in World Bank policies).

Fieldhouse notes, rightly, that his is not a company history. His analysis of the creation of marketing boards in the 1940s balances corporate against government archives in both London and the colonies. But his even-handedness does not extend to full inclusion of African outlooks. Thus, his analysis of the decline of the open economy in the 1970s relies exclusively on corporate archives, in part because African official sources are difficult of access.

Fieldhouse emphasizes the attempt of management, serious if reluctant, to adapt to African nationalism. He also underlines the steady narrowing of the open economy, which removed all scope for a centralized, general import-export firm. UAC's shift to specialized import-export and industrial production made it no different from other firms, and it was absorbed into them. The UAC came to an end in 1987, not dying but transfigured. Fieldhouse ends his story not with regret for UAC, but with a frank statement about restructuring in a changing marketplace.

Fieldhouse has told the story of the UAC well. Archives may not fall so neatly into the hands of other historians, but there are equivalent tales to be told for

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the World Bank, the IMF, and the firms that dominate African economic life now that the UAC is gone.

PATRICK MANNING
Northeastern University

JOAN MARK. *The King of the World in the Land of the Pygmies*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 276. $30.00.

The foragers of the central African forest, referred to indiscriminantly by Westerners as "pygmies," have been a source of fascination to outsiders since Pharaonic times. In recent times, no one stoked this fascination more than Patrick Putnam, one of the first Westerners to take seriously the people and cultures of the forest. And to many outsiders the fascination with "the forest people" was only accentuated by the fascination with Putnam himself. Although he wrote very little of the forest cultures, much was written of him, and he left an important academic legacy through the work of Colin Turnbull, whom he introduced to the Bambuti forest people of Epulu.

Born in 1904 to a wealthy Boston family, Putnam established a small settlement on the Epulu River of eastern Zaire; there, in the Ituri Forest, he was to spend most of his adult life. The contrast between turn-of-the-century Boston wealth and "pygmy culture" irresistibly attracts Joan Mark, as it did many others who knew Putnam. At Harvard, Putnam was a feckless student. Reluctant to choose a career, he joined an anthropological expedition to Africa and stayed in the Belgian Congo, working eventually in a variety of roles as medical agent, agricultural entrepreneur, art collector, advisor to Tarzan films, and hotel manager. But mostly he served as friend, lover, and autocrat to the people of Epulu, the forest people who were to give him his identity.

In fact, despite the romantic allure of the background of Boston-Harvard-Martha's Vineyard and the foreground of the Ituri Forest, what was important to his life was the intersection with other people at any given moment: he had gone to Africa, he noted, "believing that natives are natives, and in all these years [I] have learned one big thing and that is that they are people, differently brought up from us, to be sure, but nevertheless people." This premise shows in many ways: in his rejection of the social pretensions of his own class and day, in the zestful attacks on his society's racial and sexual assumptions, and in his disdain for many aspects of colonialism and the premises on which it was based.

Another element that accounts for the fascination with his life is that, like the image itself, Putnam was a complex man, full of contradictions. He both utterly depended on and consciously deserted his childhood family. He both needed and neglected—and sometimes abused—his women, both African and American. He both genuinely appreciated and openly exploited African cultures. He loved Africans as individuals, defending their integrity to others, yet he ordered them around in an appalling and arbitrary fashion. And he both deeply disdained and sincerely worked for the colonial government.

But Mark's book fails to enter into these contradictions as social constructs. It is a chronicle of Putnam's life, faithfully recording his moves, concerns, loves, and struggles. It is based on diligent research among his papers and letters (primarily to his family) and the writings of other Americans who knew him. But that is also the book's constraint, for it deals mostly with those elements of his life and thought that he wished to share with his family. It is unusually rich correspondence, to be sure, but it is nonetheless skewed. Mark apparently never visited Epulu or talked with any of the Africans who worked with Putnam, the people with whom he spent most of his adult life. Consequently, with the exception of its final chapter (on the work of Colin Turnbull and Anne, Putnam's third American wife), the work seldom rises above American popular perceptions of the 1920s.

It is a pity that Mark did not engage herself more fully with the African context that was Putnam's life, for there are many irritating, dated, or simply erroneous characterizations here. They arise in part because the author simply repeats indiscriminantly what she has read from any observer of any time period. Languages are misrepresented; the nature and experience of colonial power in the Congo is sketchy at best (thus obscuring Putnam's local significance); the histories of African societies are dated and hopelessly schematic. Although some of these misrepresentations may be insignificant in themselves, together they dominate the portrayal of Africa in this work and provide a misleading image, one that perpetuates the myths of Africa that Americans wove around the figure of Putnam.

In short, this book is about a fascinating character, and a sad one, who succumbed at age forty-nine to a variety of afflictions; polio and emphysema as well as multiple bouts with malaria and other tropical parasites, and at least a touch of "lunacy." The account is both sympathetic and honest. But it tells us more of American society—and the myths it lived by, including the creation of the images of the forest people—than it does about Africa. It touches on issues that take this beyond a "traveler's account," but only just barely, and it fails adequately to explore the social constructions it portrays. This is a good story, for Putnam's was an interesting life, lived with great intensity, and that may be cause enough to write about it. But it is never clear if this is an analysis or simply a reconstruction of the assumptions of the day, irony or parody.

DAVID NEWBURY
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

PHILIP M. ALLEN. *Madagascar: Conflicts of Authority in the Great Island*. (Nations of Contemporary Africa.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1995. Pp. xiv, 254. $54.95.

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Madagascar, a nation occupying the world's fourth largest island and located 400 kilometers from the southeast African coast, often is treated as a somewhat different African nation because of the mixed African and Asian ancestry of its peoples. The French ruled Madagascar from the 1890s until its independence in 1960. The bulk of scholarship concerning the island is in French. Philip Allen, with experience in Madagascar stretching back to 1962, employs his rich knowledge of the island's inhabitants and their recent past to produce a useful analysis of its twentieth-century history for English-language readers. A welcome aspect of the study is Allen's consideration of how the distinct cultural attributes of Madagascar's many differing peoples influence historical and political currents. He is particulary helpful in explaining the social tensions arising in the conflict between the traditional world and modern pressures and in emphasizing the lasting resistance of local populations to outside—both foreign and Malagasy—authority.

The French followed their usual colonial principles once they ruled the island, through assimilationist policies attempting to create an indigenous elite grounded in French culture. By World War II only about 8,000 Malagasy had accepted French citizenship, but they were an important group for the future. When the colony gained independence it followed patterns common in other former French African territories. The French continued to be important in economic and political affairs of the first Malagasy republic under the direction of Philibert Tsiranana and the Social Democratic Party (PSD). The party built on past internal themes of Malagasy history as it worked to repress the strong position in society of the once powerful Merina people. The Merina and other opposition elements then joined their opposition to a Marxist matrix. In internal development the government left important aspects of economic development primarily to French concerns. When French interest cooled during the late 1960s the government turned to racist South Africa. The bulk of the population did not benefit from the regime's policies. The French did not intervene when opponents toppled the regime in 1972. From the mid 1970s to the end of the 1980s Madagascar's second republic, under the leadership of Didier Ratsiraka, called itself a socialist state. The French role declined and many businesses were nationalized. The socialist remedies for improving the economy worked no better than the previous neocolonial attempts. As in many other African nations, the regime was socialist in name only. By the 1990s the island's economy was in a shambles and a third republic came to office determined to reverse the unfavorable policies of the past.

Allen guides the reader through the complex series of changes occurring in Malagasy social, economic, and political life, although I occasionally got lost in an endless sea of acronyms and not always very relevant names of ephemeral politicians. Allen's volume will become a standard account of Malagasy history and society for non-French readers.

NORMAN R. BENNETT
Boston University

MALYN NEWITT. *A History of Mozambique*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1995. Pp. xxii, 679. Cloth $57.50, paper $24.95.

Malyn Newitt is one of the leading historians of Lusophonic Africa. His monograph *Portuguese Settlement on the Zambesi* (1973) and his shorter synthetic study *Portugal in Africa* (1981) have both been widely acclaimed. The present volume is the fruit of more than twenty years of research. Meticulously researched and clearly written, it is a major addition to literature on southern Africa.

Organized chronologically with thematic subsections, the book spans roughly five centuries. It begins with the arrival of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century and concludes with the recent peace agreement and the move toward multiparty democracy. To his credit, Newitt takes a long view of Mozambican history, thereby avoiding the tendency in the literature to privilege the colonial period. More than half of his study explores the centuries before formal colonial rule. The author's discussion of the shifting power relations between Lisbon, the autonomous Afro-Portuguese community, and the states of the interior is both subtle and original. So, too, is his discussion of the ways that the slave trade and the growth of new conquest states helped to remake the political map of nineteenth-century Mozambique.

The book's overarching thesis is that "the history of Mozambique can be viewed as a dialectic between forces of integration and those of disintegration" (p. vi). For Newitt, integration means the formation of large, secure polities that are economically and culturally interconnected. He points to the growth of the Karanga, Maravi, Tsonga, and Nguni states in Mozambique, the incorporation of different parts of the country into the world economy and the expansion of Islam in the north as moments of creative integration. He stresses that the proliferation of complex societies was neither a smooth nor an irreversible process. Periodically, warlords and invaders conquered existing states and smaller communities, precipitating a cycle of political violence, rural dislocation, and famine. Newitt documents this recurring pattern, which reached its tragic climax during the recent civil war.

Given this state-centered approach, it is hardly surprising that the book's greatest strength is as a political history. The author meticulously reconstructs the organization and development of the major precolonial states, their structural weaknesses as well as the threats posed by the Afro-Portuguese communities, local slavers, and foreign invaders. He is at his best when analyzing Lisbon's early efforts to establish a meaningful presence in the region and a modicum of control over the burgeoning Afro-Portuguese commu-

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nity that by the nineteenth century had developed a unique culture and sense of identity. His concern about how political power was contested on the ground is reflected in the detailed examination of the late-nineteenth-century colonial conquest of Mozambique and the ways in which the colonial project was transformed under the authoritarian regime of Antonio Salazar. A balanced account of the nationalist war of liberation and a critical discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the post-independence FRELIMO government close out the political narrative.

The study also provides a comprehensive discussion of Mozambique's commercial history and its uneven incorporation into the world economy. Newitt carefully chronicles Mozambique's role in the Indian Ocean trading system first as a source of gold and then ivory, and the subsequent growth of the slave trade in the eighteenth century. He also explores the complex set of ecological, economic, and political factors that transformed the Portuguese colony into a labor reserve for South Africa in the late nineteenth century and the distorting effects of the Salazar regime's neo-mercantile policies in this century.

Any general history, even one as thorough and impressive as this, must necessarily privilege some subjects at the expense of others. That the historiography of Mozambique is still in a formative stage further compounds the problem of thematic balance. Nevertheless, there are a few important gaps in this study. Despite the stress on politics, there is very little discussion on the ideological and cultural basis of kinship and virtually no exploration of the way power was contested at the local, community, and household levels in either the precolonial or colonial period. Newitt's state-centered formulation also places too much weight on the integrative effects of state formation, when in fact the development of new and more powerful polities often led to increased violence and new demands on the subject population. Newitt's masterful reconstruction of the flow of commodities would have also been enhanced by a fuller consideration of how the labor, which produced these commodities, was organized. Finally, important aspects of the social and cultural history of this century receive only limited attention. The struggle for the cities, race relations, and the impact of migrant labor on gender relations and household economies all take a back seat to the country's political history. To his credit, Newitt acknowledges many of these gaps and one hopes that when he revises this splendid book he will find the opportunity to develop many of these issues. For now, we are indebted to Newitt for producing a major work of synthesis that will remain the standard historical reference on Mozambique for many years to come.

ALLEN ISAACMAN
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T. C. MCCASKIE. *State and Society in Pre-Colonial Asante*. (African Studies Series, number 79.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 492. $69.95.

T. C. McCaskie here presents an extremely detailed and skillful reconstruction of the Asante past. Arguing from the premise that Ivor Wilks's magnum opus, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century: The Structure and Evolution of a Political Order* (1975; 1989), was a materialist interpretation and an elitist history of Asante, McCaskie has as his goal bridging the gap between what he describes as "the reading of Asante history and the Asante reading of history" (p. 197). His ultimate target is to present from the inside an historic interpretation of the relationship that existed between the Asante state, initiated, controlled, and represented by a tenacious group of accumulators—the *abirempon* or "big men"—and the rest of society.

The title of *abirempon* was reserved for heads of territorial chiefdoms and also conferred by the state on the very wealthiest accumulators. Whether this wealth was expressed in land, labor, European goods, or gold, the basic purpose of accumulation was to provide food and security. The first two rulers of Asante, Asantehene (king) Osei Tutu and his successor Opoku Ware (during whose reigns from 1701 through 1750 the Asante state was initiated, consolidated, and expanded), represented the best of all accumulators. Reference to the Asante national symbol, the *sika dwa* (golden stool), as *Osei ne* and *Opoku sika dwa* was in recognition of the achievements of these rulers as the standard by which subsequent Asante rulers were to be measured.

The capacity of Asante rulers and *abirempon* to accumulate gave the state substantial power to intervene in the affairs of society. In fact, McCaskie sees the relationship between the Asante state and society in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a compromised equilibrium, a consent achieved through coercion or the potential of its use. Furthermore, and probably most importantly, these *abirempon* were able to impose their own hermeneutic interpretation on the preexisting context of knowledge that constituted the experiential basis of society.

If food production was the basic need for the Asante, McCaskie argues, then the *abirempon* were the best of food producers by virtue of their control over land and labor. Most importantly, these "big men" also succeeded in this accumulative pursuit because they were able to regulate relations between the sacred and profane environs. The Asante historical telling of when, why, and how the state succeeded in securing a stable environment for accumulation was reenacted periodically in the numerous ritual days of the Asante lunar calendar that culminated in the ritual activities prior to the first eating of the new yam at the annual *Odwira*.

The hermeneutical explanation of the hegemonic position by the state of its relations with society, McCaskie argues, is what many have failed to understand in the historical reading of Asante. Given such a

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premise, McCaskie is deliberate in analyzing state and society relations in precolonial times. His methodology forces an extensive reliance on primary sources, not only to show how the Asante state interpreted itself but also to demonstrate how nineteenth-century European commentators were in error in interpreting Asante political actions.

If McCaskie is critical of European (mis)representations in the nineteenth century, his perception of twentieth-century scholarship on Asante is even worse. His effort to identify good work and to expose errors in previous scholarship on Asante results in the development of impressive historiographical essays as endnotes. There are 120 pages of footnotes, forty-six pages of glossary of Asante terms, and a thirty-one-page bibliographical list for this 492–page book. This, indeed, is a thorough study of Asante from within.

Notwithstanding the great qualities of McCaskie's book, the author's sharp and almost abusive description of opposing interpretations of the Asante past, especially in the opening and closing chapters, is an unfortunate distraction. While not disagreeing on what he describes as the historical statements about Asante, McCaskie depicts Wilks, for example, as having presented astonishing interpretations of the facts. McCaskie argues that Wilks "fetishizes 'facts'", but history "is not factually 'true' in positivist sense." That is, Wilks chose to cling to the fantasy that "facts" speak for themselves, but they do not. In the end, what Wilks succeeded in doing was to manufacture "defective or shoddy goods" for which he should accept responsibility (pp. 434–35, n. 13).

For McCaskie, Wilks's greatest crime was to interpret history from the outside and to describe political structuralization in the Asante capital of Kumase as a bureaucratic development. Wilks's *Asante in the Nineteenth Century*, and especially the introduction to the 1989 reprint, is therefore described as a mere rationalized interpretation for the purpose of bringing Asante into the historical mainstream (p. 13). McCaskie describes this as "history with the ideas left out of it" (p. 16; see also p. 343 n. 61 and 62). Despite McCaskie's observations of Wilks, I believe that neither work is a substitute for the other. McCaskie's excellent analysis of Asante from within is a wonderful addition to Wilks's interpretation of Asante politics.

DAVID OWUSU-ANSAH
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JONATHON GLASSMAN. *Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856–1888*. (Social History of Africa.) Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, or James Currey, London, or E.A.E.P., Nairobi, or Mkuki na Nyota, Dar es Salaam. 1995. Pp. xvii, 293. Cloth $50.00, paper $22.95.

In August 1888 the port town of Pangani on the Indian Ocean coast of Tanganyika erupted in revolt. Crowds of slaves, caravan porters, and traders converged on the town to join local residents in raucous and carnivalesque celebrations of the holidays of *Idd-al-Hajj* and the solar new year, which coincided that year. Such occasions of revelry—marked by popular dances, mockery of authority, and gunfire—symbolically challenged the legitimacy of the local Swahili notables and their Arab overlords in Zanzibar. Thus, it was a particularly inauspicious moment for representatives of the German East Africa Company to declare themselves the new agents of the Zanzibar sultan and to attempt an assertion of suzerainty. With the local leadership unable to control events, the crowds overthrew the Zanzibar authorities and expelled the Germans. Almost a year would pass before German naval intervention ended the rebellion.

In this book Jonathon Glassman provides a fascinating and powerfully original account and analysis of these events. Rather than explore the Pangani revolt in isolation, he devotes much of the book to a wide-ranging exploration of the rebellion's origins and meanings. He extends his perspective in space, to the other towns on the Tanganyika coast that experienced similar upheavals, and in time, across the nineteenth century. The resulting study is occasionally repetitive and at points digressive, but Glassman's rigorous and creative reading of diverse sources results in a series of persuasive interpretive judgments that accumulate in a thorough revision of our understanding of the history of the coast region. Whereas previous interpretations of the rebellion have been largely confined within narratives of the European scramble for Africa, Glassman's analysis demonstrates that the local leaders who have been generally portrayed as the agents of the uprising were as much its target. These insurrections were therefore not futile anti-imperial gestures but the product of many decades of tensions and conflict in which Germans played only a small part.

During the nineteenth century, towns like Pangani became the bases from which the Zanzibar sultanate extended its commercial empire to the interior of East Africa. The surge in the caravan trade brought profound change both to societies in the interior and to the coastal ports. Pangani became not only a caravan terminus but also a center for sugar-cane production based on slave labor. This trade spread Islam and new commercial values into the interior and brought men and women from the interior to the coast. Although many came as slaves or porters, a number of these newcomers rose to positions of influence and asserted for themselves the identities of Muslim urban notables, acquiring with remarkable facility the fictive "Shirazi" pedigree that was an emblem of the patrician class. Building on recent scholarship on Swahili society and belief, Glassman shows that Pangani and the other coastal towns were dynamic communities where social and cultural contradictions abounded.

By contrasting the experience of Pangani with the histories of other coastal ports, Glassman illuminates the distinctive local characteristics of the rebellion. The intensified social conflict that resulted from the establishment of the Pangani sugar plantations by

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Zanzibari planters in part explains the relative ferocity and persistence of the revolt of 1888 in Pangani in comparison to rebellions in other coastal towns. One of the many virtues of this book, however, is that Glassman continually challenges class, race, and religious aggregation. Drawing especially on Antonio Gramsci, he dismisses notions of "false consciousness," preferring to embrace the contradictory language and actions of people, for example, who were regarded as "heathens" and yet opposed Muslim authorities in terms of fealty to Islam, or others who asserted local autonomy in a vocabulary of submission to Zanzibari rule.

Glassman considers the words and ritual actions of the players in the coastal revolts as forms of discourse, but "stresses the degree to which the forms of discourse define how social and political interests come to be perceived" (p. 17). This is a book, in short, that invests the views of obscure people and communities with the complexities they deserve. It will certainly be required reading for African historians, but it deserves an even broader readership.

A final note must be made concerning the twenty-one plates that complement and enhance the narrative and indeed serve as texts. No reader can escape the penetrating gaze of rebellion leader Bushiri bin Salim, whose actions—like those of other participants in these events—Glassman has so convincingly interpreted and brought to life.

CHARLES AMBLER
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BILL FREUND. *Insiders and Outsiders: The Indian Working Class of Durban, 1910–1990.* (Social History of Africa.) Portsmouth, N.H.: Heineman or University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, or James Currey, London. 1995. Pp. xv, 133. Cloth $50.00, paper $22.95.

Bill Freund undertakes to examine in this book the growth of the Indian working classes in Durban, a major port city on the eastern shore of South Africa. Building on the works of other scholars, he focuses on the structural changes underpinning that growth in a context in which race and class have always been important.

The indentured immigrants to South Africa from India and their descendants had the option between 1890 and 1920 of engaging in peasant farming. Freund explains why they did not do so. The Indians moved out of indentures (the importation ended in 1911, not the system of indentured servitude, as Freund states) and drifted to the growing industrial complex of greater Durban, where they encountered a racially segmented labor market. These early Indian residents (in 1927 there were 76,576 of them in contrast to 65,133 blacks and 80,820 whites) possessed few industrial skills and often supplemented their meager incomes with market gardening on home plots and fishing. They remained excluded from the better-paid jobs, which were reserved for whites. As late as 1943–44, 70 percent of the city's Indians lived under the poverty line. They did, however, increasingly join trade unions and display industrial militancy. The unions were committed symbolically, if not in practice, to nonracialism.

By 1990, the partcipation of the Indian working class in Durban's industrial economy had doubled. They constituted 41 percent of the work force in 1970 compared to 19 percent in 1936. The families nucleated (80 percent in 1978), and the apartheid state's expanded educational facilities ensured literacy for 96 percent of those between the ages of 15 and 35. As the Indian working classes became more conservative, they grew less open to nonracialism. Their voting behavior in South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994 shows apprehensions about the nonracial openness of the new era.

Given the earlier tendencies of Indian workers, Freund suggests, these trends are not unusual. Their industrial militancy in the 1930s and 1940s was always tempered by the fear of competition from black workers. They were less than enthusiastic about the alliance of the Indian Congresses and the African National Congress. And even in the case of the Group Areas Act, which forcibly removed thousands of Indians to Durban's peripheries, many welcomed the opportunity to own and live in homes away from slums and exploitive landlords.

Although this book adds new insights into the complexities of the interconnectedness of race, politics, and economics, it leaves the full story of the Indian working classes untold and incomplete. If many of them were conservative, they were also the sources of political activism and militancy in the 1940s, 1950s, and beyond. Among Indians who challenged the apartheid state, many came from a working-class background. Some now have roles in the new nonracial government of Nelson Mandela. In addition, Freund's inability to appreciate fully the cultural, religious, and caste constructs that inform the essentiality of ethnicity in Durban's working-class population is problematic. Multiple and overlapping sets of ascriptive loyalties make up the ethnic boundaries of the Indian working class. The role of ethnicity in the equation still remains to be adequately addressed.

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ASIA

CONRAD TOTMAN. *Early Modern Japan.* (A Philip E. Lilienthal Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xxix, 593. $45.00.

Historiography seems to follow cycles. First there is a broad general survey that serves as a common reference point for scholarship in a field. Historians then produce a flood of narrow specialized studies that

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refine or revise general assumptions. After digesting this research, a new generation publishes general surveys to arrive at another definitive consensus. Thus the ebb and flow of broad consensus, piecemeal specialized revision, and overall resynthesis goes on. In the field of early modern Japan, we have had general surveys by James Murdoch (*A History of Japan*, 3 vols. [1903–26]), George Sansom (*A History of Japan*, 3 vols. [1958–63]), and now Conrad Totman. The amateur historians Murdoch and Sansom wrote popular works for a Western reading public that viewed Japan as an exotic curiosity. By contrast, Totman addresses a historical profession that has granted Japan a secure place in university curricula. The publication of a six-volume *Cambridge History of Japan* (1988–), one volume of which treats the early modern period, testifies to this enhanced level of expertise and acceptance.

Totman's volume is clearly the standard introduction to this field for both graduate and advanced undergraduate students. On the one hand, Totman judiciously balances political, demographic, socioeconomic, cultural, and intellectual developments within Japan. Indeed, chapters may be read for their topical as well as chronological coverage. On the other hand, Totman also succeeds in placing the Tokugawa polity within a changing international context, although he might have discussed Japan's relations with China and other Asian neighbors in more depth, especially after the Opium War. In general, he masterfully synthesizes a vast amount of up-to-date secondary scholarship in Japanese and English, but here, too, he is open to question on occasion. Why, for example, does he use Hugh Borton's *Peasant Uprisings in Japan of the Tokugawa Period* (1938) to graph the development of peasant uprisings when more recent and detailed studies are available?

Clearly, however, we have more than an ordinary textbook here. Totman has written five monographs on early modern Japanese political and environmental history, and he clearly displays here the fruits of his earlier pioneering research. Furthermore, unlike most textbook authors, he expounds a provocative if somewhat guarded thesis. Totman challenges an influential trend in postwar Western scholarship that portrays this period as laying the foundations for Japan's highly successful "modernization" in contrast with Ch'ing-dynasty China. Instead, he contends that ecological constraints on human choice and development, combined with the Tokugawa policy of seclusion, force us to divide the period into two subperiods. During the first, from 1568 to about 1710, Japan enjoyed exuberant growth in population, in the economy, in sociopolitical institutions, and in cultural and intellectual pursuits. But in the following era of stasis, from the 1710s to 1867, environmental and ecological limits to "progress" became insurmountable in Japan. Hence, the Tokugawa ruling classes could at best struggle to stand still in the face of increasingly unsolvable problems. The pie was only so big in this zero-sum game.

Totman affirms the inescapably finite nature of Tokugawa Japan's economic and political systems. He emphasizes the linkage, not division, between human society and the natural world. And he underscores the essential if not absolute stunting of positive developments from the 1710s onward. In all these respects, he vaguely calls to mind many themes espoused by prewar Japanese historians—and also by Tokugawa Confucians—who tended to depict "degeneration" in the period. Totman holds that the modern conception of history as a story of limitless linear progress—once embraced as an article of naive faith—has of late fallen victim to environmental pollution, global warming, famine, and disease. These irregularities of nature closely resemble those cited by Tokugawa Confucians as portending "heavenly retribution" for a society impudent enough to live beyond its means.

Totman thus shows how a first-rate textbook can synthesize the findings of specialized research so as to formulate a new scholarly consensus. But more important, his contribution to historiography in the field heightens our appreciation for outdated studies that retain elements of historical truth despite having been invalidated on factual or technical grounds. It is at this deeper level of meaning that thoughtful readers of this book will find their richest reward.

Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi
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Tessa Morris-Suzuki. *The Technological Transformation of Japan: From the Seventeenth to the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 304. Cloth $59.95, paper $18.95.

Tessa Morris-Suzuki's book is a beautifully crafted integration of the history of technology into a general history in a Japanese setting. It goes a long way toward easing the shortage of English-language studies on the technological history of Japan. For each technique of production analyzed, its engineering aspects are briefly described and sometimes illustrated by a photograph or sketch. This would greatly help nonengineering readers get the feel of how machines, tools, and processes work to produce the results familiar to them.

Morris-Suzuki's principal concern is rather conventional: how Japan, despite its initial backwardness, has lately come to pose such formidable technological challenges to the West. A preponderant part of this question has to do with the Japanese process of catching up. A small part of it, now that the catch-up is accomplished, relates to how Japan will challenge the technological frontier. The periodization of Japanese history in this book is also conventional, as may be seen from the titles of its three parts: "The Tokugawa Heritage, 1603–1867"; "Technology in Industrializing Japan, 1868–1945"; and "The Making of a Technological Superpower since 1945."

Tokugawa Japan was not technologically backward or stagnant. Considerable progress in craft production

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occurred in the period and was diffused throughout Japan. This period deserves to be called the "industrious revolution"; technical choice tended to be biased in favor of labor-intensive methods. This implied improvements and embellishments in the quality of products produced in small supplies for limited markets, a legacy that cannot be disregarded in today's quality-conscious world.

Once Japan was opened to the West, the catch-up efforts in response to superior Western technology and science began in earnest. Japan rapidly equalized conditions, and this has to be explained. Simple explanations that were once popular, such as technology transfer or imitation, are no longer sufficient. Because modern technology is science-based, the acquisition, assimilation, and dissemination of scientific knowledge and methods were a large part of Japanese technological progress. This required a large, sustained investment in education. Resource constraints also dictated choices, modifications, and indigenizations of imported technologies. Japan's catching up with the West was never a matter of passive imitation. The society had to be stimulated and mobilized. How did Japan do it?

Morris-Suzuki points out that the Japanese are particularly good at organizing and using social networks for the spread of useful information. On the one hand, the center comprises large, powerful, advanced organizations like the state and its major universities, laboratories, and experimental stations, as well as leading private companies, national trade associations, research and consulting groups, and so on. On the other hand, the periphery includes various subnational organizations and groups such as prefectures, municipalities, specialized institutions of education and training, regional and local trade associations, smaller enterprises, and so forth. These groups and organizations are densely networked vertically and horizontally, so information on ideas, discoveries, innovations, and opportunities diffuses rapidly throughout Japan.

Morris-Suzuki describes in detail how these networks have worked in various industries over time. This network hypothesis of technological diffusion complements a theory of growth in which an unexplained "residual" constitutes a large part of output growth. The diffusion of new techniques and continuous improvements on them at various points and stages in their diffusion upgrades the economy's overall capability and efficiency. This technological network fits a catch-up mode because in such a situation the new, presumably best, practices and techniques first arose outside Japan. Japan then found and imported them through various arrangements. State agencies, like the "notorious" MITI (Ministry of International Trade and Industry), helped by bargaining down the import price. There was nationwide team work.

Now that the catch-up phase is over, Japan competes with Western countries for new technological discovery and development in areas such as nuclear power and the aerospace industry. The large, risky investments for research and development in these areas require a concentration of resources. Indeed, as technologies have become more high-tech in recent years, a trend toward an increasing concentration of research-and-development investment at larger corporations has appeared (pp. 223–25). And the risk of failure (for example, with the fifth-generation computer, or high-definition television) has also increased. This certainly departs from the effectiveness of the diffuse research-and-development system of the catch-up period. What will Japan do now? An illuminating but hardly sufficient paragraph is devoted to this question (p. 239), but Morris-Suzuki refrains from pursuing the inquiry further.

This book makes wonderful reading. Economists who have talked about technological progress but have not gone beyond the "residual" in growth accounting will especially appreciate it for the opportunity to learn about the real-world meaning of their abstractions.

KOJI TAIRA
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FUMIKO FUJITA. *American Pioneers and the Japanese Frontier: American Experts in Nineteenth-Century Japan*. (Contributions in Asian Studies, number 4.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1994. Pp. xi, 189. $55.00.

Some substantial essays and books have been published in the last decade on foreign advisers in Meiji Japan. Throughout the Meiji years (1868–1912) more than 3,000 experts were hired by the Japanese to advise on transforming their country. Among the some two dozen national groups represented, the British provided the largest number; the French, Americans, and Germans followed. The work carried on by these foreigners and what they accomplished has drawn the attention in recent years of such historians as Hazel J. Jones, Ardath W. Burks, Neil Pedlar, Edward R. Beauchamp, and Akira Iriye. Much of the best of this recent work has employed a broad perspective, often dealing with these foreign advisers as a whole and studying their activities throughout Japan.

Fumiko Fujita has approached the subject more narrowly. She focuses on fifty Americans, who were employed for a single decade, from 1871 to 1882, by a Japanese agency—the Kaitakushi—that had been given responsibility for developing Hokkaido. In this instance, the narrow focus serves the author nicely as a case study enabling her to examine the complexities of Americans working in an alien culture. Since the record is amply documented by American and Japanese materials, she is able to say quite a lot about both sides of the encounter. She can describe the ideas and attitudes that Americans carried into their work, American reactions to Japanese with whom they worked, and what ideas Americans took back home. On the Japanese side, she relates how key officials

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directed the enterprise and what they thought of the Americans' work and conduct. The small book that emerges is an uncommonly graceful account of American and Japanese collaboration on a shared enterprise. On the whole, the collaboration is said to have succeeded, although the author makes no effort to quantify American accomplishments. The author reminds us that Americans are still remembered warmly in Hokkaido. These memories seem to be products of popular perceptions that the visitors were competent, ready to work, and eager to teach. The Japanese may also have been influenced by the shortness of the American stay and by the fact that these foreigners were never in a position to dictate what had to be done.

American reactions are given far more attention and described as more complicated. The Americans arrived assuming both the superiority of their own society and the possibility of transferring its essentials to others. All were frustrated to some degree by Japanese reservations about accepting the American experience in its totality. Even so, some Americans came to appreciate the Japanese and left for home feeling satisfied with what they had accomplished. Others reacted quite differently. The Japanese experience soured one on American individualism and the idealistic pretensions of U.S. foreign policy. Another came away from Japan strengthened in his convictions regarding Anglo-Saxon superiority; after returning home he became an avid imperialist. The process of intercultural accommodation is, it seems, in any time and place complicated and unpredictable.

BURTON F. BEERS
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MAYFAIR MEI-HUI YANG. *Gifts, Favors, and Banquets: The Art of Social Relationships in China*. (The Wilder House Series in Politics, History, and Culture.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 370. Cloth $42.50, paper $18.95.

Mayfair Mei-hui Yang provides the best ethnographic account of *guanxixue*, "the cultivation of personal relationships and networks of mutual dependence; and the manufacturing of obligations and indebtedness" (p. 6), in the People's Republic of China that I have seen. Fully half of the book is a challenging analysis of this data in the service of a Foucauldian critique of state power and the disorders of modernity in China. The book makes available to historians of all stripes the powerful significance of this varied, tension-ridden, irrepressible, and ubiquitous pattern of personal reciprocal gift obligations that define Chinese communities around the globe before, during, and after revolutions.

Scholars fond of Foucauldian analysis will be challenged by this articulate and accessible Chinese case study of bio-power, counterdiscourse, and modernity that seeks to modify European theory with Asian experience. Yang is explicitly an engagé scholar identified with a postcolonial stand. She wants to help decenter the knowing Western subject and contribute to China's "native self-understanding, self-critique and reform" (p. 29). She provides a lucid example of this stand that could serve well in class readings and discussions.

This work applies a postcolonial analysis to the ritual heart of living Chinese social and political practices. Every historian interested in understanding modern China or in the application of postmodern theory to non-European topics should read this book. That said, I found the major conclusion of Yang's interpretive section unconvincing. She sees in a "*guanxi* cum kinship polity" opposition to state power and the roots of *minjian* (people's realm) society, a sort of "civil society" with Chinese characteristics (pp. 174 and following). In interesting chapters on history, Yang seeks the genealogy of *guanxi* in the pre-Qin (third century B.C.E.) traditions of *li* (rituals) to demonstrate the native tools in Chinese culture for release from oppressive state power. She relies strongly on great Chinese scholars writing in Chinese such as Liang Shuming and Li Zehou, although I wonder if others more trained in archaeology and ancient history, such as Hsu Cho-yun and K. C. Chang, would really agree with Li's optimistic conclusion that there actually were "small clan-based city-state democracies of the Spring and Autumn period" (p. 215).

In contemporary social life, Yang analyzes *guanxixue*'s personalistic and family based networks as "rhizomatic networks" (decentered, nonhierarchical, nonsignifying systems) that provide a living social fact which embodies the ancient native genetic code for liberation from state oppression (chap. 8). I see this as a glass half empty. The "rhizomatic networks" of personalistic relations that *guanxi* networks form are inherently personalistic and could as easily lead to Serbian-style nationalism as to New England town hall populism. As residents of the former Soviet empire know, tools for opposing and bringing down Stalinism do not necessarily build liberal polities. Nonetheless, Yang argues her case cogently and fairly; readers will be able to decide for themselves. Cornell University Press deserves special praise for the elegant and error-free presentation of this important study.

TIMOTHY CHEEK
Colorado College

DOROTHY KO. *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 395. Cloth $45.00, paper $16.95.

This book is making an impact in the field of Chinese history. At first glance its focus seems rather narrow: the literary and emotional lives of upper-class women in the lower Yangtze delta region between about 1570 and 1720. Its implications are much broader, however, for it challenges assumptions about Chinese women that have prevailed since the beginning of this century, when modernizers claimed to offer women their first

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opportunity at education. As this study clearly demonstrates, the group of women on whom it focuses were highly educated and had an important effect on the Chinese culture of their time. It is not too much to say that when the implications of this study and others like it have been fully explored they will transform contemporary understanding of Chinese history in its late imperial phase.

In her introduction, Dorothy Ko lays out the basic background: the type of sources on which she draws, the reasons they have been overlooked until now, and the developments that led to women's emergence as a cultural presence at the end of the sixteenth century. Against outdated periodizations that saw Chinese history as essentially cyclical, Ko argues that a new monetization and commercialization of the economy brought about far-reaching change. More specifically, in giving rise to a burgeoning print culture, economic development contributed to the idea that an educated woman was an asset to her family. The currency of this idea did not extend to the lower classes, except among women raised as courtesans, nor did it percolate much beyond the lower Yangtze. But in privatizing learning and extending it to women, this change vastly expanded the horizons of what women were allowed to say.

After stating this provocative thesis, Ko enriches it with a chapter on new ideas about emotion that were breaking down conventional hierarchies and bringing women closer to the intellectual mainstream. Yet the expansion of women's freedom to express themselves in writing was accompanied by an effort to contain that expansion. Especially after the succession from Ming to Qing dynasties in 1644, women were urged to concentrate on their families. Their newly acquired talent was thus understood as a way of enriching dialogue with their husbands and educating children, not as a means of detaching them from their cloistered lives at home.

It was in this somewhat contradictory climate that the "teachers of the inner chambers" made their way. These teachers were usually women whose families had suffered some disaster, particularly in the wake of dynastic change. Freer to travel than other women from elite families, some of them actually managed to make a living through writing and teaching other women. Additionally, other literate women kept in touch by writing poems and letters to one another. In some cases their exchange was augmented by contact with courtesans, who occasionally married into elite families as concubines and whose elegance and high style impressed elite women in a variety of ways.

Ko sets forth the development of women's literary networks in what might be called concentric circles. The basic unit was cloistered: a group of female relatives got together to exchange poems on a face-to-face basis. But the newly respectable traveling woman, along with women's publishing, helped to extend these poetry clubs so that they reached out broadly beyond the home. At the outer limit of this network were courtesans, who might never claim elite status and who operated for the most part outside of family networks. More than other literate women, they depended on one-to-one relationships with prominent men.

The success of Ko's presentation lies in its boldness, which creates a memorable impression of the circumstances she discusses and the archives from which her conclusions are derived. As she would surely acknowledge, hers is an introductory discussion that does not pursue every subtheme in detail. Not least among these is the chapter on courtesans that appears at the end of the study and could have constituted a whole book on its own. Moreover, scholars who know this territory may be uncomfortable with some of her more central findings, such as the impression she gives that extensive contacts between cloistered groups of literate women continued unabated after the middle of the seventeenth century. Arguably the freedom of female teachers to circulate was only temporary, and early eighteenth-century women operated in a much contracted intellectual sphere. As Ko and others work to develop this body of data, a more nuanced sense of the patterns affecting literate Chinese women will emerge. Meanwhile, this book offers striking insight into their recently discovered world.

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ROBERT GARDELLA. *Harvesting Mountains: Fujian and the China Tea Trade, 1757–1937.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 259. $40.00.

How did trade globalization affect a preindustrial economy such as that of nineteenth-century China? Did growing demand for exports prompt the use of otherwise underemployed land, labor, and/or capital, thereby generating a surplus, as Adam Smith would suggest? Did engulfment in the capitalist world economy lead to dependency and exploitation, as Immanuel Wallerstein and dependency theorists would argue? Or was the impact of foreign commerce on China marginal, given the immense domestic market and weak linkages between the treaty ports and the hinterlands, as Rhoads Murphey's economic dualism model would assert?

Robert Gardella's study addresses this fundamental issue by focusing on tea, China's most important export commodity after silk. He chose Fujian, in southeast China, as the spatial unit of analysis because of the long tradition of its tea industry. Historically, the Fujianese had resorted to two strategies to cope with economic scarcity. Interior residents engaged in "challenging the mountains" (*panshan*): cash cropping, forestry, and handicraft production. Coastal people depended on "jumping over the sea" (*tiaohai*): maritime trade, fishing, smuggling, piracy, and external migration. These strategies were combined when, in response to rising world consumption, the opening of the port of Fuzhou to foreign trade in 1842 led to a tea

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boom in Fujian that lasted until the late 1880s. Tea produced in northern Fujian was exported through Fuzhou to Britain, the United States, and other overseas markets.

Gardella concludes that the history of China's tea trade partially confirms Smith's judgment of the benefits of international commerce: Fujian's material output increased, government resources and people's livelihood were enhanced, and the coastal and inland regions became integrated. There was, however, no structural transformation of the economy. Moreover, there were significant costs. The local economy became much more vulnerable to fluctuating world market conditions. The rapid expansion of slopeland cultivation resulted in deforestation and soil erosion. The influx of immigrant workers fostered social unrest, and profits from the tea trade stimulated opium imports. Finally, as foreign markets were lost to overseas competition, Fujian's rural economy declined severely by the early twentieth century.

Gardella argues that China's "decentralized market-directed" mode of production, based on dispersed peasant households that were coordinated through marketing networks frequented by petty brokers, was ultimately unable to compete with Indian and Ceylonese industrial plantations, which were based on large-scale production, low-wage labor, and mass marketing. China's market share was further undercut by competition from Japan, where production was also based on the family farm but where the government facilitated quality improvements and promoted exports. Chinese tea producers were too dispersed to undertake needed technical improvements, and excessive taxation added to production costs.

Gardella does not compare the tea and silk trades, but there are striking parallels between the two. Western entrepreneurs pioneered in the processing phases of both industries to meet export specifications, but they were displaced by Chinese competitors. Foreign firms, however, remained dominant in shipping and finance. The expansion of exports resulted not in peasant immiseration but in rising living standards. Nonetheless, development did not accompany growth, and trade benefits proved ephemeral as Chinese producers were eclipsed by foreign competition and international markets declined or even collapsed.

Gardella's conclusions are mostly well supported and argued. Yet his characterization of the Chinese economy as market-directed is debatable. Considerable evidence suggests an imperfect market structure: Chinese brokers in rural markets and Western firms in the export sector had substantial price-setting powers, the former because of loan advances to peasant producers tied to purchase agreements, the latter because of control over export channels and extraterritoriality. Western firms resisted the introduction of impartial inspections in both the tea and silk trades, for allegations of adulteration constituted a powerful tool to depress prices offered to Chinese producers.

Gardella's carefully researched monograph is the only book in English on this important export industry. It employs and tests a variety of paradigms and concepts from the fields of Chinese history and economic theory. It gives valuable information and theoretical insights to anyone interested in the problems of international trade and national development.

ROBERT Y. ENG
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KATHLEEN L. LODWICK. *Educating the Women of Hainan: The Career of Margaret Moninger in China, 1915–1942*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1994. Pp. xv, 255. $35.00.

Margaret Moninger represented the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions on Hainan, an island off the coast of China, from the 1910s until she was repatriated to the United States during World War II. She played a leadership role in the Presbyterian China community and wrote treatises still read today on the language, people, and foliage of her unique island environment. Most significantly, she chronicled these turbulent decades in astute and detailed letters to those at home and in autobiographical writings composed when sequestered within the mission by her Japanese captors.

Kathleen L. Lodwick's book about Moninger's life draws its strength from its faithfulness to the full range of Moninger's broad interests and writings. (The subject captured in the title, women's education, is only one of many themes presented here.) Moninger arrived with an interest in botany. She developed an expertise in armaments in response to the intermittent gunfire punctuating her stay in China. Lodwick concludes that Moninger's call was not initially religious; "rather, her call was to serve and to live a life that offered travel and more excitement than the one she would have had at home" (p. 213). And it is travel and excitement which is best captured here. When Margaret did not write, as was the case when she was on furlough in the United States, Lodwick summarizes briefly and moves on, back to Hainan and a new set of experiences and observations from the field.

Moninger was not especially self-reflective, but her correspondence was full of other pointed observations that will interest a range of readers. She wrote richly and well about life under various warlords, as well as nationalist and Japanese authorities. When villagers frightened of marauding soldiers gave up the hunt and remained in their villages, the boar population of the remote Miao region wrought agricultural havoc. The nationalist government's requirements that schools renounce religious proselytizing were applied strictly to mission boys' schools, which had to close down, but for some reason were not enforced in girls' schools, which remained open.

The material on the Japanese occupation is especially revealing. When the United States froze Japanese assets, the local Japanese commander, the American-born son of an *issei* farmer, rushed to appropriate

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mission resources and to impose house arrest on Moninger and her station. His replacement by a Japanese lawyer married to a mission school graduate ("one of the nicest men I ever met," according to one of Moninger's friends), improved the lives of the missionaries considerably. At the same time that a rumor appeared in American newspapers that they had been murdered, according to Lodwick, in fact the Americans were hosting this group of oppressors at tea. (A picture commemorates the occasion.)

There are many other tidbits here: the description of sedan chair protocol (never scream when the bearers slip); the significance of Moninger's testimonial for Ivory soap used in company advertising in the 1920s; the logistics of introducing first horses and then automobiles to village itinerating; the comparative analysis of colonialism when the Hainan missionaries fled to French Haiphong in 1925; the interpersonal ramifications of the "casual cultural imperialism" (an apt phrase) that Moninger practiced.

All of this is served up with restraint. We learn early that Moninger had a "slight attack of 'nerves' " in her first year (p. 28), but not until the conclusion do we learn that Lodwick attributes this to the inevitable moment of realization that the Chinese were not about to be evangelized "in this generation" (as the Student Volunteer Movement motto put it), nor would they be any time soon. Lodwick's Margaret Moninger is primarily Margaret's own self-portrait: large-spirited, curious, competent, and cheerful. A range of historians will learn from this fruitful collaboration of subject and scholar.

JANE HUNTER
Lewis and Clark College

FREDERIC WAKEMAN, JR. *Policing Shanghai 1927–1938.* (A Philip E. Lilienthal Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. pp. xvii, 507. $45.00.

It is now generally accepted among historians of China that the authoritarianism of the People's Republic was not created in 1949; rather, it was the latest twist in a long process of state-building that dates from the early twentieth century or even the late empires. Long before Mao Zedong's victory, China's nascent civil society had been strangled by the growing apparatus of state control. To these assertions, Frederic Wakeman, Jr.'s study of the Shanghai police offers powerful support. This is the story of how Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government and its ruling party, the Guomindang, sought to police China's most complex urban society during the decade preceding World War II. The narrative drips with irony: the effort to transform public mores ended by deepening public cynicism; the commitment to stamp out crime resulted in a police system deeply penetrated by professional criminals; and the ambition to recover sovereignty from foreigners finally produced a cozy symbiosis with foreign-run police forces.

Modernized police, not democratic participation, was considered the key to building a new China, because "civic culture ... was to begin with the maintenance of *zhixu* (public order)" (p. 46). Furthermore, an urban police force like Shanghai's was to be supervised by national authorities, not by local elites. Here the Guomindang was extending the model of Canton, its old revolutionary base, where a self-proclaimed national government sat astride provincial and municipal administrations. Hence national concerns (and national financial requirements) dominated Shanghai police administration from the beginning.

Police corruption was there from the start because local underworld figures were essential mediators between the government and the subculture of crime. Although there is nothing peculiarly Chinese about this circumstance, the role of secret-society capos in Shanghai had a Chinese twist: they resembled the *compradors*, or Chinese middlemen, hired by foreign traders to manage their relations with customers and suppliers. Such a system originated with the police of the French Concession and was taken over, more or less intact, by every police system in Shanghai. Ultimately the interpenetration of gangsters, policemen, Guomindang cadres, and bourgeois bigshots formed a formidable, amoral ruling group. The career of the ultimate crime boss, Du Yuesheng, whose services as municipal councillor and anti-Japanese patriot hardly raised an eyebrow in Shanghai, forms a colorful thread in Wakeman's account.

In the end Chiang Kai-shek had a hand in wrecking the early hopes of his own nationalist revolution. He relied on the Shanghai police to suppress both the Communists and his rivals in the Guomindang. Focused on these aims, he let ordinary crime go its own way. And in the process he had to work hand in glove with the British and French security services, who, for their own reasons, shared his anti-Communist aims. Even more compromising was Chiang's decision to form a state opium monopoly in the guise of a drug-eradication campaign. This inevitably meant "criminalizing the government," because he now had to coopt drug lords such as Du Yuesheng into the operation. His extermination campaigns against the Communists were funded by the drug addiction of his own citizens, a crime in which the Shanghai police were necessarily complicit.

Wakeman deepens our understanding of the period by using police administration as a perspective on the larger political scene. The fate of Communists who remained in the cities after 1927 is recounted in blood-curdling detail. It is astonishing how easily some prominent Communists were turned by their Guomindang captors and used to wreck the Communist urban underground. This provided one source of the endemic mutual suspicion in the Communist Party of renegades (*pantu*), the long-acting poison that was injected into the Communist movement by the ever-present fear of betrayal. This and other sidelights, narrated at length,

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contribute powerfully to our understanding of the times.

Like the authors of recent monographic studies, such as Christian Henriot and others, Wakeman relies on a mix of newly opened archives, old Shanghai journalism, and memoirs by participants. Although archives are used to augment and correct the secondary literature on Shanghai, it cannot be said that internal police documents form the backbone of this study. Occasionally the scene is brilliantly lit by a critical document (the study of Du Yuesheng by British police intelligence in 1939, for instance, or the devastating document from the Taiwan Bureau of Investigation about the murderous rivalries in the Guomindang secret service). Yet beneath the gripping stories, the institutional history of the three Shanghai police services lacks density. China specialists will miss a systematic introduction to the archives themselves: their provenance, their internal organization, their usefulness, and their accessibility. Archives are only tools for understanding a subject and should not be confused with the subject itself. Nevertheless, as the flagship study from the Berkeley Shanghai project, this otherwise brilliantly successful book owes us this little bit of extra guidance.

PHILIP A. KUHN
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JOHN WILSON LEWIS and XUE LITAI. *China's Strategic Seapower: The Politics of Force Modernization in the Nuclear Age*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 393. $45.00.

This is truly a landmark study of the People's Republic of China's policy-making process in nuclear weapons development and acquisition. John Wilson Lewis and Xue Litai vividly and explicitly describe how and why China built its nuclear submarine flotilla and, more importantly, assess that development's impact on the nation's politics, technology, industry, and strategy. As a companion volume to *China Builds the Bomb* (1988), this work shows how Beijing authorities persistently adhered to a thirty-year crusade for nuclear submarines and their solid-fuel missiles after it successfully tested an atomic bomb in 1964.

Of the many studies of China's foreign and defense policies, this book stands out in several respects. First, it provides the best and most comprehensive account yet of the politics of China's strategic force modernization in the nation's nuclear era (1960–90). The country's leaders, scientists, and technological experts were determined to restore China's rightful place in the world. The authors convincingly show that this determination played the crucial role in enabling the program to survive the fiasco of the Great Leap Forward, the Sino-Soviet rift, the tumultuous years of the Cultural Revolution, and even the Tiananmen crisis of 1989. Second, much more than other studies of China's military industries, this book reveals and underlines Beijing's romantic tendency in its tenacious effort to build advanced weapons of mass destruction. Western trade restrictions on strategic technologies and materials and Moscow's refusal to assist in China's nuclear development did not nullify but, indeed, enhanced the Chinese leaders' aspiration that China would work miracles on its own in nuclear programs. Having the "blind faith in foreigners eliminated," China's cherished revolutionary traditions, "especially the hallowed doctrine of People's War [which] Mao defined . . . as 'man over weapons,' revolutionary self-reliance, and grass-roots participation in and support for righteous [courses]" (p. 3) would have better chances to survive and thrive. Undoubtedly, China's nuclear weapon development and acquisition has been a holy crusade involving huge human sacrifices. Third, this book provides interesting and important revelations of how China's strategic and operational doctrines and scientific disciplines have changed as a result of the interplay of politics, technology, and social transformation in the past three decades. Contemporary conceptions of security, use of military power, rational calculations, professionalism, roles of technology, as well as ideas of deterrence, active defense, and seapower in the nuclear age have slowly but surely transformed the People's War doctrine. As this doctrinal osmosis takes place, Chinese strategic might is producing a more formidable but nonetheless stabilizing force. Finally, this book is remarkably readable. Although technical, it is characterized by a careful use of terms and graceful and lucid prose.

With no access to documents, still classified, that would show the Communist Party leadership's decision-making process, however, this book is weak in depicting and defining the relationship between high-level politics and technical experts. To what extent did the experts contribute to the top leaders' "nuclear learning"? To what extent did the debate on strategic priorities at the highest level shape the functions of the experts? There has yet to be a succinct answer to these questions. Nevertheless, this book makes an immensely important contribution to the study of China's foreign and defense policies. Timely as it is, it will fascinate readers who are particularly concerned about post–Cold War international security. It is a highly commendable scholarly effort.

SHU GUANG ZHANG
University of Maryland, College Park

RICHARD BAUM. *Burying Mao: Chinese Politics in the Age of Deng Xiaoping*. Princeton: University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 489. $35.00.

RUAN MING. *Deng Xiaoping: Chronicle of an Empire*. Translated and edited by NANCY LIU *et al.* Foreword by ANDREW J. NATHAN. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1994. Pp. xxi, 288. Cloth $69.95, paper $19.95.

Both of these books examine in compelling detail the political struggles and maneuvering that underlay a

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period of dramatic change in China: the years from the mid–1970s, shortly before the death of Mao Zedong, to the present. Both Richard Baum and Ruan Ming see 1989 as a defining moment, an inevitable but tragic clash between the forces fighting for increased democracy and the country's aging authoritarian leaders. Tracing the erratic flip-flops China has undergone in the last two decades, both authors describe the country's clumsily alternating two-year cycles of liberal relaxation and conservative retrenchment. But the focus and emphasis of the two books is very different, especially in the way their authors view Deng Xiaoping. Baum, whose assessment of Deng is the more positive, believes that by the mid–1990s the policies of China's supreme leader had completely buried his country's socialist and Maoist past. Ruan, who sees democracy as one of the original promises of Maoism, believes that democracy will come in the future, but it will be in spite of the initiatives of China's supreme leader.

Ruan's analysis is especially compelling, because he writes as an insider who was once closely associated with Hu Yaobang before being expelled from the party in 1983. He provides new and fascinating information about the ideological and political conflicts within China's leadership. When Deng returned to power in 1977 and sought to regain popular trust, he committed to putting the party back on the democratic path that its leaders, according to Ruan, had embraced in the late 1930s and 1940s. In 1979, Deng turned away from this commitment. He backed down in the face of resistance from conservatives who feared losing power and from democrats who attacked the military after China took an unexpected licking in its brief war with Vietnam in 1979. China, Ruan argues, should have been much easier to democratize than Russia. He reviles Deng as the critical fulcrum who could have pushed China over into democracy but decided instead to hold it back.

After 1979, Ruan asserts, Hu Yaobang tried to continue to represent the burgeoning democratic forces in the top echelon of the leadership. Hu was sandbagged, not only by party conservatives but also by Zhao Ziyang. Ruan argues that Zhao was an opportunist opposed to democratic ideals. Ruan views Zhao's "New Authoritarianism" as simply another attempt to prolong the dictatorship of the elite in the face of a changing Chinese society. There was no chance of Zhao's forces uniting with the popular movement in 1989. The democrats distrusted him.

Baum goes over the same ground in a more nuanced although less charged manner. He, too, gives a detailed analysis of the political and ideological factions and issues of the last two decades. Like Ruan, he describes the *fang-shou*, or liberal-conservative cycle, that has characterized Chinese political and economic reforms.

Unlike Ruan, Baum does not see Deng as a man who sold out an original commitment to democracy. Rather, Baum argues, Deng vainly tried to keep to a middle course between the Right and Left, a policy that began to fall apart by the late 1980s and totally shattered in 1989. But Deng was not responsible for all the reforms. Baum gives Chen Yun, the recently deceased conservative nemesis of Deng, much of the credit for the original liberal economic policies that allowed China to prosper. Unlike Ruan, Baum argues more conventionally that Deng appointed Zhao as head of the Communist Party—after Hu Yaobang was forced out of office by the conservatives—as a sign that the reforms were not to be totally derailed. He does not see Zhao as a back-stabber who helped engineer Hu's overthrow. Instead he argues that Zhao's New Authoritarianism was an attempt to get the reforms back on track while still giving conservatives the social and political stability they desired.

Baum provides an extensive discussion of the personal conflicts within the leadership. He puts more emphasis than does Ruan on the social and economic forces that have created China's prosperity. He ends with the suggestion that by the mid–1990s, the burgeoning economy engineered by Deng Xiaoping had completely burst the political and social restraints Chen Yun and others had tried to put on it. Maoism, which Baum equates with the equalitarian but commandist state policies of the past, had been buried.

Although the two books cover much of the same material, they are both worthy additions to the field. Baum's book is a solid and noteworthy synthesis of the existing literature on the last two decades. Ruan's translators should be commended for bringing to light a unique discussion of Chinese politics. Ruan never achieved the kind of prominence in the Chinese Communist Party that Leon Trotsky did in the Soviet leadership, yet he, like Trotsky, is able to talk with an insight that takes the reader well beyond ordinary academic analysis.

LEE FEIGON
Colby College

STEPHEN FREDERIC DALE. *Indian Merchants and Eurasian Trade, 1600–1750.* (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 162. $54.95.

With this book Stephen Frederic Dale provides an important new perspective on the Indian world economy in the early modern period. Currently, most scholars concentrate on maritime commercial activity and the trading networks established by Indian and, to a lesser degree, European merchants in West and Southeast Asia. Whereas these authors have moved beyond the Eurocentric view of the earlier generation, Dale greatly increases our knowledge of Indian commercial activity by tracing the networks established by the merchants of northwestern India in Uzbek Turan, Muscovite Russia, and Safavid Iran.

The pivot for this study of Indian merchants in northwestern Eurasia was the Indian merchant community in Astrakhan, a town on the lower Volga near

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the Caspian Sea. Like the town, the Indian merchant community was small, but the Russian records provide a rare look at its composition, organization, and activity. Dale's analysis of these records leads him to postulate a trading network that linked northwestern India (in particular the city of Multan) with markets in Uzbek Turan (Samarqand and Bukhara), Muscovite Russia (Astrakhan and Moscow), and Safavid Iran (Tabriz, Qandahar, Harat, and Isfahan). Organized into family firms, the Indian merchants of Astrakhan traded primarily on a north-south axis, bringing Iranian goods to Russia and Russian goods to the cities of northern and central Iran.

Just as Multan was the chief center of this far-flung network, so the Khattri caste of Punjabi merchants was its principal architect. By the mid-seventeenth century the Punjabi Khattris had become the most powerful group of merchants in north India, dominating commercial activity in the Mughal capital of Shahjahanabad. Besides the Khattris, Dale also identifies a group of Afghan mediatory traders who managed the details of overland transportation and, sometimes, participated in the trade as well. These Afghans were the lesser-known equivalent of the European and Indian shipowners who transported the Indian merchants of the coasts and their goods to West and Southeast Asia.

Dale's elaboration of the trading network centered on Multan is particularly valuable for the perspective it gives on the extension of Mughal commercial activity into Central Asia. Although his argument about the composition and activities of the Multani merchants in Isfahan needs to be revised in light of recent research on Safavid Iran, Dale's account of the family firms in Uzbek Turan and Muscovite Russia is virtually unparalleled. Using the Astrakhan records, Dale is able to correct a common stereotype about this northwestern diaspora: that it was divided into two groups, merchants on the one hand and moneylenders and bankers on the other. He shows that the Multani cloth merchants of Astrakhan engaged in both activities, routinely lending out the profits they made from their import-export trade. The Multanis of Astrakhan, like their compatriots in Iran and Turan, provided capital and financial expertise to underdeveloped economies. Far from being the "bloodsuckers" described by the European travelers to Safavid Iran, the Punjabi Khattris served as bankers and moneychangers in societies that possessed few formal financial institutions. In this way, they contributed an important ingredient to the prosperity and stability of the local economy.

Dale's book is an important example of a new approach to the study of early modern India. Scholars are now beginning to situate Mughal India in the larger context of early modern Eurasia. Most of the work thus far has concentrated on maritime commercial activity, tracing the connections between Mughal India, on the one hand, and West and Southeast Asia, on the other. In investigating overland trade, Dale has uncovered a rich and complicated network linking Multan in northwestern India with towns and cities in Russia, Iran, and Turan, thereby adding a great deal to our understanding of the Indian world economy.

STEPHEN P. BLAKE
St. Olaf College

PREM CHOWDHRY. *The Veiled Women: Shifting Gender Equations in Rural Haryana 1880–1990*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xix, 461. $29.95.

The publication of this book comes in the wake of a flood of research on the ways that gender ideologies and the social practices associated with them have been transformed by shifting historical circumstances in colonial and postcolonial India. How did colonial rule, in its legislative and judicial functions, come to codify and rigidify "custom" and thus render women less able to negotiate such things as inheritance laws and remarriage? How was the figure of the "oppressed Indian woman" deployed as a sign of a degraded "tradition" and as a justification for the colonial "civilizing mission"? How did Indian nationalism and later "reform" movements appropriate these colonial rhetorics, and how did their equation of "woman" and "tradition" refigure both gender ideologies and the idea of the nation itself? How have legal codes, judicial decisions, and agricultural policy in independent India perpetuated women's disadvantageous position? In addressing these issues as they have unfolded in the present-day state of Haryana, Prem Chowdhry draws attention to historical transformations that cut across regional divisions within India and to the ways that the particular social and economic circumstances of Haryana produced specific gender ideologies and "customary" practices and called forth colonial policies that differed from those in other areas of India.

Chowdhry's investigations of the colonial desire to maintain the "stability" of land ownership and revenue responsibility in Haryana are particularly interesting. In the formulation of codes of "customary law" for Haryana (then part of colonial Punjab), and in judicial proceedings in the nineteenth century, it was of course high-status males who were called on to testify about customary practices concerning inheritance and marriage. Male interests in retaining control of property, and not women's interests, were thus upheld by colonial administrators; colonial interests in maintaining an intact revenue-paying village community here reinforced the interests of "patriarchy," and both worked together to deny women who married outside the community the right to inherit land from their natal kin or from deceased husbands. Chowdhry sees a similar dovetailing of the interests of "patriarchy" with the interests of the state in postcolonial India as well, as increasing prosperity and rapidly rising land values have heightened local efforts to control women and override their claims to inheritance rights.

These historical analyses are illuminating, especially because there is little previous work on the colonial politics of gender ideologies in northwestern India.

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The results of Chowdhry's ethnographic fieldwork in Haryana are somewhat less convincing. The book contains numerous examples of proverbs and folk songs from Haryana; the sources are nineteenth-century colonial compilations and the author's inquiries in rural Haryana in the 1980s. The aim here is apparently to read from such oral folklore the attitudes and practices of the rural populace, now and in the past. Thus, when a seventy-eight-year-old man tells a story of a wife's beating that he remembers from his childhood, in which the tone is clearly satirical and the husband is portrayed as a fool, Chowdhry ignores these aspects of the story and interprets it simply as evidence of the extent of beatings in the past. Many exegeses of proverbial speech are similarly problematic. In these literal readings of proverbs and songs, tones of irony and traces of other more complex subjectivities seem to go unrecognized. In the absence of a more complete analysis of the contexts in which proverbs are used and stories told, and in the absence of an understanding of varied local exegeses of these, their use in historical reconstructions is problematic. Also troublesome is the reliance on "folklore" as it is reported in colonial compilations, because folklore was selectively entextualized in these as a means of justifying the colonial rule of a people supposedly unthinkingly wedded to "custom." They thus frequently erased all signs of dissent from the "customs" of caste and gender that the Indian population was thought to embrace uncritically.

Chowdhry is on far firmer ground in her historical approach; using innovative analyzes of court cases and other sources, she provides valuable perspectives on the ways that rural women's lives have been shaped by the interests of the colonial and postcolonial state, and the ways that the agendas of the state have reinforced the interests of "patriarchy" and the disadvantaging of women.

GLORIA GOODWIN RAHEJA
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PETER HEEHS. *The Bomb in Bengal: The Rise of Revolutionary Terrorism in India, 1900–1910*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 324. $23.00.

This book chronicles in detail the formation and activities of the pioneer anti-British terrorist group in Bengal, centered around Barindrakumar Ghosh and his elder brother Aurobindo Ghosh, who later became a mystic and founded a well-known religious institution in French-ruled Pondicherry. This is a familiar tale to those interested in the history of Indian nationalism, but Peter Heehs does add some interesting details. His study is based on a comprehensive reading of official documents (including little-used judicial records), reminiscences of activists, and some private papers (including Aurobindo's). The acknowledged approach is "nationalist," without being excessively "commemorative" (pp. ix–x), and, despite his location as archivist in Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, Heehs usually avoids the temptations of hagiography.

Nevertheless, there are occasions when he handles his sources with insufficient caution. Thus, he accepts a far-fetched tale, recounted after independence by a retired Indian official, of a plan to kill the Bengal lieutenant-governor despite the lack of more contemporary supporting evidence (p. 117). Underground groups tend to be congenitally predisposed to making excessive claims, what a dissident and disillusioned member of Barindrakumar's circle, Hemchandra Kanungo, would later call "truth in anticipation." Heehs does acknowledge that "there was lots of big talk going around" (p. 53), yet the overall presentation does not quite fit with the record of a group that, despite undoubted heroism, sacrifice, and pioneer status, ended with a tally of nine aborted or failed "actions" and a solitary effective bomb blast that killed the wrong people (p. 252).

Heehs justifies his recourse to the simple presentation of a story by historiographical tendencies toward a "return of the event" or "narrative" (p. x). The lack of pretension could have been refreshing but for a not infrequent naiveté, in both language and awareness of wider contexts. Take, for instance, the description of a Hindu-Muslim riot in 1907: "The Muslim rowdies attacked Hindu volunteers who were destroying foreign-made goods at a fair" (p. 106). This statement contains many unstated value judgments that Heehs never explores. Historians of Bengal would be surprised to learn that the Muslim peasants of its eastern districts were "landless cultivators" (p. 105), or that Chittaranjan Das, subsequently an effective nationalist leader, was "by temperament more a man of letters than a man of action" (p. 51). Heehs's claim to have given particular attention to "the relationship between revolution and religion" (p. x) in chapter 7 is unfounded, as all that he does there is present a summary of Aurobindo's well-known *Bhowani Mandir* pamphlet abstracted from the context of Bengal religious and cultural life. Even more serious is the way Heehs describes revolutionary-terrorist activity in virtual isolation, abstracted from the ups and downs of the agitation against Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal, which for a brief time had trembled on the verge of becoming a mass movement organized by associations (*samities*). Heehs follows the later police practice of branding all such "national volunteer" groups as inevitably terroristic (p. 94), and he is therefore uninterested in tensions and transitions within nationalism. Paradoxically, here he pays inadequate credit to Aurobindo, an extremely complex figure who in 1907 had also worked out a strategy of peaceful mass struggle through "passive resistance" that partly anticipated Mahatma Gandhi: the articles in *Bande Mataram* where he expounded these ideas are not mentioned in the book. The perceptive *Karmayogin* essays (1910), which Heehs does mention, where Aurobindo, on the eve of his flight to Pondicherry movingly described revolutionary terrorism as a function of failure (pp.

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231–32), consequently remain inexplicable within the framework of Heehs's narrative.

SUMIT SARKAR
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SHASHI JOSHI. *Struggle for Hegemony in India, 1920–47: The Colonial State, the Left and the National Movement*. Volume 1, *1920–34*. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage. 1992. Pp. 376. $39.95.

BHAGWAN JOSH. *Struggle for Hegemony in India 1920–47: The Colonial State, the Left and the National Movement*. Volume 2, *1934–41*. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage. 1992. Pp. 331. $38.85.

SHASHI JOSHI and BHAGWAN JOSH. *Struggle for Hegemony in India 1920–47: Culture, Community and Power*. Volume 3, *1941–47*. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage. 1994. Pp. 403. $38.95.

In the preface reprinted at the beginning of each of these three volumes, Shashi Joshi and Bhagwan Josh announce that their work combines a "history from above" with a "history from below"; that their Gramsci-influenced reading of Indian history "has enabled" nothing less than "the construction of a new paradigm"; and, finally, that their combination of a history of the colonial state, of the nationalist movement, and of the communist Left introduces "a very fundamental change in the reconstruction of the 'national experience.'" This is, then, very much a work that comes with its authors' recommendation. In case an especially obtuse reader has somehow missed the point, the originality and importance of this work is further highlighted by presenting (and often misrepresenting) the writings of other historians of India in order to dismiss them. Thus, for example, the writings of Sumit Sarkar, David Hardiman, Arvind Das, and a number of others are described as "a virtual caricature of the Indian national struggle" (vol. 1, p. 276).

The first two volumes argue that the Indian Left failed to come to terms with the reality of India's colonial situation. The Indian communists' "paradigm" was erroneous, and so the political practice that flowed from it was bound to be inefficacious. That the Left misrecognized the peculiarities of the Indian situation and the requirements of a nationalist struggle supposes an understanding of what these were. This the authors seek to provide.

At the heart of their argument is the presumption that "Anti-imperialist nationalism is historically given. Nationalism as an emotive force is intrinsic to being a victim of national oppression" (vol. 1, p. 21). Furthermore, in colonial India the "primary contradiction" was between imperialism and the Indian people; thus this "historically given" nationalism embraced the vast majority of the Indian people. Mahatma Gandhi recognized this and shaped the Congress into a vehicle to express this multi-class, anti-imperialist consciousness. He also recognized that the colonial state, as a semi-hegemonic and not purely repressive state, could only be displaced through a counterhegemonic strategy. By contrast, the communists clung to illusions of an insurrectionary upsurge and, partly because of this, wrongly characterized the Congress as a bourgeois organization that was half-hearted in its nationalism and that would seek to curb the militant struggles of the lower classes.

That the dominant form of political consciousness in colonial India was (and was bound to be) an all-embracing nationalism is something the authors assert rather than argue. In fact, this claim simply reproduces the themes of nationalist agitation, this time as historical fact rather than as exhortation. Indeed, the degree to which this work accepts nationalist reconstructions of the nationalist movement is extraordinary. Just as the Left did nothing right, so, it seems from this account, the Gandhi-led Congress could do no wrong. Every cessation of hostilities against the British was a brilliant strategic move based on a sound appreciation of the superiority of a struggle for hegemony over one seeking all-out confrontation; every failure to live up to popular expectations and fulfill promises (as during the period of the Congress Ministries) was a resourceful effort to "mediate" between the different classes in Indian society, thereby establishing the Congress, rather than the colonial state, as hegemon; and so on. Given this reading of the Congress's nationalism, it is little wonder that the authors berate the communists for their errors. The chief of these errors, it would seem, was that they were communists rather than Gandhians.

As with all teleological readings of history, so too in this one the ultimate success of a struggle is read back into each of its phases, with Gandhi (basing himself on a correct "paradigm") presiding over the whole, and orchestrating each advance. What gets lost in such an account are the hesitations, uncertainties, and reverses that were so much a part of the nationalist struggle, and that should be a part of any history of it. Another consequence is that Gandhi here appears as a strategist pure and simple; Josh goes so far as to write, "'Violence' and 'non-violence' were only the symbolic names for the contending strategies" (vol. 2, p. 268). This seems to me to miss much of what was unusual and interesting about Gandhi as a man, and as a leader possessed of (and by) a powerful *moral* vision.

The term "paradigm" appears frequently in this work. In a Kuhnianism run riot, we encounter (apart from the authors' own paradigm) a Gandhi paradigm, a Nehru paradigm, an insurrectionary paradigm, and a Gandhi-Nehru paradigm. The use of the term follows from an analysis in which, because nationalism is a given, and one shared by almost all classes, all differences are strategic ones (here labeled paradigms) rather than clashes over "interests." The error of the communists, in this reading, lay precisely in their insistence on the existence of contending (class) interests within the nationalist movement. It is true that the communists were spectacularly wrong in declaring that the Congress, which because of its "bourgeois" nature

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could only engage in and tolerate certain limited and controlled forms of agitation, was incapable of leading the nationalist struggle to a successful conclusion. It does not follow, however, as Josh and Joshi seem to believe, that the reverse is thereby true: that because the Congress led a successful national struggle, it could not have imposed any limits on the actions of its constituents, or that any such limits must be regarded not in the light of clashes of interest but rather as necessary elements of a hegemonic strategy. Here, as elsewhere, the authors' premises serve to predetermine their conclusions.

The third volume of this trilogy is on an altogether different subject, that of cultural contestation in the subcontinent. The authors argue that what is commonly referred to as "communalism" or "religious conflict" is better characterized as "civil strife," and interpreted "as a process of cultural contestation" (p. 17). They suggest that since medieval times the communities of the subcontinent have been separated by a deep-seated "cultural faultline," even as they have lived in conditions of interdependence and amity. Often latent, this faultline is activated, as it were, when communities seek to restructure power relations, frequently by engaging in conflict over cultural symbols. There is some interesting historical material in this volume, but it is difficult to follow the argument because a rather ponderous outline of a "theory of cultural power" (replete with many more "paradigms") is followed by chapters on dissimilar subjects, with little in the way of connections being effected between them. Matters are not helped by the fact that the authors' fondness for portentiously delivered theoretical pronouncements sometimes leads to absurdity. What is one to make, for instance, of a sentence such as "The discourse of domination versus that of hegemony is abundantly available in the cultural lives of all people in space and time" (vol. 3, p. ii)?

This work is deeply critical of the political and intellectual Left, yet it reproduces some of its worst failings. The three volumes are animated by the belief that victory is a matter of having the right "line" or paradigm; they exhibit the dogmatism typical of the Left at its worst; and they display a complete intolerance toward all other viewpoints. Even communist writings of the colonial period, however, were never so immodest or as absurdly overwritten as this 1,000–page work.

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UNITED STATES

REID MITCHELL. *All on a Mardi Gras Day: Episodes in the History of New Orleans Carnival*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. 243. $29.95.

Civic celebrations and festivals present special opportunities for historians. Assumptions about the structure of urban life that go unstated at other times of the year are writ large on the city streets on holidays; by reconstructing the meanings of these events for participants, historians can recover conflicting notions of who belongs to the urban public and who does not, as well as the nature of urban leadership and the bonds that hold the citizens of a locale together. Tracing over 150 years of Mardi Gras celebrations, Reid Mitchell illuminates successive attempts to redefine the city and the urban public in New Orleans.

Although claiming only to treat "episodes," Mitchell has given us an intriguing social history of the city, imaginatively using newspaper accounts and memoirs to uncover who was mixing with whom and when. A key transition in Mardi Gras celebrations occurred early on—by the 1850s, exclusive "krewes" replaced impromptu bands of revelers as the principal feature of carnival processions. Especially fascinating is how aggressively Anglocentric these early krewes were, choosing "Milton's Paradise Lost" and "English Folklore and Holidays" as parade themes in the formerly French city. After the Civil War, these same krewes mounted powerful attacks on Reconstruction government; their fantastic costumes on Mardi Gras were but an extension of the uniforms and bedsheets they wore as members of paramilitary terrorist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan on other days of the year.

The defiant political messages expressed in Mardi Gras parades soon changed to conciliatory, commercial ones. By the turn of the century, Mardi Gras was aimed as much at tourists as local residents, and the national promotion of carnival became New Orleans' version of the New South creed. But this was New South with a twist; carnival images of oriental-style decadence reinforced New Orleans' image as a fun city but overwhelmed parallel efforts to promote the city as a center for business investment. Today, New Orleans remains among the top convention locations in America, but it lags far behind Atlanta and Houston, or even Charlotte, as a regional center for capital.

Whereas the first half of the book focuses on the parades and exclusive costume balls of New Orleans' white elite, the second half focuses on the other groups that sought to make Mardi Gras their own in the twentieth century: bands of black "Mardi Gras Indians," cross-dressing Mardi Gras queens, and jazz-playing "Zulu" marchers who parodied the all-white krewes. Despite official proclamations to the contrary, racial strife has never been far from the surface of Mardi Gras; during the early 1960s, civil rights groups called for a boycott of the downtown parades, and in 1991, bitter debate over a city council ordinance requiring the desegregation of the all-white "krewes" demonstrated the resilience of the city's tradition of white supremacy in the face of black political power.

This book is fun to read, and Mitchell makes superb use of written sources to bring his episodes alive for the reader; regrettably, he virtually neglects the rich visual evidence available to tell his story. A few poorly captioned prints and photographs are marooned in the middle of the volume, reproduced too small to see the

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details. Forcing such a visually dazzling topic into such a dull-looking format is equivalent to making jazz bands march in lock step with military units.

DAVID GLASSBERG
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ROBERT JUSTIN GOLDSTEIN. *Saving "Old Glory": The History of the American Flag Desecration Controversy.* Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1995. Pp. xv, 263. $29.95.

Robert Justin Goldstein's book is, as its subtitle indicates, a history of the meaning of the flag and attempts to criminalize its "desecration" from the Civil War period through 1990. Goldstein notes that little attention was paid to the flag as a symbol before the late nineteenth century. The first antidesecration movement occurred in the decades between 1890 and 1910, largely in reaction to use of the flag by commercial advertisers and its adoption as a partisan symbol during the presidential campaign of William McKinley in 1896. The movement gained impetus from the societal dislocation caused by industrialization and by what was seen by some segments of society as the threats to the status quo implicit in large-scale immigration from non–Western European countries and the increased activities of the labor movement. It was during this period that the daily flag salute became a fixture in American schools and flag desecration statutes were passed by every state of the Union. "Progressive" forces opposed the statutes, with then-Professor Woodrow Wilson arguing against turning the flag into an icon rather than educating children about the country's principles, and other opponents claiming that flag worship deflected attention from the real ills affecting the country.

Political dissenters who were considered insufficiently respectful of the flag were physically attacked and prosecuted during and immediately after World War I. The prosecutions continued through the 1940s, despite Supreme Court decisions such as *West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette* (1943), which held that Jehovah's Witnesses could not be forced to salute the flag.

The first federal desecration statute was passed in 1968. Goldstein depicts a Congress half eager to enact a law and half forced into doing so by public reaction to the use of the flag by Vietnam War protestors, given their greatest publicity in newspaper photographs of a flag being burned during an antiwar demonstration in Central Park in 1967. States actively prosecuted "desecrators" throughout the period of the war.

The issue died down around 1972 but arose again when Gregory Johnson burned a flag during the Republican National Convention in 1984 and presidential candidate George Bush decided to make allegiance to the flag an issue in his 1988 campaign, just as the Johnson case reached the Supreme Court. The Court's decision in 1989 overturning Johnson's conviction and its declaration that flag-burning was constitutional symbolic speech led to passage of the second federal desecration statute. The Court promptly struck it down, and the nation seemed to lose interest in the issue.

One of the unarticulated points implicit in Goldstein's extraordinarily well-researched history, replete with a wealth of previously unpublished material, is the importance of public interest groups and attorneys as well as judges in the preservation of the nation's liberties. A high proportion of the people prosecuted for flag desecration were represented by the American Civil Liberties Union after its creation in 1920. Over 60 percent of state "desecration" prosecutions in the period from 1966 to 1976 failed because of judges alert to the civil liberties implications of the relevant statutes. Goldstein's well-told tale is not only fine history but also a reminder of the tenuousness of the right to free speech in a political culture inclined to hysteria during moments of perceived national crisis.

PHILIPPA STRUM
Brooklyn College
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DEAN R. SNOW. *The Iroquois.* (The Peoples of America.) Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1994. Pp. xvii, 268. $24.95.

Few North American Indian peoples have been the focus of more intense study than the Six Nations Iroquois. Beginning with Lewis Henry Morgan over a century ago, books, dissertations, essays, and site reports have explored virtually every facet of Iroquois history and culture, and with good reason. From the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, the Iroquois played a central role in the intercultural competition for eastern North America.

Dean R. Snow makes a significant contribution to the field of Iroquois studies by offering a readable, up-to-date introduction to Iroquois history and culture over the past thousand years. Throughout, Snow, drawing on the vast scholarly literature as well as the Iroquois' own interpretations of their histories, places his emphasis on those aspects of Iroquois culture that have helped them persist over centuries. Indeed, by organizing the book into a "cycle" of thirteen chapters based on the traditional Iroquois calendar, Snow is able to remind readers that concepts such as "duality, ecology, cyclicality . . . balance and adaptation" are at the heart of Iroquois culture and keys to their survival as a people (p. xiv).

A widely recognized authority on early Iroquois history and archaeology, Snow is at his best when he summarizes the rich archaeological record of the Iroquois. Students of Iroquois history will want to begin here before tackling the large and complex literature on this subject. Here, as in subsequent chapters, Snow offers a valuable synopsis covering all the Iroquois, allowing readers to understand both the unity and

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diversity of Iroquois culture over the past several centuries.

The early centuries of contact with Europeans posed enormous challenges for the Iroquois: declining population, growing dependence on alien technologies, and a rising tide of intertribal and colonial wars, culminating in the catastrophe of the American Revolution, which divided the confederacy and pushed the Iroquois to the margins of American society. Throughout, as Snow explains, such challenges were met by strategies built on traditional values and adaptation, climaxing in the revitalization movement led by Handsome Lake that, Snow argues, adapted traditional beliefs to new realities and, thus, helped the Iroquois endure.

Challenges have continued into the present century, and Snow ends by surveying, albeit too briefly, current issues and conditions within Iroquois communities, from land claims to gambling, and the recent—and controversial—effort by some Iroquois to assert their version of American history. Here, as in the past, these and other issues reflect the ongoing interplay of tradition and change that has been the hallmark of Iroquois history and culture. Understanding these processes and the Iroquois people will be made easier thanks to Snow's work. Specialists will find much of interest here while nonspecialists, students and teachers alike, will find the book especially rewarding. For anyone interested in the history and culture of the Iroquois, Snow's book is the place to start.

MICHAEL N. MCCONNELL
University of Alabama, Birmingham

PAUL RITTERBAND and HAROLD S. WECHSLER. *Jewish Learning in American Universities: The First Century*. (The Modern Jewish Experience.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 346. $39.95.

This is a detailed examination of the incorporation of Jewish learning into American universities in the late nineteenth century and the growth of Jewish studies as an academic field in the twentieth. Paul Ritterband and Harold S. Wechsler persuasively make the case that, despite the small size of Jewish communities in the United States and the underdeveloped nature of American universities, Jewish learning, outside religious institutions, found its first home in "secular" America rather than in Christian Europe, where it was believed that Jewish learning had become anachronistic after Christ.

For its first fifty years (1875–1925) the field of Semitics gave Jewish learning its entree to American universities, with six institutions—California, Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, and Pennsylvania—taking the lead in making Judaica appointments. Ritterband and Wechsler do a good job of illustrating that from the start there were tensions in the world of Jewish learning between university administrators and community sources of support. Administrators welcomed the funding but not always the goals of the Jewish donors who emphasized the acceptance of Judaism and the education of Jewish professionals over Semitic scholarship. In general, however, communal considerations were made secondary, mostly for academic reasons but also because growing anti-Semitism in America meant that non-Jews were more likely to fill vacancies in Semitics departments.

By 1920 a combination of anti-Semitism (reflected in hiring as well as in admissions quotas at Harvard and elsewhere), the increased popularity of science, and budget-balancing worries moved university presidents to neglect Semitics, especially Semitics "with a Jewish slant." In addition, potential Jewish benefactors, confronted with the needs of East European Jewish immigrants, gave relatively low priority to endowing chairs of Jewish learning.

Despite the extraordinary contributions to the acceptance and academic respectability of Jewish learning in the university made by Harry Wolfson at Harvard and Salo Baron at Columbia, who helped move the field from Semitics to history and cultural studies, and from classical to modern Hebrew, it really was not until after World War II that Jewish studies flourished.

Until the 1960s there were virtually no independent Jewish studies programs or departments, but, influenced by the awesome events of the 1930s and 1940s and increasingly concerned with "survival," Jewish scholarship moved more toward "pluralism," and even "particularism," and away from universalism. In the late 1960s and 1970s, when particularism nearly overwhelmed academic disciplines, Jewish studies was already primed, with mixed results, for the new emphasis. What the authors manage to show so well, however, is that into the 1990s, while Jewish learning remained primarily Jewish, it was protected from gross parochialism by its main American legacy, university inclusion.

Although there are occasional sentences like "A confluence of exogenous events in the late 1960s—especially the Six Day War and student unrest often related to ethnic and racial self-consciousness—marked the transition to a more inward-looking period" (p. 216), implications are rarely spelled out. The authors do remarkably well in situating Jewish studies within the university world, but they pay too little attention to the larger American context. The writing is also marked by turgidity and sociological jargon. Few, therefore, will read this book from cover to cover, but many will use it, with great profit, as the standard reference for the growth of Jewish studies in American universities.

GERALD SORIN
State University College of New York, New Paltz

DONNA GABACCIA. *From the Other Side: Women, Gender, and Immigrant Life in the U.S., 1820–1990*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 192. Cloth $29.95, paper $12.95.

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The last twenty years have seen an explosion in research on immigrant women, yet a systematic synthesis of this wealth of scholarship has been missing from the literature. Donna Gabaccia's book stunningly fills this gap, capturing the complex global story that has been the history of women's immigration to the United States in the years from 1820 to 1990. The various chapters explore continuity and change, from the other side to this one, in the areas of settlement, work, family, neighborhood, community, and identity. The introductory chapters immediately establish the breadth of the author's command of this subject and her gift for orchestrating research on a dizzying variety of experiences across time and place. Throughout the text, Gabaccia sprinkles her dense but succinct conceptional analysis with vignettes drawn from immigrant women's personal narratives. Almost one-third of the book is comprised of multidisciplinary reference materials in the form of prodigious endnotes and a sweeping bibliographical essay that further enhance the value of the volume. By simply consulting the sources listed in this work, those conducting related studies will save many precious hours of research time.

In an effort to offer a balanced interpretation that restores agency to immigrant women and does not cast them as victims, Gabaccia at times minimizes levels of conflict within the immigrant family. In chapter 5, "All Our Kin," she argues that immigrant males were more flexible and responsive than the native-born to gender expectations within the domestic sphere. Several recent studies demonstrate, however, the reverse. High levels of marital discord among newcomers often stem directly from the male partner's inability to adjust to women's greater autonomy and a more egalitarian model of marriage in this country than was the norm on the other side. Similarly, as recent female immigrants become organized within the larger feminist community, often their first initiatives revolve around programs and shelters for battered women staffed by co-ethnic counselors. Here is evidence of how critical the issue of family violence is to new female arrivals, especially undocumented women who are particularly vulnerable. Nonetheless, the balance that Gabaccia presents is, at the same time, one of the book's greatest strengths. Her measured tone, comparative perspective, and intermittent analysis of male counterparts all serve as a grand contradiction to stereotypes of immigrant women and the behaviors of particular nationality groups.

In her concluding remarks, Gabaccia astutely points to a paradox in the history of immigrant women's adaptation to this country. She asserts that female migrants have identified more with their respective ethnic heritages than males but, at the same time, have shown less differentiation from native-born women than immigrant males have from native-born men in the critical arenas of wage scale and life cycle. Although findings concerning earlier generations of immigrant women uphold their position as culture-bearers, the results for the third generation are still not in. Some of the prime movers in the contemporary quest to reinvent ethnic identities, leading the way in the search to reclaim roots, have been men. Further research is required to make gendered claims about the preservation of ethnicity in the last half of the twentieth century.

MARILYN HALTER
Boston University

LAWRENCE H. LARSEN. *Federal Justice in Western Missouri: The Judges, the Cases, the Times*. Foreword by HARRY A. BLACKMUN. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 285. $42.50.

This finely crafted history of the federal district court for western Missouri is more than a parade of judges and notable cases. Rather, Lawrence H. Larsen, through diligent research and careful analysis, has produced a readable and insightful history of a federal trial court. Larsen writes of the lives of the judges, the federal prosecutors, and law enforcement personnel in the context of Missouri politics, economics, legal education, and the legal profession. Most importantly, Larsen's essay on sources reveals the problems of "court" history.

The twenty-six male judges who sat on the bench were honest and earnest men of varying talent but dedicated to the rule of law. Charles E. Whittaker moved from the trial bench in western Missouri to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1957. Robert W. Wells presided over the trial of *Dred Scott v. Sanford* in 1854. Arba S. Van Valkenburgh presided over the trial of Rose Pastor Stokes in 1918. His conduct of this Espionage Act case has been characterized as the "low point in interpreting freedom of speech" (p. 125). Judges Albert L. Reeves and Merrill E. Otis were instrumental in breaking the Pendergast machine of Kansas City in 1939. Albert A. Ridge worked diligently in the 1960s to improve the administration of justice through procedural reform. In addition to *Dred Scott v. Sanford*, the trial court in western Missouri originated several other significant cases that achieved national attention. *Weeks v. United States* (1914) expanded the constitutional protection against unreasonable searches into a rule of evidence commonly known as the exclusionary rule. Yet Judge R. Jasper Smith (1956–62) "never processed a memorable case" (p. 235).

Larsen's essay on sources is excellent. For court history, there were too few manuscript records, little historiography, and a paucity of useful information in law reviews. In fact, after the 1960s Larsen found the historical content of law reviews diminishing. Furthermore, the National Archives saved good records on famous proceedings. For a meaningful analysis of race and gender questions in court records, information could only be found in famous proceedings.

Whereas race is explicit in the desegregation cases analyzed in the book, questions of gender and the law can only be teased out. Rose Pastor Stokes was jailed

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under the Espionage Act, Bonnie Brown Heady was executed for murder, and Viola Beasley was Judge Richard M. Duncan's secretary in 1965.

The work of court historians is clearly limited by the failure of court personnel to leave extensive manuscript records and secondary works. Hopefully, historians will continue to probe judicial records to illuminate important issues of the past.

GORDON MORRIS BAKKEN
California State University, Fullerton

O. H. V. STALHEIM. *The Winning of Animal Health: 100 Years of Veterinary Medicine*. Ames: Iowa State University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 251. $44.95.

In 1978 the secretary of agriculture pronounced the United States free of hog cholera, a disease that had plagued pigs, swine producers, and veterinarians for more than a century. Since 1962, the costs of the disease-eradication program to federal and state governments ran close to $140 million, but because losses from the disease amounted to $57 million annually, the savings in both dollars and animal suffering was considerable. The decades-long struggle for control and eventual eradication of hog cholera is the primary focus of retired veterinarian-historian O. H. V. Stalheim's chronicle of veterinary medicine in America.

Central to the account of veterinary professionalization is the emergence of the veterinary biologics industry, which produced viral and serum products for the treatment of hog cholera. Serious problems with the use of serum products, including outbreaks of disease when introduced into compromised herds, prompted "ethical" companies to restrict sales of their products to trained veterinarians and to encourage farmers to obtain professional care for their animals. In 1942, the Association of Serum Producers was prosecuted by the Department of Justice for restraint of trade. Unlike the American Medical Association, whose opposition to group practice prompted a conviction on similar charges, the serum producers were vindicated for their policy of withholding serum products from swine producers. Despite the government's insistence that vaccinating pigs was simple enough to be done by almost any farmer and the flamboyant gesture of one prosecuting attorney who drank a vial of hog cholera virus in the courtroom, the jury quickly found for the serum companies, upholding the importance of placing animal health in the hands of qualified professionals and lending considerable support to the veterinary profession. As Stalheim neatly demonstrates, despite the fact that many veterinarians relied on treatment for hog cholera for much of their income, the veterinary profession supported the disease eradication program, which successfully concluded in 1978.

Although there is much of interest in the book, the author's predilection for numbing detail may distract many readers. In a book funded in part by various manufacturers of biological and pharmaceutical products for animals, it is not surprising that these companies and the colorful exploits of their founders and offspring figure largely. It is less clear why readers would be interested in a listing of a company's entire pharmacopeia for a given year or decade, especially when the author provides no analysis about the products or their uses. Despite the reference in the title to animal health, the author largely confines his discussion to animals raised for food. In addition to hog cholera, there are chapters on the control of blackleg, a cattle disease, on poultry health, and on one laboratory's development of a vaccine for distemper, a disease of dogs and fur animals, especially foxes. There is little discussion of other diseases of pet animals, of the care of horses, and of care of experimental animals. Although the author briefly alludes to the veterinary profession's interactions with various humane organizations, including recent challenges by animal rights advocates, more attention to these issues would have enhanced the book.

SUSAN E. LEDERER
Pennsylvania State University

BARRY ALAN SHAIN. *The Myth of American Individualism: The Protestant Origins of American Political Thought*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xix, 394. $39.50.

This book is the product of Barry Alan Shain's search through early American history for a political foundation more humane and uplifting than mere individualism. One impetus for Shain's quest was the "activist democratic aspirations" of the 1960s (p. xv). Another is his distress at the way many of his fellow political scientists remain stranded in the tidal pools of Hartzian liberalism.

At first Shain thought classical republicanism would meet his criterion for a more elevated "foundational vision" (p. xiv). But further reading in recent colonial social history led him away from republicanism (too secular), and certainly from market liberalism (too individualistic), toward what he affirms was the dominant mentality of colonial times: communitarian reformed Protestantism. Not individualism but Christian community, he declares, set the terms for American political life until at least the 1790s.

Much of Shain's argument depends on his particular reading of social-science theory and colonial historiography, all displayed and discussed at length in the text. As for primary sources, he acknowledges that the colonists he came to know best were reformed Protestants and "a varied group of farmers, ministers, and judges" (p. xvii). (Might not such provincials have had a disproportionate investment in community order?) And his witnesses—which in fact include newspaper writers and political pamphleteers—were primarily drawn from New England, although Shain believes their views differed little from those in the middle and southern colonies.

Shain's argument gathers momentum once he gets

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past the clutter of theory and historiography. "Individualism," he admonishes, is a nineteenth-century word; in earlier centuries one might speak of individual families or communities, but society worked to suppress and deny the self. Surveying major currents of eighteenth-century American thought, Shain finds that classical republican virtue was incompatible with individualism; in reformed Christianity, one's personal relationship with God was circumscribed by the communal ideal; among rationalists, self-interest was constrained by reason. He examines eight revolutionary-era definitions of liberty, finding only one that relates to individualistic as opposed to collective liberty. (He is particularly good on the opposition of slavery and liberty.) And Shain correctly situates John Locke in the seventeenth rather than the twentieth century.

Some may question the prominence Shain accords to original sin in the communal impulse of eighteenth-century America, but few historians would dispute his conclusion that unbounded liberty was seen as license, or that the Declaration of Independence claimed liberty for the people not as individuals but collectively. There is a good deal that is familiar in Shain's pages, if not to political scientists at least to practitioners of early American history. And if all authors are more or less selective in their use of primary sources, it does seem that Shain leaves out more than the usual amount of inconvenient evidence. As a consequence his analysis lacks both the tensions and the ambiguities that have increasingly come to characterize all sides in the republicanism-liberalism debate.

Still, in an age as secular and urban as our own, it is not a bad thing to be reminded of the religious and communitarian currents that coursed so sturdily through the life streams of the eighteenth century.

PATRICIA U. BONOMI
New York University

JEROME HUYLER. *Locke in America: The Moral Philosophy of the Founding Era*. (American Political Thought.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1995. Pp. xii, 394. $40.00.

Jerome Huyler claims to have achieved two goals in this book: it is the most comprehensive, fair, and accurate assessment of John Locke's social and political thought, and it indisputably shows America's indebtedness to Locke for its separation from England in 1776 and Constitution eleven years later. Throughout, Huyler fearlessly evaluates, mostly critically, the work of the most distinguished historians and political theorists whose works have appeared over the past thirty years. Among his targets are Richard Ashcraft, C. B. Macpherson, Thomas Pangle (although only occasionally), Bernard Bailyn, Gordon S. Wood, and J. G. A. Pocock.

As for his first goal, Huyler argues that most commentators fail to view Locke's thought as a seamless web, where his moral philosophy informs his social and political ideas. Here he especially takes on Ashcraft, whose influential volume *Revolutionary Politics and Locke's "Two Treatises of Government"* appeared in 1986, because he failed to see the Latitudinarian roots in Locke's thought. Huyler also argues against two writers whose views are diametrically opposed to one another, Marxist historian Macpherson and Straussian theorist Pangle. Neither one—Macpherson for his insistence on Locke's "possessive individualism," Pangle for his view of a dichotomy between Locke's activism and intellectual work—appropriately situate Lockean thought in its full context. For Huyler, Locke's major principles must be read together: the virtues of reason and industry, the desirability of equal protection and religious tolerance, and above all the right freely to possess property and engage in commerce, thus giving the work a distinct libertarian cast.

Indeed, the property rights/laissez-faire aspects, which Huyler reads into Locke's philosophy, most appeal to him. American liberalism, founded in Lockean rationalism, laissez-faire economics (which he finds more compelling in Locke than in Adam Smith), and property rights, he argues, lost its moorings when it developed into nineteenth and twentieth-century welfarism (not a term Huyler uses, but clearly an anathema to him). In effect, Huyler's most innovative appraisal is his economic interpretation of Lockean thought and its impact on the American founding (a more appropriate subtitle). Unfortunately, Huyler did not include Michael Zuckert's *Natural Rights and the New Republicanism* (1994) in his critique or John Marshall's *John Locke: Resistance, Religion and Responsibility* (1994); both are counterpoints to many of Huyler's views.

The second part of Huyler's book consists of his lengthy critique of republicanism as set forth by Bailyn, Wood, and especially Pocock. Huyler wants to rescue Locke for the American founding. The proponents of the republican synthesis, he says, have written Locke out of eighteenth-century America, and he is determined to recapture the appropriate place for him. But with works by Zuckert, Isaac Kramnick, Joyce Appleby, Steven Dworetz, and others before him, he cannot claim his book is unique on these grounds. Locke's emphasis on individualism, rights, and liberties does not, however, blind him to Locke's own genuine republicanism along the lines of Algernon Sidney, a neat insight. Lockean liberalism and civic republicanism were compatible, he says rather convincingly, and Locke, too, emphasized the ideal of the virtuous citizenry and the desirability of civic participation in political decision-making. In many respects, this analysis represents the most valuable part of this book.

As a result, the reader cannot help but come away with the impression that Huyler has actually written two books: one on Locke's thought, the other on Locke in America. It is not that the two are incompatible, but rather that the fit is awkward, for the first part focuses on a close analysis of Locke's texts with ample citation from his work, whereas the second part presumes that

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we can recognize Lockean principles in the words of others, even when they do not even mention Locke. This is a leap that many historians and commentators may be unwilling to take.

JACK FRUCHTMAN, JR.
Towson State University

MARY LOU LUSTIG. *Privilege and Prerogative: New York's Provincial Elite, 1710–1776*. Cranbury, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 1995. Pp. xix, 230. $39.50.

If Mary Lou Lustig had consulted Cynthia Kierner's *Traders and Gentlefolk: The Livingstons of New York, 1675–1790* (1992) and Jessica Kross's "'Patronage Most Ardently Sought': The New York Council, 1675–1775" (in *Power and Status: Officeholding in Colonial America*, ed. Bruce C. Daniels [1986]), works conspicuously absent from her book's bibliography, she might have conceived a more fruitful approach to her subject matter. Kierner's richly textured portrait of several generations of Livingstons would have alerted Lustig to the advantages of placing New York's political leaders in social and cultural context, whereas Kross's model study of one segment of the colony's political elite would have made clear the merits of a systematic collective biography. Regrettably, Lustig has chosen to cast her study narrowly, confining her analysis to the interplay between elite politicians and a series of royal governors from 1710 to 1776.

Positing the relationship between local leaders and the crown's representatives in New York as adversarial, Lustig advances a simple plot line: the continuing contest between privilege and prerogative as successive generations of New York's elite, based in the assembly, sought to limit the power of governors imposed on them from abroad. The elite acted not only out of principle—to protect the rights of Englishmen—but also out of self-interest, because unbridled prerogative power threatened both their position and their extensive property holdings. As is well known, New York's elite consisted of competing factions, each vying for ascendancy in the assembly and the favor of the governor. Lustig painstakingly chronicles the evolution of these factions, the methods they employed to gain influence, and the stances they took on key issues. Not all will agree with her assertion that the division between New York's factions was grounded in "a fundamental disagreement between the contending ideologies represented by Whigs and Tories" (p. xii).

After the French and Indian War, New York's elite was forced to confront not only the crown's renewed efforts to limit local power but the growing defiance of the middling and lower sorts as well. Having received a practical political education from their social superiors during the heated election campaigns of prior years, working men seized the opportunity presented by the imperial crisis to challenge the leadership of gentlemen to whom they had customarily deferred. Lustig recognizes the conflicts that surfaced at this juncture, but her analysis of the dynamics of New York's revolutionary movement is marred by her inattention to the nuances of contemporary social classification.

To her credit, Lustig weaves developments in England into her narrative, but otherwise her retelling of eighteenth-century New York's political history from the perspective of the elite covers ground already familiar to scholars. Those seeking fresh insights into the province's political life are advised to turn to Alan Tully's *Forming American Politics: Ideals, Interests, and Institutions in Colonial New York and Pennsylvania* (1994).

JOYCE D. GOODFRIEND
University of Denver

SUSAN JUSTER. *Disorderly Women: Sexual Politics and Evangelicalism in Revolutionary New England*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 224. $32.95.

Liminality, according to anthropologists, refers to a process, a transformation; it describes a state of being, of disorganzation, disintegration, anarchy; it defines that period between what used to be and what will be. Into an open field of liminal space, created by the Great Awakening and bounded by the American Revolution, Susan Juster projects the concept of gender to explore the evolution of evangelical religion in New England. She traces the development of mostly Baptists, but also Methodists and other Separatists, from their radical beginnings, where women experienced great freedom in the religious realm, to their conformist maturity in the revolutionary era, and she argues that the price of acceptance was patriarchy.

Early evangelicals, Juster points out, reveled in rejecting conventions. They rejected meeting houses for fields, schedules for spontaneous services, and hierarchy of age, training, or gender for equality of membership. They listened rapt to itinerant preachers, and they were moved by the spirit to sudden and emotional conversions. They became "other," which is how they effectively defined themselves as different from orthodoxy. Above all, speech became the primary medium of the spiritual experience. A new language gave new meaning to words; extemporaneous sermons inspired masses of converts; behavior became secondary to speech as a sign of the regenerate. It is in the language of converts that Juster discovers the transformation of gender symbolism that signified the elevation of feminity and a new public role for women.

Early evangelical conversion narratives show gender reversals, men using the feminine language of community and women invoking the individualism of masculine discourse. Juster is at pains to distinguish that masculine and feminine are different from male and female; symbolism is not necessarily translated into behavior. In fact, she argues, much of the evangelical experience was gendered feminine. The expressive use of the body in convulsive spiritual release even risked

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sanctioning sensuality. Women, equally with men, spoke, preached, convulsed, and converted. Moreover, women participated in church politics.

The American Revolution came and the evangelical world changed along with the political. Men in the new churches had to choose whether to join the rebellion. That positive choice resulted in respectability, which they liked, and in liking it they decided to reform their ways to mirror the major culture. That meant abandoning the practices that had previously marginalized them, which included rejecting feminized qualities and the tolerance of female assertiveness. Conformity meant reinstating patriarchal conventions of silencing women's speech and excluding their participation at a decision-making level. In the end, only sin was feminized. The revolution was completed. Respectability was negotiated at the price of women's religious equality. The liminal space was closed.

Juster has written a beautifully complex and thoughtful book. It is also persuasive. Her case is built on the scholarship of many others, including David Hall, Harry Stout, Charles Cohen, Christine Heyrman, Carolyn Walker Bynum, Patricia Caldwell, Phyllis Mack, and Lynn Hunt. She indirectly invokes Carol Gilligan by the title of a final chapter, "In a Different Voice." The careful weaving of her own massive research in the sources of eighteenth-century evangelical literature with the work of religious historians and gender theorists marks this as an important contribution to religious and women's history.

EDITH GELLES
Stanford University

CALVIN JILLSON and RICK K. WILSON. *Congressional Dynamics: Structure, Coordination, and Choice in the First American Congress, 1774–1789.* (Stanford Studies in the New Political History.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 375. $45.00.

Calvin Jillson and Rick K. Wilson offer a provocative reassessment of one of the hoariest problems in American political history. Drawing on the insights of their scholarly discipline, the two political scientists provide an institutional explanation for the failure of the Continental Congress to sustain itself as a viable political entity. Without denying the relevance of such long-emphasized factors as fear of centralized power, persistent localism, regional conflicts, constitutional defects, and radical-conservative ideological divisions, they argue that the Continental Congress' own rules and procedures were equally important causes of its ultimate demise. In doing so, they ground their analysis on the presuppositions of what they call the "new institutionalism," a school of thought that, while recognizing that "institutions are formed in the crucible of ideology and interests," insists that "institutions, once in place, constrain what individuals working within them can accomplish and often reshape what those individuals desire" (pp. 1–2).

Jillson and Wilson present an unsurpassed account of how the Continental Congress' basic operating procedures undermined its effectiveness. They point out that the most important precedent for the Continental Congress was the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, a body marked by weak formal leadership, an ad hoc committee system, and voting by colonies. Emulating this model in 1774 and adhering to it for the next fifteen years proved to be an important source of the Continental Congress' ultimate undoing. Congress' failure to create a strong presidency and its reliance on many small ad hoc committees with little regard for expertise in the selection of their members deprived that body of effective mechanisms for coordinating the shared interests of the delegates. Voting by states prevented minority members of state delegations from joining with like-minded delegates from other states and forming stable coalitions on the floor of Congress, leading to a situation in which control of Congress was exercised by kaleidoscopically shifting regional coalitions with often conflicting agendas. And concentrating power on the floor of Congress, as opposed to sharing it meaningfully with executive boards, committees, or officers, gradually created an insupportable work load for the delegates that they sought to escape through rising levels of absenteeism, further undermining Congress' effectiveness. In the end, Jillson and Wilson argue, the high levels of legislative instability and incoherence resulting from these institutional flaws were quite as important in undermining Congress' effectiveness and legitimacy as the factors historians have traditionally emphasized.

Jillson and Wilson's emphasis on the Continental Congress' institutional shortcomings enriches our understanding of the critical transition from the Articles of Confederation to the federal Constitution. But their analysis does raise one question that deserves more consideration than they give it. By concentrating so much of their attention on the fatal flaws in Congress' basic operating rules and procedures, they fail to account for its remarkable accomplishments during the American Revolution. After all, Congress did unify thirteen separate resistance movements, facilitate the transition from empire to independence, field an army and navy, secure the French alliance, and shape the diplomatic strategy that paid such handsome dividends in the Treaty of Paris. Jillson and Wilson would have produced an even richer analysis if they had paid more attention to how the pressures of the war with Great Britain ameliorated Congress' institutional weaknesses before 1783 and how the resurgence of localism after the removal of the British military threat aggravated them thereafter.

In general, however, Jillson and Wilson have produced a stimulating account of the Continental Congress that also serves as a timely reminder of the continuing relevance of political history in plumbing the interpretive depths of the American Revolution.

EUGENE R. SHERIDAN
Princeton University

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THORNTON ANDERSON. *Creating the Constitution: The Convention of 1787 and the First Congress*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 256. Cloth $35.00, paper $14.95.

Thornton Anderson has produced a history of the background to the U.S. Constitution that, while not supplanting the leading interpretations in the field, nevertheless offers a modest contribution worth recognizing.

Anderson creates a new category of delegate to the Constitutional Convention, a third-party of sorts between the Federalists and Antifederalists, that he dubs "the State Federalists," and to whom he attributes the "both conservative and radical . . . handiwork of the Convention" (p. 8). He identifies fifteen delegates as belonging to this party, led by John Dickinson of Delaware, William Johnson of Connecticut, William Pierce of Georgia, George Mason of Virginia, and C. C. Pinckney of South Carolina. Having identified this group and detailed their essential ideology, Anderson discusses the State Federalists' political motivations (he dismisses Gordon Wood's country ideology as "overworked" but still relies on it), their economic motives (he is generally opposed to Charles Beard's economic reductionism but recognizes the sway of property rights over their thinking), and the "Convention Congress." Anderson sees the latter gathering as dominated by Federalist "extremists" who "corrupted" the Constitution into a "high stakes, zero-sum game" that has left the government "in danger" of not one but both of the two "tyrannies" the document was designed to prevent: "popular sovereignty and excessive centralization" (p. xiv).

Whether or not the State Federalists existed as a group in reality—"whether they would have recognized themselves as such"—is hardly the point; the question is whether the dynamic that Anderson notes in the construction and aftermath of the Constitution has explanatory power. I think it does. It is unfortunate, then, that the range of that explanation is limited by a narrow and rather provincial understanding on Anderson's part of the nature of historical motivation and agency.

Simply stated, Anderson sees nothing but "politics" and "economics" at work among the motivations and contexts shaping the delegates at the convention. The result is a truncated "explanation" of a key dynamic in political life then and now. What Dominick LaCapra has designated the "linguistic turn" in historiography, and which I began to explore in my *Paradox Lost: Free Will and Political Liberty in American Culture, 1630–1760* (1992). Most notable, from my perspective, is Anderson's failure to recognize the way the logic of the convention (and its eventual ratification) depended on language with deep roots in the religious world view common to all of the framers. For example, political and economic motives do not adequately explain how "the Convention, starting from the extremes of state sovereignty on the one hand and a unitary project on the other . . . moved toward the achievement of consensus through debate" (pp. 205–06). The founders' conviction that debate could work, and their conviction that a paradox between the one and the many made sense, had as much to do in the eighteenth century with religion and theology as with politics and economics.

Wood long ago noticed that the period broadly before and after the framing of the Constitution was a time driven by an intense sense of "moral accountability" (see his "Conspiracy and the Paranoid Style: Causality and Deceit in the Eighteenth Century," *William and Mary Quarterly* 39 [July 1982]: 401–41). Until historians take seriously the roots of this consensus regarding moral accountability, its attendant paradoxes and its "paranoid style," in religious metaphor and language, it may be that studies of the "creation" of the Constitution will continue to miss its most generative elements.

JON PAHL
Valparaiso University

CHRISTOPHER M. DUNCAN. *The Anti-Federalists and Early American Political Thought*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1995. Pp. xxv, 228. $30.00.

Bemoaning the failure of our liberal culture to address the isolation and disempowerment that beset so many Americans today, Christopher M. Duncan locates the origins of this malaise in the establishment of a centralized, national government from 1787 to 1790. Duncan argues that the scale of the new federal government excluded all but the exceptional few from involvement in the process of governing. As a result, the vast majority of Americans ever since have been denied meaningful roles in shaping the decisions that affect their lives. Duncan argues that the Antifederalists were legitimate heirs to a republican political culture that had evolved during the colonial period. Rejecting Cecilia Kenyon's characterization of the Antifederalists as "men of little faith," he portrays them as bearers of a different faith that emphasized freedom for instead of from community. In this connection, he offers a reading of the Declaration of Independence that stresses the theme of political as opposed to personal liberty. Duncan sees the Federalists as champions of an emerging liberalism at radical odds with Antifederalism. He accuses James Madison in Federalist number 10 of inviting the populace to forget their civic responsibilities and to embrace instead an irresponsible individualism in the interests of order and stability. Duncan argues that the founding involved the replacement of the pursuit of public happiness—read participatory democracy—with the pursuit of private happiness—read withdrawal from the public sphere. Duncan's interpretation of the Antifederalists is offered in the hope that contemporary Americans will find in Antifederalism the seeds of an alternative political discourse capable of addressing problems that liberalism currently ignores.

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As a political scientist, Duncan relies about equally on a critical reading of the standard public documents of the period and selected historical accounts of the founding in constructing his interpretation. Although this methodology allows him to demonstrate considerable resourcefulness in finding support for his argument, it does not always serve him well. Thus, whereas his reliance on Merrill Jensen's interpretation of the Confederation period supports his contention that the Antifederalists had a workable alternative to Federalism, it precludes his fully understanding how the revolutionary war shaped the agendas of postwar politics. The greatest weakness of the book, however, stems from the claims he makes about how the founding influenced subsequent historical developments. In this connection he overemphasizes the degree to which the Federalist triumph in 1787–90 centralized power in the national government, excluded the citizenry from public roles, and displaced the republican discourse of the Antifederalists. Aside from servicing the revolutionary debt, the central government's involvement in domestic affairs remained limited well into the nineteenth century. It did dominate foreign affairs, but the partisan battles of the 1790s demonstrated that the new scale of federal politics hardly barred the people from participating in the fray. Finally, the idea of a consensual, localist republic as distinct from an adversarial, majoritarian nation state remained very much alive well into the middle of the nineteenth century, providing the theoretical underpinnings for the defense of slavery within the Democratic Party. Stimulating as this provocative book is to read, I suspect few historians will find the context in which Duncan places the founding entirely convincing.

RICHARD BUEL, JR.
Wesleyan University

HARRY REED. *Platform for Change: The Foundations of the Northern Free Black Community, 1775–1865*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 256. $29.95.

Harry Reed contends that five elements, "the independent church impulse, the founding of organizations, the creation of black newspapers, the convention movement, and the ideology of emigration" (p. 213), constituted planks in the "platform for change" he sees developing in the major centers of northern black community life (in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston) in the period 1775–1865. Surprisingly, in a work that has change as its central theme, there is no sense of the changing nature of urban life in the book. A host of social, political, and economic factors profoundly altered the urban setting in each of the cities in the period from the revolution to the Civil War. African Americans did not exist in a vacuum. Their day-to-day survival, their sense of identity, their hopes and fears for themselves and their community, were necessarily affected by those changes.

The book is not without its strengths. Reed stresses the centrality of education for so many northern free people of color: education as a goal in itself, as a symbol of freedom, as the route to economic betterment and civil equality. His chapter on emigration is also useful. Overall, however, the book is marred by a basic unevenness. Some issues are treated in great detail and others not at all. For example, after a solid and fairly lengthy discussion of the early national conventions, Reed gives the later ones short shrift. He misses many opportunities to look deeper. For instance, what did it say about an African-American world view when slave petitioners in Massachusetts wrote of Spanish colonial slave codes (p. 66), or when Prince Hall spoke to his brothers in Boston's African Lodge of events on Saint-Domingue (p. 66)? What does their knowledge of European economic critiques of slavery suggest about the sophistication of African-American newspaper editors (pp. 113–15)? The discussion of Bethel's church court raises important questions, but it lacks a comparative perspective. Many churches, black and white, required that members submit matters for arbitration rather than resort to secular courts.

Reed's style is problematic. He writes of "Quaker churches" (p. 76), and "paramilitary" Masons (p. 70). Terms such as "elite" and "the masses" are not defined. The book is peppered with errors. The mangling of people's names, their relationships, and the occasional book title is annoying. Other errors undercut his thesis. Reverend Snowden's Boston congregation was Methodist Episcopal and not African Methodist Episcopal (p. 27). In other words, it was affiliated with a white parent body, not an African-American one. Benjamin Rush was an Episcopalian, not a Methodist (p. 29), hence his efforts to persuade Richard Allen to seek ordination as an Episcopal priest.

There is also the question of evidence. White newspaper editors might well have refused (pp. 99–100) to print letters from black correspondents, and even investigated to determine a writer's racial identity, but the lack of a citation makes Reed's assertion impossible to substantiate.

In a work that aims at synthesis there are surprising omissions. Reed ignores important works like Shane White's *Somewhat More Independent: The End of Slavery in New York City, 1770–1810* (1991) and Shirley Yee's *Black Women Abolitionists: A Study in Activism, 1828–1860* (1992), although he tackles both the origins of New York's free black community and antebellum black feminism. He cites Gary Nash's *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadephia's Black Community, 1720–1840* (1988), but fails to incorporate Nash's compelling account of tensions between black and white Methodists in his own discussion of the origins of African Methodism. The invaluable Black Abolitionist Papers are not mentioned at all.

This book promises much but does little to illuminate the complex lives of African-American men and women as they struggled to maintain their precarious freedom and secure their basic rights as citizens in a

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setting in which the vast majority of white Americans regarded them with, at best, callous indifference.

JULIE WINCH
University of Massachusetts, Boston

JUDITH KELLEHER SCHAFER. *Slavery, the Civil Law, and the Supreme Court of Louisiana*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1994. Pp. xix, 389. $35.00.

Judith Kelleher Schafer makes a valuable contribution in this work by summarizing information about law and slavery gathered from a rich source that has only recently been made available: the manuscript records of the Supreme Court of Louisiana. Schafer took on the burdensome task of reading through all the records from this source pertaining to slave law in Louisiana. In all she studies 1,200 cases that were carried on appeal to the Louisiana Supreme Court. The manuscript records give more information than printed court reports, including the arguments of the attorneys and, from the trial court, written evidence and the clerk's summary of the testimony. The author organizes the study topically. The subjects include emancipation, crimes, inheritance, debt, and interstate commerce, particularly the domestic slave trade.

Schafer illustrates the variety of ways slaves were involved in cases that came before the Louisiana Supreme Court: as individuals suing for their freedom; criminals; defective merchandise; stolen goods; property seized for debts; property in divorce settlements; property appraised and condemned by the state for compensation to owners, similar to an eminent domain proceeding, when slaves were convicted of crimes and would be executed or imprisoned; victims, when a white slaveholder sued to recover damages for loss of property from another white who injured or killed a slave; and objects of inheritance disputes. The last category includes challenges by potential heirs to wills that would emancipate a slave mistress and her children. Schafer also illustrates well the ambiguous legal status of the slave as both a person and as property. A slave was a person accountable for a crime against a white but was only property when the victim of actions by a white. The ambiguity was apparent in the legal status of a runaway: the slave, as a person, had stolen himself or herself, the slave as property, from his or her owner.

The work gives interesting information on the way slaves were involved in cases before the Louisiana Supreme Court, but how valuable is it in explaining legal development in the state or in adding to our knowledge of slavery? Schafer certainly wishes to generalize about the law practiced throughout Louisiana, and, indeed, about Louisiana society, slavery, and racial relations. But one has to be careful in drawing conclusions about law in society from a study of one court. Studies of a final court of appeals, federal or state, can be limited in representing the litigation at the trial court level, in showing the different kinds of cases, the volume of cases, or the actual results for the litigants. One example will suffice. Schafer makes a number of generalizations about runaways: "many slaves effectively became runaways" and this activity formed "an effective and costly form of resistance" (p. 126). The main source for these conclusions is thirty-one cases. The evidence given simply will not support a generalization about the volume of cases or legal action regarding runaways in Louisiana, the number of slave runaways, how successful the slaves were in avoiding recapture, or how much economic loss was incurred by the planters as a result of the escapes.

Although a study of only the highest court of appeals is limited in value for social and economic history, it is, of course, excellent for understanding developments in the law. In the preface, Schafer notes an interesting subject—which is also suggested in the title of the book—that needs to be explored: in the area of slavery, would Louisiana law, because it followed a code like French and Spanish law, be different from the common law of other American, and especially other southern slave, states? Regrettably, the author makes a few sweeping statements but does not develop this theme. The book is deficient in analysis and interpretation. It mostly consists of a series of case summaries. That is the book's main weakness, but is also its main strength. Schafer has summarized the vast amount of information on cases involving slavery from the manuscript records of the Louisiana Supreme Court. She has also included a bibliography that lists the cases she used, with docket numbers and dates. The book is most valuable as a collection of case studies rich in details about the slaves who were involved in the cases that made their way to Louisiana's highest court.

F. THORNTON MILLER
Southwest Missouri State University

CARL R. OSTHAUS. *Partisans of the Southern Press: Editorial Spokesmen of the Nineteenth Century*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1994. Pp. xiii, 294. $39.95.

Focusing long-overdue attention on the history of southern journalism, this book examines nine newspapers at crucial points spanning the nineteenth century. Dividing southern journalism into three periods before 1900, Carl R. Osthaus argues that journalism was similar in the North and South in the first and third periods (1790s–1850s and 1880–1900), but during the Civil War era, sectionalism characterized the southern press, which lagged behind the North at the height of that conflict. After 1880, however, newspapers publicizing the "New South" resembled "the most advanced Northern papers" (p. 1).

Within this organizing structure, chapters profile two newspapers from the antebellum era (*Richmond Enquirer* and *New Orleans Daily Picayune*); four from the sectional era (the *Charleston Daily Courier* and *Charleston Mercury* on the eve of war, the *Richmond*

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Semi-Weekly Examiner during the war, and the *Mobile Daily Register* during Reconstruction); and three representing "New South" journalism (the *Atlanta Constitution*, *Charleston News and Courier*, and *Louisville Courier-Journal*).

The focus on specific periods for each newspaper—much like "slice of life" history—provides both the book's unique strength and a source of its weakness. Osthaus calls the emphasis biographical, but shifting attention between newspapers and editors thwarts focused biographies and leaves the reader searching for information to acquire an understanding of both newspapers and editors. Many statements requiring documentation in primary sources are instead cited from secondary works, and the sources on political and (especially) nineteenth-century journalism seem somewhat limited. Nevertheless, the work represents no small accomplishment, and one is ever mindful of the difficulty of bringing such a vast amount of information under control.

The first attempt at such a comprehensive history of southern journalism for any period, this book powerfully depicts a variegated, complicated journalism intersecting issues defining half a nation across a century. One is struck by the subject's complexity, the ambitious nature of the task undertaken, the challenge in trying to bring together a cohesive explanation of nineteenth-century southern journalism, as well as the ways the book breaks new ground. And a multilayered analysis rewards the careful reader with an exceptional fund of information and insight.

The analysis of newspapers at critical periods sets the book apart and is, indeed, its strength. Interwoven with analysis of crucial issues affecting the South spanning the century is analysis of the lives of several editors, their views, and their activities associated with the issues and the newspapers. In the process, Osthaus's analysis also follows shifts in southern journalism over time, keeping in view the interconnection between social issues and what the author depicts as pivotal points, such as the pressures from 1846 to 1850 that he ties to the demise of official party newspapers. Finally, although the South's place in the nation as a whole is never neglected, Osthaus follows another line of analysis that compares southern and northern journalism while delineating challenges peculiar to southern editors.

In addition to extensive newspaper files, Osthaus has mined an extraordinary abundance of primary sources. Two chapters on "New South" journalism will appeal especially to readers interested in Henry Grady and Henry Watterson, as will a chapter treating the Rhett family. The strongest chapters, however, are "Between Nationalism and Nullification: The Editorial Career of Thomas Ritchie" and "Resisting Reconstruction: John Forsyth and the *Mobile Daily Register*." Also of special interest are introductory and concluding chapters and the bibliographic essay.

This book treats a subject that has been either omitted, glossed over, or left to seem somewhat unidimensional by the majority of American journalism history scholarship. For this contribution alone—although the book's value goes well beyond—historians, especially journalism historians, owe a debt to the author.

HAZEL DICKEN-GARCIA
University of Minnesota, Twin Cities

JANE F. LANCASTER. *Removal Aftershock: The Seminoles' Struggles to Survive in the West, 1836–1866.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1994. Pp. xx, 225. Cloth $32.00, paper $16.00.

Although the tragedy of Cherokee removal is a familiar topic, in many ways removal of the Seminoles was even more devastating. Uprooted from their Florida homes, the Seminoles found themselves in a far different land than they were accustomed. Certainly all relocated tribes underwent tremendous hardships, but none experienced "the severe climatic and environmental conditions that contrasted as sharply with those of their native Florida" as the Seminoles (p. xiii). Perhaps the most difficult struggle during their first three decades in the West was their battle to maintain tribal identity and obtain land separate from the Creeks. Many treaties forced them to merge with and be subordinate to the Creeks. Although many of the Seminoles were "runaway" Creeks, the two had emerged as different entities and in many cases enemies. In fact, Creeks had fought against the Seminoles in the Seminole Wars. One of the greatest sources of action between the two groups was the Creek insistence to control Seminole slaves, many of whom were Creek runaways. When the Seminoles first arrived in the West, many refused to settle their assigned district among the Creeks. For years, the Seminole tribe was spread over parts of Creek and Cherokee lands.

Not until 1856 did the Seminoles finally achieve their major objectives: tribal independence and their own land. Because of the close proximity of their new land to hostile Plains tribes, however, they were slow to move. Before security could be provided, the Civil War erupted. Like others of the Five Civilized Tribes, the Seminoles split during the war, with some serving in both armies. When the war ended, these Native Americans faced new problems. The government forced them to cede their entire domain of over two million acres for the "reasonable" price of fifteen cents an acre and offered them 200,000 new acres for fifty cents per acre. By 1866, the Seminoles found themselves with little property, no schools, and no unified government, leaving them in much the same state as they had been thirty years earlier. Nevertheless, they had secured some land and tribal independence.

When one thinks of the Seminoles during this period, Dan Littlefield's *Africans and Seminoles from Removal to Emancipation* (1977) is the standard work. Now Littlefield's book has a companion in Jane F. Lancaster's volume. Although there is some overlap-

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ping in material, they do not emphasize or detail the same topics. For example, Lancaster spends more time describing the character and activities of the various Seminole subagents (many of whom Littlefield did not mention), especially Josiah Washbourne, a mixed-blood Cherokee. Some subagents, such as Marcellus Duval, obviously worked for personal gain. Duval sought the capture of runaway slaves, and then demanded about one-third of them in return for restoring them to the Indians. Lancaster discusses Seminole settlements in Mexico as well as the conflicts between the Presbyterians and Baptists missionaries. In fact, one Presbyterian missionary wanted to excommunicate Seminoles who violated the Sabbath but hesitated because the Baptist church, " 'the great receptacle of all trash' " would accept rejected Presbyterians (p. 119). Lancaster also devotes more attention to the Seminole participation in the Civil War than did Littlefield. Overall, this is a fine scholarly work, well written and well researched.

WILLIAM L. ANDERSON
Western Carolina University

S. FREDERICK STARR. *Bamboula! The Life and Times of Louis Moreau Gottschalk*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 564. $35.00.

S. Frederick Starr's book provides a comprehensive picture of the life and music of Louis Moreau Gottschalk, a composer he calls "an American original." Given the methodological and contextual insights of the "new" social and cultural history of the past twenty years, however, the reader of this biography is left with questions about the relationship of the artist to his time. What, for example, does the life of this remarkable composer, who lived in the remarkable years between 1829 and 1869, tell us about the United States in the mid-nineteenth century or about the development of American cultural consciousness in the gray area between elite and popular genres?

Starr has succeeded admirably in describing the details of an American life. We learn much about Gottschalk's early years in New Orleans, his complex family lineage, study in Europe, travels everywhere, his performing successes and business failures, the rapture sparked by his sentimental compositions, and the outpouring of emotion on the occasion of his death. This is very much a romantic tale of excess and excitement, mirroring to some extent the excesses and excitement of the adolescent country in which it is set. We see Gottschalk's ambivalence with respect to identity and culture, as exemplified by his music, which could sound like that of Frédéric Chopin or Franz Liszt while giving audiences hefty quotations from "Yankee Doodle." The anger and chagrin of critics who thought that the upstart Gottschalk pandered too much to misguided popular tastes only points to a broader ambivalence about the validity of the home-grown musical product.

Starr is clearly the composer's advocate in the court of history. He applauds Gottschalk's supporters and denigrates his detractors. John Sullivan Dwight, never a friend of Gottschalk or of American popular music, takes some particularly harsh criticism for his New England background as well as his negative commentary on the Creole composer. This is unfortunate, as those critics who disliked and feared Gotschalk's "descent" into the realm of audience-pleasing pianistic trickery and quotation of popular music tell us much about America's complex nineteenth-century culture and its relationship to the more elegant cultures of Europe.

At a few points, a modern sensibility seems to have been imposed on the historical actors. In his travails with Dwight, Gotttschalk, according to Starr, "was stunned . . . by the notion that a twenty-four year old American composer should perform not his own works but those of dead Europeans" (p. 160). Were he alive today, Gottschalk might well frame his dismay in these terms, but such a definitively stated animus against dead Europeans seems unlikely in Gottschalk's time.

Perhaps it is asking too much to place the mantle of "American original" on Louis Moreau Gottschalk. His eagerness to please American and European crowds with sentimenal potboilers and pianistic virtuosity, whatever the critical consequences, suggests the existence of a cultural space in which canons were not yet secure, despite the frantic defenses of European canonical works by less-than-confident arbiters of American musical taste. Gottschalk's life and music did force his critics, then and now, to "put their cards on the table," as Starr says, allowing historians a perspective on the competing influences on nineteenth-century American culture.

Gottschalk's life and times have been explored in a variety of ways in these pages. Perhaps Gottschalk, like Andrew Jackson, can best be understood not as the defining personality of his time but as one vital and evocative "symbol for an age."

BARBARA L. TISCHLER
Columbia University

BERTRAM WYATT-BROWN. *The Literary Percys: Family History, Gender, and the Southern Imagination*. (Mercer University Lamar Memorial Lectures, number 37.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 110. $19.95.

Historians continue to speculate on the principal reason why an unprecedented number of women entered the literary marketplace in the mid-nineteenth century. Was it the need for money? Financial concerns prompted many writing careers, but that does not explain the heavy representation of scribbling women from the upper middle class. Was it the hunger for fame? Probably not, given women's frequent adoption of pseudonyms and outright denials of authorship, although there were, of course, exceptions to the rule. In this compilation of lectures delivered at Mercer University in 1993, Bertram Wyatt-Brown argues that,

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for several southern women writers whose collective career began in 1843 with the publication of a book of poetry, the motivaton was extremely personal. Catherine Warfield, Ellen Lee, Sarah Ellis Dorsey, and Kate Ferguson, members of Mississippi's aristocratic Percy clan whose collateral descendants included the memoirist William Alexander Percy and his novelist cousin Walker Percy, took up their respective pens in an effort to make meaningful an inheritance of almost unbearable psychic pain.

Linked by blood—Catherine and Ellen were sisters; Sarah, their niece; Kate, Ellen's daughter—the four women shared a family history that followed the conventions of the gothic romance, Catherine's favorite literary genre. Catherine and Ellen's grandfather, who established the Percy line in the Mississippi Delta, committed suicide. Their mother (Kate's grandmother), a severe depressive, lost her reason shortly after Ellen's birth. Mother-daughter interaction subsequently took place within the confines of an asylum and, later, in sequestered chambers at an isolated family plantation. Catherine and Ellen's emotionally withholding father failed to compensate for his wife's absence; on the contrary, he took to the road. An older half-sister (Sarah Ellis Dorsey's aunt) provided the sisters with a degree of stability but succumbed to severe and prolonged postpartum depression. When she died in the girls' adolescence, she, too, was insane. Early marriages to conventional men and assumption of conventional female roles further aggravated Catherine and Ellen's original wound and exacerbated their preexisting tendency toward chronic depression. When Ellen died at age thirty, her niece Sarah Dorsey at her side, she placed her daughter Kate in Catherine's anguished care and symbolically passed along a real and apparent legacy of despair to the next generation.

It is hardly surprising that these affluent, well-educated women used the act of writing as a means to explore and make tolerable the consequences of repeated loss, much less that themes of instability and separation in some form or other percolated through their eighteen published works. Still, the profound sadness that generated and reinforced the dark vision of two generations of Percy women was not spent by the time Kate, the youngest and most notorious of the group, retreated from the world of letters in reaction to a personal scandal. Over the years, Wyatt-Brown argues, this melancholy world view manifested itself repeatedly in the Percy line, although not again in any literary sense until Will Percy and Walker Percy began their careers almost a century later. Ironically, those men, who mined their family's tragic history for subject matter, were seemingly unaware of their female literary forebears. They were forced to chart the same territory that Catherine Warfield, Ellen Lee, Sarah Dorsey, and Kate Ferguson had painstakingly and compellingly mapped a century before.

ELIZABETH MOSS
Advisory Council on Historic Preservation

CAROLYN L. KARCHER. *The First Woman in the Republic: A Cultural Biography of Lydia Maria Child*. (New Americanists Series.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1994. Pp. xxv, 804. $37.95.

Lydia Maria Child's rich and expansive life has finally been accorded the voluminous treatment it deserves. Previous studies of this fascinating author, editor, and activist have largely chronicled her biography by describing her engagement in reform causes while paying little attention to her career as a writer. Carolyn L. Karcher, by contrast, undertakes in this ambitious volume a far more complete synthesis between Child the literary figure, the reformer, and the private personality, all interpreted within the broader context of antebellum American culture. That the book fails to succeed in all that it attempts is not a negative reflection on the author's ambition or erudition, but instead is the predictable result of interdisciplinary "over reach." These problems, however, can be justly evaluated only after appreciating this biography's achievements.

Biography persuades when it connects private with public life. By undertaking a comprehensive analyses of Child's fiction, historical writings, instructional essays, and editorial commentary, Karcher succeeds in displaying the counterpoint between Child's evolving personal circumstances, her unfolding literary career, and her continuing sense of the imperatives of reform. Karcher's analysis of Child's earliest endeavors as a writer, for example, confirms her subject's extraordinary importance in developing a literary marketplace designed exclusively for women and children. *Juvenile Miscellany*, begun in 1826 as the nation's first magazine for children, offered instruction on the values of thrift, self-application, and the exercise of individual conscience, qualities that undergirded the "republican" values then suffusing New England domestic culture. Child's other publications during her first years of authorship dealt with variations on these themes, presented as biographical sketches, short novels, and historical accounts of Indians and settlers in early New England.

But once established as a writer, Child's interests shifted from instructing children to advising women (*The Frugal House Wife* [1829]) and attacking slaveholding (*An Appeal in Favor of that Class of Americans Called Africans* [1833]) topics that reflected her developing situation as the spouse of abolitionist David Lee Child, a chronic business failure, who relied on her earnings to sustain them both. Throughout her literary career, Child remained an inventive, sensitive synthesizer of her own preoccupations with the interests of her wider-reading public, even as her fiction also served as her vehicle for exploring the issues that she later embraced as a reformer.

For this reason, the aspects of Child's writings that most consistently engage Karcher are those that challenged prevailing assumptions—of white supremacy and claims of privilege and hierarchy—instead of

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accommodating to them. In this regard there is much to interest the student of antebellum reform. When, for example, she applies her critical scrutiny to Child's literary and ideological statements protesting slavery or the suppression of Native Americans, Karcher often enriches our understanding of gendered perspectives, abolitionist ideology, and the relationship between advocacy and literary expression.

Karcher's finely wrought analysis of Child's earliest novel, *Hobomok* (1823), sets forth revealingly the complex vision of transformation in Indian-white relations that was to inform Child's ideological positions through the end of Reconstruction. On a more mundane level, a fine analysis of Child's editorship of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* reveals as has no other treatment the travails and challenges of Garrisonian journalism, as well as the volatile mix of temperaments and relationship contained in radical abolitionism. Moreover, as Karcher recounts it, Child's relationship with John Brown offers a nuanced and instructive view of abolitionism's very complicated responses to acts of righteous violence.

This list of specific achievements would be easy to extend, for there is much in this study to interest any historian of antebellum reform. Yet readers might also conclude, as I have, that Karcher has not wholly fulfilled her promise to develop the "cultural biography" of Child. The work conveys an incomplete sense of how that culture was actually constituted and sometimes demonstrates an all-too-speculative approach to explaining Child's most personal motivations.

No clear concept of class formation, for example, accompanies repeated references to "the middle class." Discussions of "urbanization" and "industrialization" seem more suited to describing the late nineteenth century than the antebellum era. Gendered identities, so extensively contested and reshaped in the North throughout the period, are presented as unchanging "separate spheres." A view of antebellum society wholly defined by oppressive hierarchies of racism, male supremacy, and class privilege leaves little room for nuanced explanations of "culture" to which many recent historical studies have contributed. This view, moreover, is not persuasive when it leads to occasional unsupported speculations about topics such as Child's subconscious desires for intimate relationships with men of color.

But if this biography's weakness is its relation to social and cultural history, its strength lies in the synthesis it achieves between Child the writer of fiction and Child the political dissenter. In Child's case, as Karcher convincingly demonstrates, literary imagination and radical political convictions richly inspired and renewed one another. Although this insight does not wholly explain Lydia Maria Child in relation to the culture of her age, it is nevertheless a valuable step in this direction.

JAMES BREWER STEWART
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LAURA E. SKANDERA-TROMBLEY. *Mark Twain in the Company of Women*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1994. Pp. xxiii, 219. $29.95.

Laura Skandera-Trombley has written an important book about Samuel Clemens that corrects decades of misconceptions about the influence of his wife, Olivia Langdon, on his writing career. Challenging the notion repeated by almost all the major biographers of Clemens that Olivia was a rather prim Victorian whose editing of Mark Twain's work was akin to censorship, and who exerted primarily a negative influence on Clemens's career, Skandera-Trombley argues that Olivia, and eventually their three daughters, constituted precisely the female audience that Clemens needed in order to write his best fiction. Her most significant contribution to Mark Twain scholarship centers on the social and cultural history of Elmira, New York, in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the Langdon family's prominent involvement in key social reforms of their era: abolition, the Underground Railroad, health cures, woman's rights, the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), prison reform, and female education.

Skandera-Trombley's thesis is bold and intriguing: "Clemens needed a female audience to whom he could read drafts and receive feedback" (p. 20). That female audience, headed by Olivia, reflected "the insights and opinions of individuals who were in their own way as rebellious toward restrictive Victorian society as the Southerner Clemens was toward literary, Brahmin New England or as Huckleberry Finn was toward the slaveholding society of St. Petersburg, Missouri" (p. 25). To support this thesis, Skandera-Trombley painstakingly establishes the cultural background of the Langdon family and the town of Elmira from midcentury through the 1890s. She makes extensive use of primary documents—letters, journals, contemporary newspaper articles, census figures, and the like—to support her contention that, far from endorsing the constraints of upper-middle-class Victorian society, the Langdons, and by extension Olivia Langdon Clemens, challenged traditional social mores: "Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Langdon women and their female relatives and friends continually and knowingly transgressed the boundaries delineating what was considered socially acceptable for women by becoming involved in educational, political, religious, dress, and medical reform" (p. 126).

The strength of the argument, unfortunately, is also the book's weakness. Skandera-Trombley carefully recreates the social and cultural milieu of nineteenth-century Elmira, but the final link, the "smoking gun," that would show Olivia's own commitment to social reform movements remains elusive. Greatly to Skandera-Trombley's credit, she extends her analysis to Olivia in appropriately tentative language: "A possible connection might be made . . . if one assumes . . . it may be . . . " The rare occasion when the author takes a claim further than the evidence would seem to

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warrant only serves to underscore the integrity of her conclusions. Nonetheless, by the end of the book, one yearns for irrefutable evidence that Olivia was the reformer her background would suggest.

We do, however, gain important new information about Olivia Clemens. The "mysterious" illness that put her to bed for two years in her adolescence and that dogged her throughout her life, according to Skandera-Trombley, was Potts disease, or tuberculosis of the spine (p. 87), not, as some have implied, hysteria. She also establishes conclusively that Olivia counted among her female acquaintances at least two outspoken advocates of woman's rights, Isabella Beecher Hooker and Anna Elizabeth Dickinson. (Samuel Clemens, she is quick to admit, enjoyed a "healthy" antipathy toward both these women, and they toward him, with Dickinson describing him as "a vulgar boor" [p. 150].) New details about Olivia's schooling, her course of study, and her extensive reading serve to reinforce the author's characterization of Olivia as an educated woman.

Of particular interest to this study is Clemens's late novel, *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc* (1896), which was written, Skandera-Trombley asserts, specifically to please his family, especially his beloved daughter, Susy, who was by then twenty-three years old. As a young woman, "Susy had assumed Olivia's mantle as didactic monitor" (p. 156). Even more than her mother, Susy wanted Clemens to use "his talents for a higher, moral purpose" (p. 158). Reading *Joan of Arc* as a response to the Clemens family's "reformist beliefs," Skandera-Trombley sees Joan as "the archetypical WCTU reformer." It is likely, she suggests, that Clemens was "hiding an allegory of nineteenth-century progressive concerns within the covers of a historical novel" (p. 160). One wishes Skandera-Trombley had sustained this interpretation, had shown us what we are to make of the novel if we read it as the allegory she suggests. Does such a reading help us reconcile Clemens's fondness for this novel with the general neglect it has experienced by modern scholars?

In the final chapters, Skandera-Trombley explores the effect on Clemens of the dissolution of his family circle, first through the inevitable maturation of his daughters, Susy's untimely death, followed by Olivia's, then by the increasingly strained relations with his two remaining daughters, Clara and Jean. The author argues that without his intimate circle of females, Mark Twain lost his ability to write sustained works of fiction.

This book is to be applauded for its ambition, for its revisioning of the positive power of the "company of women" on Clemens's career, and for its careful and revealing historical research. Perhaps on another occasion the author will offer us her perspective on the photograph that appears on the book jacket (and more clearly within the text) of Samuel Clemens, dressed in a woman's dress and bonnet, large rubber hot water bottle draped around his neck, prancing on a stage with his daughter Susy.

LINDA A. MORRIS
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FREDERICK MOORE BINDER. *James Buchanan and the American Empire*. Cranbury, N.J.: Susquehanna University Press. 1994. Pp. 318. $45.00.

In recent decades talented scholars such as Philip Klein and E. B. Smith have waged a historical battle over the reputation of James Buchanan. In spite of Klein's best efforts, "Old Buck" continues to languish at the bottom of the presidential polls, while the political stock of more celebrated leaders (Dwight Eisenhower or Harry Truman, for example) continues to rise. Because our perception of leadership rests largely with the White House years, other aspects of a Chief Executive's public service often remain overlooked.

Frederick Moore Binder seeks to resuscitate Buchanan's image not by reinterpreting his presidency but by demonstrating his consistent and aggressive stance in promoting American empire. The Pennsylvanian devoted years of his life in the House and Senate, as minister to Russia and Great Britain, secretary of state, and president. In all capacities, Buchanan promoted the physical expansion of the nation. An exponent of Manifest Destiny and the Monroe Doctrine, he believed in white, Anglo-Saxon superiority and the eventual dominance of the United States in the Western hemisphere.

Many of his goals remained unfulfilled. Too often an obstreperous John Bull or misguided Black Republican interfered with his dreams of empire. Binder admits that Buchanan's motivations blended national mission and personal ambition. He calculated his expansionism, always wary of the direction of the political winds. Buchanan sometimes exercised poor judgment and could be stubborn and self destructive, but he was also "brave and sincere" (p. 10).

After yeoman service in the House of Representatives, Buchanan began a successful eighteen-month mission to Russia in 1832. He returned the following year with a commercial treaty, but also with a much broader world view. Promptly elevated to the U.S. Senate, he launched a decade-long career of hard-edged expansionist rhetoric bashing Whig compromisers, such as Daniel Webster, and baiting "perfidious Albion" at every opportunity.

Buchanan's tenure in James K. Polk's cabinet was marked by vacillation on issues and sharp disagreements with the president. On several occasions he considered accepting a Supreme Court appointment. Yet he remained at the State Department to advocate "ultra" positions on Oregon, "all Mexico," and Cuba. When Franklin Pierce appointed him minister to Britain, Buchanan departed reluctantly, fearing exclusion from the presidential contest of 1856. His three-year

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mission brought controversy (most notably the Ostend Manifesto) and an often adversarial relationship with the English ministry.

Buchanan eagerly departed for home and the reception of the long-awaited nomination as presidential candidate. His victory in the three-way race in November enabled him to pursue his foreign policy goals with maximum vigor. Acting as his own secretary of state—Lewis Cass served as an affable cipher—Buchanan moved to reduce British power in Central America and purchase northern Mexico and Cuba. Slavery, protected by the Constitution, was inviolable. As he pursued a frustrated course of empire, oblivious to the seriousness of domestic events swirling about him, the union dissolved.

This volume is solid, traditional, no-nonsense diplomatic history. The narrative is well researched, readable, and balanced. Binder recognizes that the siren's song of the White House—as much as his principles—shaped Buchanan's positions. Certainly, whatever his motive, the Pennsylvanian remained a constant advocate of American expansion. Whether he was a "significant influence on foreign policy" (p. 57) under Polk is debatable. If success remains the measure of the man, then the image of Buchanan will change but slightly.

JOHN M. BELOHLAVEK
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MICHAEL BURLINGAME. *The Inner World of Abraham Lincoln*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1994. Pp. xxviii, 380. $29.95.

Michael Burlingame has written a book, solidly grounded in extensive research, that explores psychological topics in Abraham Lincoln's life. His work raises important questions about the validity of psychohistory, its theoretical choices, and its relationship with the rest of the profession.

Burlingame proves that Lincoln's life offers abundant material that begs for psychological explanation. Why did Lincoln live so often in a "cave of gloom" (p. 92)? Why did he suffer from an "incapacity for intimacy" while succeeding at building such effective bonds with the public (p. 318)? Burlingame answers such questions with greatest effect when he works close to his sources, using ego psychology. Whereas other historians have explained Lincoln's depressions in classical Freudian terms as expressions of Oedipal guilt over desiring his mother and then having her die, Burlingame invokes the substantial psychiatric literature that ties many adult depressions to childhood loss. He describes how Lincoln at mid-life struggled to face his own past failures and the considerable pain of his youth to develop a more benign, wise, and forgiving way of dealing with other people, a psychological transformation that endowed him with unusual political gifts, gifts that helped saved the United States as we know it. Political history alone could not have illuminated Lincoln's transformation so well.

But psychohistory also needs to work with the nuances of historical context, which social and cultural history can provide. Burlingame makes the mistake of applying Daniel Levinson's sound, but overly schematic, work on adult male development without contextualizing it to suit the antebellum world. Psychological theory qualifies as nothing more than historically situated knowledge, especially in this case, because the male life cycle followed different developmental patterns in Lincoln's day than in Levinson's. Following Levinson's theory, Burlingame expects Lincoln around age forty "to develop atropied areas of his psyche . . . to pay more attention to his inner voice . . . and to find his true calling and fully engage his creative gifts" (p. 3). Such lofty psychological expectations, so heavily influenced by modern affluence and individualism, jar the ears of anyone steeped in antebellum wisdom about right living for men. Lincoln's "five desolate years" (p. 3) of mid-life struggle with himself took place in a world of hardscrabble truths about manhood, far away from Levinson's reality.

But better Levinson than Carl Jung. How do such Jungian concepts as the collective unconscious and archetypes (the closest psychoanalysis ever comes to astrology) advance our understanding of Lincoln? Burlingame applies the Jungian Old Man archetype to Lincoln and the opposite archetype, Eternal Youth, to Mary Todd Lincoln. How these concepts are an improvement over the simpler labels "maturity" and "immaturity" is not evident.

Jung's theory has provided literary metaphors suitable for sweeping cultural analysis (notably in the work of Richard Slotkin), but it cannot provide the careful analytical tools needed in biography. The resurgence of Jungian mythic concepts on the best-seller list, in television's rediscovery of Joseph Campbell, and in Robert Bly's mythopoeic men's movement reflect widespread cultural yearning to escape rationality by embracing the romance of mystical and heroic stories. Scholars, unlike cultural consumers, need tools that dissect rather than glorify the irrational.

Good tools of analysis abound. If Burlingame wanted to understand the historical and emotional context of Lincoln's "romantic friendship" with Joshua Speed and other men, or the challenge Lincoln faced when he crossed into female territory for marital intimacy in an age of "separate spheres," he would have done better to consult the best social history, especially the work of E. Anthony Rotundo on nineteenth-century manhood. Social and cultural historians, writing about the meaning of the life cycle in the past, have produced a literature ready-made for biographers.

This volume is a valuable piece of scholarship, oddly organized. Burlingame yanks the reader around chronologically when he argues for Mary Todd Lincoln's catalytic effect on her husband's rise from obscurity after he chronicles Lincoln's angry moments in the White House. Burlingame's many keen insights, arrayed in this bewildering sequence, still leave the

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reader distant from Lincoln's experience and development. It is a tall order to ask Lincoln biographers to master a huge mass of research, to choose valid psychological theories over preposterous ones, to place their work in the larger context of social and cultural history, and to tell the story well enough to evoke for the reader some of Lincoln's lived experience. But, then, Lincoln was a tall order.

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JOHN NIVEN. *Salmon P. Chase: A Biography*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 546. $30.00.

After illuminating the second party system through studies of Martin Van Buren and John C. Calhoun, John Niven offers a new biography of Salmon P. Chase, Abraham Lincoln's secretary of the treasury and later Chief Justice of the United States, whose fifty years in public life spanned from the beginning of the Jacksonian era to the climax of Reconstruction. Niven presents Chase as impelled by a blend of morality and expediency, a mix that characterized his personality from his early youth.

One of the book's strengths is that it traces the evolution of Chase's antislavery position. He thought slavery was immoral and a hindrance to economic progress, yet he opposed abolition because it disturbed business confidence and civic peace. As a lawyer defending fugitive slaves, he began to articulate the premises of a middle position: in a free society slavery must be seen as an anomaly. It might not be abolished but it could be limited or curtailed. The best way to do so was to assault the peculiar institution in places, such as the District of Columbia or the territories, where it was under congressional control. Vigilant action was needed to counteract the slave power, a constellation of political forces dedicated to protecting and extending slavery. Chase articulated the "slave power conspiracy" thesis well before Lincoln did, and he coined the slogan, "Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men" (p. 118).

Chase emerged on the national scene when the second party system was on the wane. For a time, he supported the Liberty Party; then he became an antislavery Democrat and finally a Republican. He wrote the "Appeal of the Independent Democrats" to counter Stephen A. Douglas's advocacy of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and his views on slavery became more militant during the 1850s. He became a leading contender for the Republican presidential nomination in 1860, which Niven believes he lost as much because of his advocacy of free trade as because of his antislavery views (p. 206).

Originally Chase opposed going to war over Fort Sumter, believing that the Confederacy would not last. Even after the Battle of Bull Run, he thought the war would not last more than a year (p. 246). As the war continued, Chase viewed northern reversals as divine punishment for complicity in the evil of slavery.

Niven describes the political infighting of the Lincoln administration, especially between Chase and William H. Seward, and the circumstances under which Lincoln accepted Chase's resignation and then later nominated him as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Ironically, his decisions such as *Ex parte Milligan* (1866), reflecting his longstanding devotion to civil liberties, were interpreted as traitorous to the Republican cause (p. 438).

One of Niven's goals is to go beyond Chase's politics, the better to see him in the milieu in which he lived. His youth and his family life are treated thoroughly, with special emphasis on the influence of his uncle, life in border-town Cincinnati, the deaths of his wives, and his sometimes awkward relationships with his children. Niven succeeds in portraying Chase as not just a political figure but a preeminent nineteenth-century man (p. vii).

This book is an engaging, comprehensive account of Chase's life and times. The manuscript would have benefited from more careful editing and proofreading. Numerous errors in grammar, syntax, and punctuation distract the reader's attention.

DAVID ZAREFSKY
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EUGENE H. BERWANGER. *The British Foreign Service and the American Civil War*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1994. Pp. xi, 215.

This book by Eugene H. Berwanger is a study of the problems with the Union and Confederate governments that confronted British consuls and the British legation at the time of the American Civil War, and how these diplomats helped to shape "the British Foreign Office's attitude and policies toward the crisis" (p. ix). Although American diplomatic history covering this period has witnessed renewed interest by scholars in recent years, little work has focused specifically on the role and attitudes of the consuls, and of the British minister to the United States, Lord Lyons (Richard Bickerton Pemell). As the author points out in the preface, his study builds on the early twentieth-century doctoral dissertation of Milledge Bonham, Jr., who did not have access to important archival sources prior to World War I. According to Berwanger, issues confronting British consuls in the North and South were often comparable, yet "established diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the Union eased their severity in the North and ultimately provided a means for an easier solution, whereas the lack of any diplomatic channel in the South caused increasing resentment and bitterness toward Great Britain and its consuls" (p. x).

In 1860, there were fourteen British consulates in the United States, most of them located in coastal cities. After the outbreak of the war and the imposition of the Union blockade of the South, consuls in the

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Confederacy were concerned less with commercial matters and instead focused their attention on protecting British nationals from southern mistreatment because of race, or on preventing their conscription into the Confederate army or southern militia. As Berwanger correctly points out, although British consuls faced similar challenges in the North, these responsibilities were in addition to their commercial duties that, unlike their counterparts in the South, increased because of the American expansion of foreign trade and greater Union reliance on British ships so as to avoid the risks posed by Confederate raiders.

From the perspective of the British Foreign Office, the consulates of New York City and Charleston, South Carolina, were considered the most important in the United States. In New York, the leading trading center and source for news about the United States, the man in this post had to be extremely competent. This person was Edward Mortimer Archibald, who was first appointed o his position in 1857 and held it until his death in 1883.

In Charleston, the post required someone who could command the respect of the locals, because the British government sought to keep tabs on the sectional crisis developing in the country. Robert Bunch was appointed consul at Charleston in 1853. Although the "most outgoing" of the British consuls, his "success as a consul may have been his downfall," as his "personal friendships as much as his actions . . . caused him his problems with the Lincoln administration during the war" (p. 10).

Of the British minister, Lord Lyons, Berwanger writes that "he was painstakingly precise" with the consuls whom he supervised (p. 25). He demanded that their public statements be impartial, a requirement to which he too adhered. Yet his "private sympathy lay with the Union" (p. 28). Lord Lyons nevertheless was critical of American leadership. He criticized President James Buchanan for his failure to respond effectively to southern secession, and Abraham Lincoln's weakness as president lay in his lack of foreign policy experience. Lord Lyons feared Secretary of State William Henry Seward's bellicose attitude; but toward the end of the war, Berwanger concludes, the relationship between the two statesmen actually grew closer.

Berwanger argues that Lord Lyons's appointment was "fortunate for both the Union and British governments. His dislike of slavery and his reluctance to see Britain become involved in war encouraged him to recommend caution, and delay proved the wisest policy for Britain in the end" (p. 136).

As for Seward's counterpart in the Confederacy, Judah B. Benjamin, Berwanger suggests that Benjamin asserted himself in October 1863, when President Jefferson Davis was away from Richmond, by calling a cabinet meeting, at which they voted to expel British consuls in the South. Berwanger correctly points out that the decision for this action stemmed from Benjamin's anger toward Britain for its failure to extend diplomatic recognition to the Confederacy.

This book is in many ways written in the genre of traditional diplomatic history. Although soundly based in archival sources, it is replete with quotations from individuals engaged in diplomacy in an official capacity. Illustrative anecdotes often are excessive, thus occupying more space than is necessary. Aside from their official roles, the main characters' personalities are not developed to allow the reader to gain a deeper understanding of them. Repetition weakens what could otherwise be a much more tightly written monograph. Other organizational difficulties include allocating a disproportionate amount of space for certain tangential topics, for example Union conscription policy. The balance of treatment is skewed in favor of British relations with the South over those with the North. Rather than a book-length study, this work could probably have been written just as effectively as an article.

Despite these shortcomings, this study is a credible piece of scholarship that contributes to a fuller understanding of American foreign relations with Great Britain during the Civil War.

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JAMES LEE MCDONOUGH. *War in Kentucky: From Shiloh to Perryville*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 386. $32.00.

The most extraordinary Confederate campaign of the Civil War, and the one that probably had the greatest chance of achieving a major strategic success, was Braxton Bragg's audacious counteroffensive in Tennessee and Kentucky in the fall of 1862. A strong case can be made for the proposition that it was south of the Ohio, not north of the Potomac, that the fantasy of southern secession briefly flickered into reality and then faded away forever. Why, then, have historians shown so little interest in Bragg's campaign? One reason is the pronounced bias toward events in the eastern theater that distorts our understanding of the Civil War. Another is the absence of Ulysses S. Grant, Robert E. Lee, William T. Sherman, Thomas J. Jackson, and other "major" military leaders. Historians are all too human. Like Civil War buffs and laymen in general, they tend to concentrate on marquee players and ignore the essential supporting cast.

These are reasons enough to take a close look at James Lee McDonough's book. The author is a veteran Civil War historian who has produced a series of studies of the major campaigns and battles in and around his native Tennessee. This volume is typical McDonough: a book of moderate length and depth written for a reasonably wide audience. It is a good example of accessible scholarly history, an important and once common form of historical publication that is distressingly rare today.

McDonough begins with a fine overview of the

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strategic situation in the west in the fall of 1862, in which he correctly emphasizes that the Union victories at Forts Henry and Donelson the previous spring, and not Antietam as James McPherson has suggested, comprised the first turning point of the Civil War. The body of the book is a straightforward narrative account of Bragg's campaign supplemented by explanatory and analytical passages at appropriate points. Quotations from soldiers and civilians provide color and texture. Along the way the author makes several surprising—and convincing—assessments. He defends Henry W. Halleck's decision to send Don Carlos Buell toward Chattanooga after the capture of Corinth, and explains Buell's failure to reach that city as the result of Confederate interdiction of Federal railroad traffic. He describes Bragg's shift from Tupelo to Chattanooga as a "brilliant move" that was the "premier effort in the history of Confederate rail operations" (p. 75).

Unfortunately for Bragg, who specialized in getting off to good starts, the Confederate effort went awry largely because Edmund Kirby Smith was infected with "Kentucky fever." Smith, it seems, was determined to liberate Kentucky rather than dislodge Union forces from Tennessee, and he failed to cooperate with Bragg. The result was a promising but confused operation that lacked a unified command structure and a specific objective. When the campaign ended in failure after a severe but little-known battle at Perryville, the strategic situation in the West was essentially unchanged.

This book is not perfect. McDonough has a tendency to digress and his relatively brief narrative is thin in places. The handful of sketchy maps are inadequate and probably will confuse more than illuminate. Nevertheless, this is, as McDonough intended, a readable overview of the great Confederate counteroffensive in the West that puts events in perspective and challenges some traditional interpretations. As such, it is a solid if unspectacular addition to the growing body of literature on the Civil War in the decisive theater between the Appalachian Mountains and the Great Plains. "The war's western story is very significant," observes McDonough, "it is also instructive, interesting, and at times fascinating" (p. xii). Who could ask for anything more?

WILLIAM L. SHEA
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DEAN L. MAY. *Three Frontiers: Family, Land, and Society in the American West, 1850–1900.* (Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 313. $44.95.

This book is a wonderful study of the settlers who trooped west in mid-nineteenth-century America propelled by visions made singular only by their lack of consistency. People raised in cities invariably told the western census taker their profession was farming even while struggling to understand the nature of their land and crops. Although no one admitted to emigrating in order to become poorer, many did just that, and several times over. Visions of western landscapes blinded real farmers to the rich black loam at their feet in the Midwest and the blinders stayed in place in Oregon, Idaho, and Utah while they wrote letters home describing hard-scrabble utopias as lands of milk and honey. In spite of the realities, the agrarian image stayed with us as a nation.

Dean L. May's book compares familial efforts with the meaning of land aquisition and the evolution of societal values as seen against the backdrop of the western farm. He argues most effectively that rural mentality was not left behind as easily as the farm itself, that urban dwellers could not—and do not—drop the baggage of centuries of rural life without inheriting rural values, and that the proximity in time and distance to rural life informs the American present. Challenged to bring the western farm—not the ranch as we dream it—back in to the study of the American West, May uses the settlement of three small towns (Middleton, Idaho; Alpine, Utah; and Sublimity, Oregon) to press his case that western towns reflected rather than substantially altered the values of the inhabitants. The value of this book lies in its interdisciplinary examination of events through a rural lens. He documents the three streams of mid-century migration to the West by destination rather than by trail, for example. The Willamette Valley, Salt Lake Valley, and Boise Valley received settlers of distinctly different backgrounds, which resulted in discrete regional differences, modified less by the landscape and natural resources, or lack thereof, than by the collective pasts of the newcomers. Farmers from the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri valleys sought to re-create the Great Houses of their past in Oregon by establishing land-based family dynasties. City dwellers born in England's first industrial centers came to Alpine, Utah, looking for order and community and farmland, and the Boise Valley drew those seeking refuge from the Civil War whose sentimental attachment to land ended when capitalization proved insufficient. Oregonians migrated as families; Utahns severed family relationships because of enmity toward Mormonism, but they built new sustainable networks; the people in Idaho had family and kinships disrupted by the Civil War and were not able to replicate them. They remained a folk distant and isolated from each other, and this volume explains those differences and describes the respective roles women played.

This is an exciting study, intellectually stimulating and provocative, skillful in its interweaving of people and places and scholastic disciplinary skills. But be forewarned; this is not an easy read. This book is written in a clear and graceful style, but the wealth of information and the number of people and places woven through it demand the reader's full attention.

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JEAN SIZEMORE. *Ozark Vernacular Houses: A Study of Rural Homeplaces in the Arkansas Ozarks, 1830–1930.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 246. $28.00.

Jean Sizemore begins her study on the traditional dwellings of Arkansas Ozarks with the painful observation that "time is running out for the ordinary and unpretentious houses" of the region. With the loss of buildings comes the loss of an irreplaceable body of historical evidence, with the potential for providing unparalleled insight into the society and culture of a distinctive American landscape. Thus, Sizemore's exploration of Ozark architecture provides both a survey of vernacular houses and an attempt to interpret the significance of those buildings within a larger landscape context. Based on extensive fieldwork and oral history interviews, Sizemore's contribution increases our sense of the building traditions of a still little understood area of the upland South.

In the eight chapters Sizemore presents Ozark housing through two descriptive lenses: formal typology and historic landscapes. The basis for Sizemore's typological efforts is the evidence of surviving buildings. Following the models popularized by American cultural geographers and folklorists, in particular Fred Kniffen and Henry Glassie, more than thirty years ago, Sizemore adds to the ever-expanding catalog of American regional building types. Sizemore, however, has not kept apace of recent developments where typological considerations are a stepping stone to more difficult questions about architectural process in the design, production, experience, function, and symbolic content of vernacular buildings. Although Sizemore's review of the earlier literature is solid, it also incorporates problematic interpretations, such as her discussion of the origins of the Ozark house: "The elemental dwelling form spreading from the Middle Atlantic culture hearth was a single pen log house, the chimney of which gradually moved away from a German central chimney to the Tidewater English end-chimney" (p. 45). First, single-pen and one-room houses seem to be conflated in this discussion. Second, Sizemore oversimplifies the complex array of influences shaping design choices. In eighteenth-century Pennsylvania, for example, houses reflected multiple, competing, and overlapping influences, including those from German, English, Welsh, Dutch, New England, and Chesapeake source areas. Third, there was no single "elemental" house type, but rather a range of formal options enjoying varying degrees of currency dependent on factors such as builders, clients, location, wealth, social status, and function.

Despite the interpretive problems raised by this and other passages, Sizemore's book makes a significant contribution to the field, particularly in its clear and unpretentious discussion of buildings. Photographs and plans accompanied by extended, descriptive captions, for example, make Sizemore's work a useful source for all who seek a general understanding of Ozark dwellings. Similarly, the chapters on outbuildings and construction efficiently catalog building types and features. The strength and style of these chapters suggests the methodological origins of the volume. Its catalog qualities stem from the architectural survey techniques associated with state historic preservation offices. As local, state, and regional architectural surveys increasingly concern themselves with buildings in landscape contexts, the celebration of individual structures has diminished. The shift in emphasis from the primacy of the artifact to the varied contexts it occupies is evident in Sizemore's work. Thus, Sizemore attempts to extend her reading of the buildings she describes to questions about their social function and meaning. In her analysis of living in an Ozark house she identifies five "generalizations," including little space for privacy, unspecialized interiors, limited storage, the presence of a bed in every room, and the rarity of formal spaces. Sizemore concludes this discussion with case studies of particular houses centered on ideas of domestic economy, gender roles, landscape relations, and modernization. These are themes ably explored by other writers, such as Michael Ann Williams, Gerald Pocius, and Thomas Hubka, who also examine vernacular building traditions in other historic and cultural contexts. Sizemore's study, however, seems to function in the absence of a working knowledge of this larger literature, a quality that limits her overall work.

Sizemore's book makes a valuable contribution in its clear and thoughtful presentation of the domestic architectural traditions associated with a distinctive American region. Although Sizemore's effort is limited in its interpretive scope, its substantive content compensates for analytical shortcomings. The photographs, plans, and descriptive passages augment our knowledge of houses and people as fieldworkers everywhere continue to record and understand vernacular houses.

BERNARD HERMAN
University of Delaware

ARI HOOGENBOOM. *Rutherford B. Hayes: Warrior and President.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1995. Pp. xii, 626. $45.00.

"Always do right!" Mark Twain advised American youth. "This will gratify some people and astonish the rest." Twain could have been speaking for his contemporary, Rutherford B. Hayes, whose constructive contributions to American politics and culture have been too commonly underestimated. In this impressive biography—the first comprehensive study of Hayes since Harry Barnard's *Rutherford B. Hayes and His America* (1954)—Ari Hoogenboom contends that Hayes was not simply one of a series of colorless Gilded Age presidents with a beard; he was a constructive statesman who accomplished as much in his single term as president (1877–81) as was possible given the political climate in which he operated.

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Raised in Ohio by a strong-minded mother and aided at many junctures by his uncle Sardis Birchard, a successful businessman, Hayes exploited his opportunities for higher learning and established himself early as a solid and likeable lawyer and politician. His youthful Whig allegiance gave way in the politically turbulent 1850s to enthusiasm for free soil doctrine and Republican Party activism. Insofar as Hayes had a political lodestar, it was Abraham Lincoln, whom he came to know when Lincoln campaigned in Ohio and for whose presidency he averred consistent loyalty.

Hayes was a study in contrast to a fellow Ohio Republican, Salmon P. Chase. Unlike the maniacally ambitious Chase, Hayes kept his ambitions in check and preferred to see the best in everyone. Such character traits did not hamper his political advancement. Hayes rose steadily up the political ladder between 1858 and 1876, serving as Cincinnati's elected solicitor, congressman during Reconstruction, and three terms as governor of Ohio. Hayes's distinguished service in more than fifty actions during the Civil War, during which he suffered several serious wounds, proved important to his political success. So did his sunny personality, which led him to find common ground on contentious issues with friends and rivals alike.

Because Hayes was a strong vote-getter in a crucial state, and because he was acceptable to all wings of the GOP, he gained his party's nomination in 1876, a difficult year for Republicans. Although his election was accomplished only with considerable behind-the-scenes maneuvering by party leaders (the details of which are masterfully recounted by Hoogenboom), Hayes never viewed himself as a tainted president. Hoogenboom portrays President Hayes as a hard-money exponent whose reformist convictions and political skills were continually tested and not found wanting.

In fact, Hayes accomplished little in the realm of Civil Service reform and his rearguard action to protect black voters in the South was more window dressing than substance, since Democrats there tightened their grip on power during his term in the White House. But Hoogenboom makes a persuasive case that for a president whose party was badly divided on key issues and whose fellow citizens were not committed to equal rights for the freedman, Hayes did as well as he possibly could have. Certainly in Roscoe Conkling of New York, the arch-spoilsman of his era, and in the racist southern Democrats, Hayes fought intractable foes with relatively little ammunition to support his cause.

Although Hoogenboom eschews analogies, this book invites a comparison of Hayes with a latter-day one-term president, Jimmy Carter. Like Carter, Hayes was torn between principle and the imperatives of governing in a period where Congress was untamed and probably untameable. Like Carter, Hayes enjoyed several notable successes, but he ultimately failed to dominate his party and thereby advance his agenda. Like Carter, Hayes thrived as ex-president, sustaining educational church and social reform activities that had long mattered to him. Hoogenboom shows, for example, how much Hayes cared about universal education as the foundation of American democracy and how much time and energy he put into the cause of freedmen's education.

One comes away from this deeply researched and carefully crafted book impressed by Hayes's essential decency and good sense, whether judged by the standards of his day or ours.

MICHAEL J. BIRKNER
Gettysburg College

KATHRYN ALLAMONG JACOB. *Capital Elites: High Society in Washington, D.C., after the Civil War.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1995. Pp. x, 318. $35.00.

High society has always held a peculiar fascination for Americans. Although their home-grown aristocracies hardly fit the mold of European dynasties, Americans do have their share of "old families" and millionaire parvenus against whom they can weigh their cultural claims to egalitarianism and meritocracy. Washington, D.C., is a particularly interesting case of an urban social elite because the rapid turnover, permeability, and competition that characterized its high society in the nineteenth century suggests a social mobility success story. Focusing specifically on the members of high society, Kathryn Allamong Jacob nevertheless confirms the insight of Max Weber, who noted that, although class, status, and party operate as separate spheres of power and influence, they have a remarkable tendency to overlap. As she makes abundantly clear, money and political power have never been far removed from Washington's social life, for the rich, the well-connected, and the ambitious flocked to the nineteenth-century capital in search of an opportunity to join the social whirl.

Jacob's engaging study of Washington's nineteenth-century social life is really an account of three competing groups: the residential elite of "old families" who dominated high society before the Civil War; the official elite of highly transitory, elected men and their wives whose status was determined exclusively by their position in government; and, after the 1870s, a new residential and unofficial elite made up of rich newcomers who found Washington an easier place for a "nobody to become a somebody" than many other U.S. cities. Jacob argues that several factors unique to Washington contributed to the fluidity of its elites. Because of the relative newness of the city and its singular business of government, the original residential elite of established southern families could not extend their social status into local political control. Neither their claims to family longevity nor the most scrupulous control over etiquette could prevent the members of official society, no matter what their background, from assuming their own places in a competing social hierarchy. For all its transitoriness,

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official society, in turn, was organized by a strict, written protocol in which position and rank determined the social visiting patterns and the seating arrangements at formal banquets. Maintaining protocol was primarily the work of women, although Jacob makes it clear that they did so in the career interests of their husbands, fathers, and brothers.

The Civil War and the scandals of the Ulysses S. Grant years took their toll on both the residential and official elites by the 1870s. Over the next two decades they met new competition from a group of ostentatious newcomers, many from the West and Midwest, who seized the opportunity to buy their way into Washington high society, attempting to secure a place for their sons and daughters in the process.

To what extent have "newcomers" become "old families" in twentieth-century Washington? Has one of America's most permeable and fluid social elites finally developed the roots of an upper class? These questions must await future studies of twentieth-century urban elites, ones that can now build on the solid foundation provided by this well-documented, richly anecdotal case study.

BETTY G. FARRELL
Pitzer College

JAMES W. ELY, JR. *The Chief Justiceship of Melville W. Fuller, 1888–1910.* (Chief Justiceships of the United States Supreme Court.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 248. $49.95.

This important and elegantly written book is the culmination of two decades of revisionism in which scholars have rejected the old notion that state and federal courts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were largely hostile toward social and economic regulatory legislation and fashioned the law as an instrument of class oppression. James W. Ely, Jr., amplifies and provides additional support for the growing consensus that the Supreme Court under Chief Justice Melville W. Fuller was actually quite receptive toward regulatory legislation. He also ably argues that the Court's reservations about growing economic regulation were guided by a principled commitment to the ideal of limited government that is inherent in federalism and in specific provisions of the Constitution such as the contracts, commerce, takings, and due process clauses.

In explaining why the Fuller Court was not as active on behalf of personal liberties as it was with regard to economic rights, Ely likewise demonstrates that the Fuller Court was heavily influenced by considerations of federalism. He also acknowledges, however, that the justices' personal predilections made them more interested in economic rights than in protecting nonwhites, women, criminal defendants, and political dissenters. Although such jurisprudence seems archaic to many modern eyes, Ely reminds us that the Fuller Court "usually functioned within the parameters of dominant public opinion" (p. 93).

After a pithy account of Fuller's personal life and his talents as a judicial administrator, the author undertakes a methodical and thorough analysis of the Supreme Court's decisions during Fuller's long tenure as chief justice. Although Ely does not purport to advance any major new hypothesis, he deftly sorts out a tangle of ostensibly contradictory rulings, clarifying the themes that animated and unified the work of the Fuller Court. In particular, he examines many cases that other studies of the period have neglected and brings fresh insights to better known cases. The author's skillful synthesis of recent scholarship and his book's comprehensive bibliography make it an indispensable reference work for anyone interested in American legal history.

Ely also attempts to assess the influence of the Fuller Court's work on future generations of jurists and Americans. Although the Fuller Court's work is widely believed to have been rendered obsolete by the judiciary's abandonment of careful scrutiny of economic legislation after 1937, Ely points out that the revival of economic libertarianism in recent years infuses new relevance into the constitutional doctrines developed by the Fuller Court. He also demonstrates that the Fuller Court established "the Supreme Court as a key participant in American governance" (p. 215) and that its decisions provided a major impetus for the "growth of large corporations, massive industrialization, a national market for goods, and increased national wealth" (p. 214). The book's relevance also transcends the time that it studies insofar as its exploration of the subtle interaction of the social, economic, doctrinal, and political forces that influenced the Fuller Court provides a model study of the complexities of judicial decision making.

WILLIAM G. ROSS
Cumberland School of Law
Samford University

BLUE CLARK. *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock: Treaty Rights and Indian Law at the End of the Nineteenth Century.* (Law in the American West.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 182. $37.50.

In his introduction to this slim volume (111 text pages), Blue Clark states that the famous Supreme Court decision in *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* (1903) has "Curiously . . . been ignored in anthologies and passed over in histories dealing with American Indian developments in the era" (p. 4). The promise of his study is that in addition to rectifying the omissions of earlier scholars, he will examine the impact of the case on the Kiowa Indians. This was an admirable goal but it is not attained.

The case of *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* was a milestone in the destruction of the American Indians' landed estate. It affirmed and made more onerous the "plenary power" of Congress over Indian tribes, ushering in an orgy of legislation that forced allotment on resisting tribes. It stated the Court's unwillingness to

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review the constitutionality of Congress' actions as applied to Indians, thereby freeing Congress of any hesitancy it might have felt in overriding earlier treaties with Indian tribes. And it affirmed, more clearly than earlier cases, that tribal property could be taken by the United States, in violation of treaty assurances that Indian consent was required, at whatever price or value the Congress unilaterally set. Although the court's decision came in the instance of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Plains Apache reservation in what is now south-central Oklahoma, it is clear that a similar decision by the end-of-the-century Court would have been rendered in any other case challenging Congress' right to break up those Indian reservations that stood in the path of western-moving, non-Indian citizens.

This volume provides valuable chapters on the evolution of federal Indian policy in the late nineteenth century, on the Supreme Court's accommodation to that policy, and on the Treaty of Medicine Lodge (1867) that created the Kiowa, Comanche, and Plains Apache reservation. Yet the chapters on the Kiowa before and after allotment fail to deliver the promised insight into the impact of the Supreme Court's decision on these Indians. These chapters demonstrate little use of the archival records used so skillfully by William T. Hagan in his account of these same years in *United States–Comanche Relations: The Reservation Years* (1976). What little we learn about the person of Lone Wolf or his motivation is either undocumented or derived from secondary accounts. The chapter on the negotiations of the Jerome Commission, appointed to secure the Indians' approval of allotment of their reservation, assumes the validity of the Kiowas' later accusations of duplicity and fraudulent vote gathering on the part of the Commission. Both Hagan and Ann Laquer Estin in "Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock: The Long Shadow" (in Sandra Cadwalader and Vine Deloria, Jr., eds., *The Aggressions of Civilization* [1984]), have found these negotiations much more complex than Clark is willing to admit. His chapter on the Supreme Court's decision avails itself of new material from the papers of Willliam M. Springer, the attorney who filed the briefs in the Lone Wolf litigation, but both Hagan (in *The Indian Rights Association: The Herbert Welsh Years, 1882–1904* [1985]) and Estin provide clearer accounts of the role of the Indian Rights Association in the legal challenge that led to the Supreme Court decision.

LAWRENCE C. KELLY
University of North Texas

DAVID BRUNDAGE. *The Making of Western Labor Radicalism: Denver's Organized Workers, 1878–1905*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 207. $26.95.

Since the birth of Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), many writers have grappled with the complexity and intricacy of the IWW's origins. David Brundage revisits this discussion in this book but adds little that is new. Like Paul F. Brissenden, Lewis Levine, and Melvyn Dubofsky, Brundage finds in the nineteenth-century organized workers movement all the ingredients that prefigure the twentieth-century labor radicalism of the IWW. The broadening of working-class solidarity and the emergence of an oppositional ideology, talismans of syndicalism, were present in Denver's branch of the American Land League and the Irish nationalist movement. Brundage argues that these organizations provided key intellectual material for the construction of the Knights of Labor's (KOL) early industrial form and proto-syndicalist ideology.

In the KOL's alliance with Colorado's Prohibition Party Brundage sees the seed of a movement culture that in its brief fray against the saloon gave rise to a few reading rooms, picnics, and short-lived theatrical projects. From his development of these linkages Brundage exhaustively catalogues the minutiae of detail that accompany the city's growth, economy, and changes in its forms of labor organizations that culminate in the American Labor Union, which many have argued is the IWW's most proximate precursor.

Unfortunately, Brundage ignores the majority of studies that deal with the development of syndicalism as well as key studies that have attempted to ground the IWW's emergence in styles of western labor radicalism. It is, therefore, not surprising that the impact of Haymarket Square on the KOL, and the importance of anarchists such as Albert Parsons, Arnold Roller, Johann Most, Thomas J. Haggerty, and other architects of industrial unionism is never discussed or analyzed. Brundage simply states that the KOL declined after 1886 and that in Denver anarchism had no clear following (p. 105). Yet Colorado saw early solidarity work by Spanish and Italian anarchists from Paterson, New Jersey, who became involved with both soft and hard rock miners. *La Questione Social*, organ of the Paterson anarchists, ran a weekly column that reported on the struggles of hard and soft coal miners in Colorado as well as on anarcho-syndicalism and the revolutionary syndicalism movement in Europe.

Brundage does not consult the foreign-language labor press, although he admits the ethnic character of Denver's working class and complexity of native and foreign-born workers, nativism, racism, and so on. Brundage mines for historical ore exhausted long ago. The result is a narrow reading of the movement that built industrial unionism.

The industrial union movement was not the result of a particular cultural sphere or a movement limited by inborn, national, or regional characteristics. It did not develop autonomously within a closed system or specific geographical boundaries. It was a world-wide movement carried by workers who spoke many different languages. Nurtured in intricate patterns of cross-fertilization, syndicalism traveled between towns, states, and continents. Its hybrid nature was matched only by its fluid characteristics, because its chief form of diffusion was the geographical mobility of workers

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brought about by world-wide patterns of industrialization.

SALVATORE SALERNO
Metropolitan State University

TOMÁS ALMAGUER. *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 282. Cloth $40.00, paper $15.00.

This book analyzes the differences in the experiences of the Mexican, Native American, Chinese, and Japanese peoples in California during the second half of the nineteenth century. Tomás Almaguer argues that California's racial and ethnic relations were unique and a distinct pattern different from the one developed in other regions of the country.

The seven chapters of the book recount the racialized histories of these minority groups in California by exploring the material and ideological basis of these groups' subordination to European Americans. Almaguer argues that the Europeans, although they could be distinguished based on their nationalities and religions, considered themselves as one group against non-European ethnic groups. The author's approach is sociological, using concepts such as "racial formation," "racialization," and "social closure" to understand the structuring of hierarchical systems of group inequality and class-specific contestations. Among the racialized groups in California, Almaguer treats blacks as an exception. Although blacks, who started to come as slave laborers during the Gold Rush, were gradually relegated to the lower end of the new class society, their population was too small to effectively compete with European-American immigrants and, consequently, they were never perceived as the same threat that other racialized groups posed.

This study is based largely on secondary works and tells familiar stories, but it makes significant contributions in two areas. The first is a case study of the experience of Mexicans in Ventura County between 1860 and 1900, based on various archival sources. Here Almaguer provides a vivid picture of the complex interplay of class and racial forces, in which the well-entrenched ranchero class was forced to surrender, as an economy based on wage labor gradually replaced the old labor system and absorbed both the indigenous Mexican population and the numerous immigrant groups.

The second important contribution is the author's succinct treatment of the Oxnard Sugar Beet Workers' Strike of 1903. In February 1903, over twelve hundred Mexican and Japanese farm workers organized the Japanese-Mexican Labor Association (JMLA) in Oxnard and led the strikers to a major victory. The action forced not only the contractors to cancel all existing contracts with local sugar beet growers but also white unions to articulate clearly their position on the organization of Japanese and Mexican workers. Through his analysis of the strike, Almaguer also points out the differential racialization process that placed Japanese and Mexican farm workers in different "group positions." Whereas white American attitudes toward the Japanese were vehement and hostile, an extension of the earlier view of the Chinese as a formidable threat to the jobs, wages, and working conditions of white laborers, Mexican workers were not perceived as posing such a peril.

One may wonder whether this book covers a topic too large for a single study. For historians interested in new information, it perhaps deals with too many familiar stories. Moreover, it proceeds in an agonizingly repetitive manner. Nonetheless, this book is the first attempt to put various racialized groups, which must be analyzed on their own terms, in a comparative context so that differences and similarities are brought sharply into focus. Almaguer has demonstrated throughout that "race" served as the central organizing principle of group life in California during the second half of the nineteenth century.

YASUHIDE KAWASHIMA
University of Texas, El Paso

GREGORY C. FERENCE. *Sixteen Months of Indecision: Slovak American Viewpoints toward Compatriots and the Homeland from 1914 to 1915 as Viewed by the Slovak Language Press in Pennsylvania*. Cranbury, N.J.: Susquehanna University Press. 1995. Pp. 261. $39.50.

Gregory C. Ference asserts that he focused on the early years of World War I because "the concerns expressed by the Slovaks in the United States in 1914–1915 continually plagued Czechoslovakia, being one of the factors for the country's disintegration in 1939, and again on 1 January, 1993" (p. 7). To explore these concerns he has read and summarized three Slovak-American newspapers for the years 1914–15: *Jednota*, official organ of the First Catholic Slovak Union of the United States and Canada, *Národné noviny*, official organ of the secular National Slovak Society, and *Slovenský hlásnik*, official organ of the Slovak Evangelical Union. These three fraternal societies, and their newspapers, according to Ference, best represented the opinions and divisions of the Slovak-American community.

Not surprisingly, Ference discovers that all three newspapers were united in their belief in the existence of a distinct Slovak nation and all three supported either home rule in their homeland of Hungary or, failing that, independence from the Magyars and a federal union with their closest Slavic neighbors, the Czechs. Initially, American Slovaks favored the former and expressed it in their "Memorandum of the Slovak League of America," which they published and distributed in many languages in late 1914 and early 1915. By the end of 1915, however, American Slovaks had changed their minds, and on October 22 the Slovak League of America signed the "Cleveland Agreement" with the Bohemian National Alliance whereby both

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groups pledged to work together to destroy Austria-Hungary and create a federal Czecho-Slovak state. The failure of government authorities in postwar Czechoslovakia to honor this, or its successor "Pittsburgh Agreement" of 1918, led to the collapse of Czechoslovakia in 1939 and 1993, Ference concludes.

Although this is a thorough survey of Slovak-American attitudes toward the political future of their compatriots in Europe, it suffers from the usual shortcomings of a revised dissertation. There is too much background material on Slovak immigration to America, on "Pan-Slavism," and on the reaction of three Slovak-American editors to events in Europe. Ference does not get to the heart of the matter (relations with the Czechs) until his fifth and final chapter. In addition, the story of the World War I liberation movement does not end in 1915, as Ference admits. Indeed, had he covered the whole period of the war, he would have discovered a bitter battle between Slovak Catholics and Lutherans over Pope Benedict XV's peace plan of 1917.

Indeed, one wonders why Ference tackled the subject of the World War I liberation movement in the first place. It is a well-known episode that has been told by Konštantín Čulen in *Pittsburghská dohoda* (1937), which is curiously missing from Ference's bibliography, by Victor S. Mamatey in several articles, and by myself, among others. Had Ference wished to make a truly new contribution to our knowledge about the World War I liberation movement, he might have read some of the Magyarone newspapers published at that time and informed us of what this group of Slovaks was advocating. And he should have taken the narrative to its conclusion in 1918. Covering only two years of a story that took five years to reach its conclusion may be all right for a dissertation, but it makes no sense in the context of the historiography of the period. I fear that this book is another example of the "publish or perish" syndrome in academia.

M. Mark Stolarik
University of Ottawa

W. David Lewis. *Sloss Furnaces and the Rise of the Birmingham District: An Industrial Epic*. (History of American Science and Technology Series.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1994. Pp. xxiv, 645. $39.95.

Ask a displaced Alabamian (as I did) about their memories of Birmingham, and chances are the first words uttered go something like "dirty, sooty, and poor." During the second half of the twentieth century life rarely got better, as Birmingham was left behind while neighboring Atlanta's reputation, and population, waxed greatly. In short, Birmingham in our time emerged with a rust-belt image, despite its being geographically situated well within the sunbelt, and with its sense of place being negatively attenuated further by the accumulation of generations of racial injustice. How did Birmingham get that way?

The "whys" of Birmingham's story—the tale of a place of great potential that never really reached its potential—is well told in W. David Lewis's sweeping historical reconstruction of the region, its industrial base, labor force, political and economic institutions, and more. The book reflects the History of Technology series at its best, interweaving an array of themes and topics all interconnected with a relatively peripheral manufacturer of pig iron, namely the Sloss Furnaces Company and its successors. The past is indeed seamless, and Lewis has written far more than a history of technology, as he approaches the limits of holistic history. And while Lewis's ambitious sights leave the work at times unbalanced and uneven in terms of historical analysis, and occasionally incomplete due to the sacrifice of depth at the expense of breadth, nonetheless the author has written a book of uncommon power.

Clearly, Lewis's epic has several strengths. First, the author's descriptions of the technology associated with the mining of coal and iron ore, the development of coking processes, and most significantly the manufacture of iron and steel are treated in detail, with an emphasis on innovative engineers and their inventions. It is not things or techniques but people, however, that are always at the heart of this story, and Lewis does a remarkable job of providing numerous biographical details associated with the great, near great, and at times obscure. For Lewis, people—and where they come from—often determine the direction of the industry in the region, but always within a broader cultural, political, and economic context that emphasizes continuity rather than change. And thus Lewis inevitably enters into the world of southern historians, where he draws heavily on the analyses of Gavin Wright related to labor supply, Jonathan Weiner on the issue of class, and of course C. Vann Woodward and his views concerning the origins of the New South.

Given the breadth of this work, it is perhaps inevitable that Lewis cannot cover all the bases (interestingly enough, however, he does weave in the Birmingham Barons baseball team into his story in a logical way). For example, I was disappointed that, despite Lewis's imaginative insight linking the birth of the Birmingham iron industry and the Louisiana sugar industry, he does not follow the strand of continuity back to Louisiana, which could easily have been done. There Lewis would have discovered that in the 1880s a technologically vibrant, science-based industry responding to global competition. Thus, it makes imminent sense that plantation managers would be seen as potentially the right people to usher in a new industry in Alabama. Since this oversight occurs within the heart of his narrative—the center of this work is located between 1870 and 1910—one wonders about the depth (and accuracy) of later chapters that take us to the present in an increasingly journalistic style.

My criticisms aside, Lewis has made an original and synthetic contribution to scholarship by using his curi-

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osity to extend the artificial boundaries of historical specialization well beyond what was initially intended.

JOHN A. HEITMANN
University of Dayton

HELEN C. CAMP. *Iron in Her Soul: Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and the American Left*. Pullman: Washington State University Press. 1995. Pp. xxviii, 396. Cloth $40.00, paper $28.00.

The teenaged street orator Elizabeth Gurley Flynn once turned down a Broadway producer's offer to put her on the stage by telling him that she preferred to "speak my own piece." For the next six decades, until her death in the Soviet Union in 1964, Flynn spoke to and for the American working class. Known in Left circles as the "Rebel Girl," she made her way through the mass strikes and free-speech struggles of the 1910s as a great orator for the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). For seven years she worked tirelessly to save the Italian anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, who were executed in 1927. A founder of the American Civil Liberties Union, Flynn was expelled in 1940 for membership in the Communist Party. A decade later the federal government indicted her under the Smith Act and, after a nine-month trial, sent her to the Alderson Federal Penitentiary on a three-year term. But even then, Flynn could not be silenced. She had promised not to rest until she saw capitalism replaced by a government of the people.

Helen C. Camp tells this story with verve. Especially compelling are the chapters tracing Flynn's adventures before she joined the Communist Party. Flynn had covered this same ground in her autobiography. But *The Rebel Girl* (1955) is very much a life-and-times narrative wherein the subject stands in the shadow of the events and famous personalities around her. Camp, with access to Flynn's papers now housed at Tamiment Library at New York University, has tipped the scales in the other direction. The first half of her study provides rare insight into the dynamics of Flynn's personal life, including her thirteen-year love affair with co-agitator Carlo Tresca and her friendship with Dr. Marie Equi, a gay physician for the IWW. Camp also interviewed over a dozen of Flynn's surviving friends and family and used this new evidence to fill in the gaps in Flynn's own presentation. Camp freely speculates, for example, on the emotional impact of Flynn's discovery of the sexual liaison between Tresca and her younger sister and the baby who came from this secretive union. Flynn emerges from Camp's biography as more than a mere public personality.

The second half of Camp's book, although less rich in such personal detail, begins where Flynn's autobiography left off, in the 1930s, and covers the remainder of her life. The focus here is on Flynn's activities as a Communist. Camp takes on some of the more controversial issues embedded in this history, such as Flynn's reaction to the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939, the Khrushchev revelations of 1956, and the Sino-Soviet split of 1960. She also emphasizes the feminist underpinnings of Flynn's politics, thus challenging Rosalyn Fraad Baxandall, whose *Words on Fire: The Life and Writings of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn* (1987) found Flynn lacking on this score. In all, Camp offers historians of the American Left much to ponder.

MARI JO BUHLE
Brown University

H. ROGER GRANT. *Erie Lackawanna: Death of an American Railroad, 1938–1992*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 284. $45.00.

Erie Lackawanna was the merged entity of the Erie Railroad and the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western. Erie was remembered for its seamy financial past, but in the twentieth century it was a prime hauler of fast freight, particularly perishables, from Chicago to New York. The Lackawanna was built to haul anthracite coal and Great Lakes-to-the-sea traffic over its Buffalo to New York route. It was a railroad once so wealthy that its stock was the prototype of "widow and orphan" issues. In apparent health at the end of World War II, both railroads were overtaken by changing patterns of commerce, to say nothing of government support for the St. Lawrence Seaway, highways, and aircraft development. They merged in 1960 in the hope of making two faltering railroads into one strong railroad.

This book by H. Roger Grant is primarily about that merger and what happened after. It is a story of rapid and tumultuous change. Two separate railroads that as late as 1957 looked like busy, well-maintained arteries of commerce with fast freights and delightful passenger trains were in terminal bankruptcy fifteen years later.

Along the way there were problems with management. Able Lackawanna executives felt pushed aside by the larger Erie and bailed out, leaving the company in the hands of a sub-mediocre Erie management. There is a hero, William White, president of the Lackawanna in the late 1940s, a master railroader who was ousted from the New York Central by Robert Young in the proxy fight of 1954, who returned to Erie Lackawanna in 1963 and was beginning to solve its problems when he died suddenly. There are negotiations with public bodies, particularly in New Jersey, over who was going to pay for moving 45,000 commuters a day into New York City. There were struggles with railroad giants, notably Norfolk and Western (now Norfolk Southern) and Penn Central (now Conrail) over where Erie Lackawanna would fit in the changing rail map of the East.

Erie Lackawanna was an underdog that was beginning to succeed against all odds, winning big contracts from UPS for high speed trains of parcel containers. Then Hurricane Agnes washed out seventy miles of mainline in 1972. The line was rebuilt, but it was financially broke, and was plunged into Conrail as a kind of stepchild in 1976.

Grant had access to the papers of the estate of Erie Lackawanna, and he has made the most of this trea-

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sure trove. It is rare that we get such an inside view of a company in turmoil so recently after the fact. It is very rare to have inside details on the wrap-up of the company's estate after it ceased to be an operating railroad, a process that took nearly two decades.

Erie Lackawanna was the good company, beloved by its patrons and communities along its routes. It had loyal employees, the famous big Erie family, who gave extensively of themselves, and then bargained for labor contracts that made it impossible for the company to do business. It is a story of political economy in which both those who abhor government intervention in the private sector and those who wish there were better mechanisms for public-private cooperation will find support for, and challenges to, their views.

RICHARD SAUNDERS, JR.
Clemson University

ELIZABETH A. FONES-WOLF. *Selling Free Enterprise: The Business Assault on Labor and Liberalism, 1945–60.* (The History of Communication.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 307. Cloth $49.95, paper $16.95.

Historians of capitalism's unique culture in America have begun to understand how corporations interacted with the larger society and created for themselves favorable economic and political climates. The results were, variously, worker consent manufactured, America designed, the American dream advertised, labor divided, business subsidized, and American culture made corporate. Elizabeth Fones-Wolf contributes a description of how business dominated America's postwar political culture and how labor defended itself, albeit unsuccessfully.

In the climate of strikes, wartime price controls, deficit spending, rising union power, and labor's support for Harry Truman in 1948, business sought to roll back New Deal labor gains and reshape Americans' ideas about state economic intervention, union power, and labor and capital's respective roles. Through a series of public debates in wide-ranging community, state, and national forums, business touted capitalism against the dangers of big govemment, big labor, and liberalism. National umbrella organizations and industry trade groups mounted expensive public relations campaigns that decried labor's class interest, accused unions of collectivism and bug-eyed zealotry, and linked New Deal liberalism with an international communist conspiracy. Glitzy community education campaigns built favorable climates of public approval and sought anti-union leverage during local strikes. And business even "helped silence" liberalism in the National Council of Churches (p. 245).

In the plant, organized campaigns created company identity through human relations and welfarism. Business sought to separate workers from unions and from their most powerful ally, the national government, provider of hour and wage laws, safety regulation, and union protection. Labor fought back to maintain status and visibility through its own shop-floor, community, and national campaigns, but could not compete with high-cost, mainstream media coverage and sophisticated, determined employer efforts. Equally important, labor offered "no compelling alternate vision" in the national debate and ultimately witnessed the "erosion of its status and power" (p. 278). That business rent this government-labor coalition and transmuted corporate needs into civic interests constitutes a major political coup of the postwar period.

By the 1960s, business had linked labor to corruption, bossism, and dangerous radicalism, making it easy in the Cold War climate for Americans to fear homegrown communism. Business ideas came to dominate postwar political culture with "selectively distorted symbols that made it difficult, if not impossible, for Americans to discover and articulate competing visions of the American polity" (p. 287). As liberalism waned, the insurgent political conservatism of the 1950s grew, hesitated in the 1960s, but emerged triumphant in the Reagan revolution of the 1980s, with tax cuts for the wealthy, elimination of regulation, and social service cutbacks.

Although Fones-Wolf establishes the framework of an interactive if unequal labor-capital dialogue, she only obliquely accounts for the broad public saliency of the business argument. How and why does it resonate with consumerism, the cult of individualism, or the rise of single-issue, paranoid politics? As industrial elites retreated from public view yet basked in government benefits, how were they able to enlist the public to argue laissez-faire capitalism and the perils of big government? This study could benefit from locating its arguments more fully in the larger cultural context provided by David F. Noble, T. J. Jackson Lears, Warren Susman, David Montgomery, Edward Hermann, and Leon Fink, to name a few.

SARAH LYONS WATTS
Wake Forest University

RONALD L. FILIPPELLI and MARK MCCOLLOCH. *Cold War in the Working Class: The Rise and Decline of the United Electrical Workers.* (SUNY Series in American Labor History.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 296. $19.95.

In its heyday the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers Union (UE) was the mid-twentieth-century equivalent of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW): an unusually militant, tactically inventive labor organization hostile to the class system, and ultimately all but destroyed by a coalition consisting of the state, priests, and other unions, with the final blow coming from the Communist Party.

But the UE and the IWW also differed significantly. Whereas the Wobblies refused on principle to sign contracts with employers, the UE considered written agreements one means to advance workers' interests. Whereas IWW leaders flamboyantly declared their ultimate intentions, UE leaders acted far more warily,

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knowing what had happened to the Wobblies. Unlike the IWW, whose leaders were all revolutionaries, the UE contained an anticommunist minority that maneuvered constantly to undermine its leadership. Finally, whereas the Wobblies are memorialized in popular literature, the UE, which was far more successful than the IWW in terms of recruiting and retaining members and winning improvements for them, has received less attention.

Ronald L. Filippelli and Mark L. McColloch give us the first book to trace the history of the UE from its founding in 1936 through the 1980s. Although they cover all facets of the story, the authors' central concern is the relationship between the union and the Communist Party. Having worked on the UE's history for years, Filippelli and McColloch are able to offer mature, subtle, and important observations on that issue in their conclusion: "Militancy led to success as trade unionists. But that success could not be translated into an attempt at ideological conversion of the rank-and-file because of the secrecy deemed necessary to initiate the cycle in the first place. Once success had been achieved, it became too precious to risk by proclaiming either formal party affiliation or intellectual commitment to Marxism. It was a maze with no exit. No other Marxists in the western world faced this dilemma" (pp. 186–87).

The nine chapters that precede the conclusion are not as impressive. They contain useful information, but the prose is flat. A great deal of attention is devoted to the policy decisions of the unions leaders, but with the partial exception of James Carey, the union's first president, the leaders themselves never come alive.

Yet these were extraordinary people. James Matles, the director of organization, was a lean, fiery man with a pencil-thin mustache. Speaking from the podium at union conventions with a thick Romanian accent, he figuratively cut the union's enemies to ribbons. Julius Emspak, the secretary-treasurer, was much more reserved, but he was a brilliant man and sharp manager. Charles Rivers was a top UE organizer who, like Matles and Emspak, came out of the Communist-led Trade Union Unity League. Rivers helped build many local unions, all the while sending wickedly funny memos to union headquarters regarding some of them, such as the Bridgeport General Electric local, a continuous sore spot.

Matles, Emspak, and Rivers are but a few examples of the people who kept that union going. Like the Communist portrayed in Bertold Brecht's poem *To Posterity*, UE leaders sacrificed their personal lives to establish and maintain the union. Their aim was a society that served workers, not capitalists. Without such convictions they never could have kept the union going for decades despite unrelenting and sometimes violent attacks.

The authors' decision to emphasize political aspects is sensible. But one cannot understand that subject without appreciating the tenor and fervor of the union's group culture, a side of the story not conveyed in the emphasis here on institutional labor history.

RONALD W. SCHATZ
Wesleyan University

PAUL C. PITZER. *Grand Coulee: Harnessing a Dream*. Pullman: Washington State University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 504. Cloth $40.00, paper $24.95.

In this often insightful work, Paul C. Pitzer has set for himself a formidable task. Not a book just about the construction of the Grand Coulee Dam, it is a history of the origins of the idea to build such a dam, the technical and social factors associated with its construction, and the impact of the dam on the environmental, social, and economic aspects of the Columbia Basin. It focuses too on the political machinations related to the construction of the dam and the controversy surrounding disposal of the tremendous amounts of hydroelectric power produced by the project.

The work illustrates how the negative impact on the environment, salmon fishing, Native American interests, and private-property owners commanded little attention amid the enthusiasm for the grandiose schemes to construct the "biggest thing ever built by man" and visions of turning eastern Washington state into a great agricultural/industrial empire. Although Pitzer reflects that the technical accomplishments of building the dam and irrigation projects are impressive, he observes that they have created "unanticipated problems" (p. 361) with which future generations will have to deal.

This study reveals again that construction of massive water projects such as Boulder and Bonneville dams as well as the creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority were viewed as progress by conservationists in the 1930s, only to be challenged as unwise and actually destructive by environmentalists later. As the author states, "Over time, values change, giving each generation a different perspective on the past. Decisions once clear and simple are [later] questioned" (p. 359).

As with the creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority, it is unlikely that the Grand Coulee project would ever have been developed had it not been for the Great Depression and Franklin Roosevelt's commitment to government planning. Nevertheless, this study clearly illustrates the problems associated with long-range social and economic planning. "As Grand Coulee Dam and the Columbia Basin Project showed repeatedly, it is almost impossible to plan a huge project, build it through periods of economic change, and successfully use it as originally envisioned in another era" (p. 58). Pitzer notes how changes in attitude toward the environment, as well as financial concerns of the federal government, would make construction of such a project impossible in the 1990s.

The study also shows how westerners continually have looked to the national government to fund expensive power and reclamation projects, but have

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consistently resented any control that the government has exercised over their lives.

Incredibly, for a work dealing essentially with a geographical topic, the book lacks a single map, an inexcusable lapse. Also, a series of diagrams showing the various stages of the construction of the dam would have been extremely helpful.

Although the study is well researched, the notations are not always clear. The uninspired writing style is rather straightforward and generally clear, but the author's tendency to move back and forth through time can become confusing.

Overall, the work provides a microcosm of the issues and problems associated with large water development projects in the United States, which makes it very useful both to scholars and lay readers alike.

J. B. Smallwood
University of North Texas

Jonathan Marshall. *To Have and Have Not: Southeast Asian Raw Materials and the Origins of the Pacific War*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 280. $28.00

The Pacific phase of World War II was "primarily a battle for control of Southeast Asia's immense mineral and vegetable wealth" (p. x), Jonathan Marshall argues. He emphasizes, as others have, that American determination to contain Japan markedly stiffened, not in response to events in China, but in reaction to the two-phase Japanese occupation of French Indochina that imperiled the British and Dutch colonies in Southeast Asia. Most other scholars have linked the American stand to the perception that Japan's southern advance threatened Great Britain's survival, but Marshall views the United States' own dependency on Southeast Asian raw materials, particularly rubber and tin, as the most important factor.

Marshall cites an array of sources to demonstrate widespread concern in both government and private circles that loss of these resources would pose severe difficulties for American industry as it geared up for defense production. He makes good use of the Stanley Hornbeck papers and both mainstream and obscure journals. Although Marshall provides a smattering of hard numbers to support the many sweeping generalizations about resource dependency that he has found in the policy papers and press editorials, the book regrettably includes no statistical tables.

Marshall could have boiled his data down to a strong journal article highlighting American resource dependency as a cause of war with Japan. Instead he stretched it into a full-length book by incorporating a narrative of Japanese-American relations from 1939 to 1941. Because Marshall bases his version of this oft-told story on familiar published document collections, memoirs, and secondary works, specialists will find the freshest material concentrated in the two topical chapters at the beginning of the book.

Marshall unfortunately succumbs to the temptation to overstate the novelty of his thesis, even going so far as to assert that "most historians have shied away from considering material influences on recent U.S. foreign policy" (p. ix). Setting this dubious claim aside, it can be granted that Marshall is the first to make American resource dependency the main theme of a book on the origins of the war with Japan, but the argument is not original. Laurence Shoup and William Minter made a similar case in a chapter of *Imperial Brain Trust* (1977), a work that Marshall cites in his notes and bibliography but does not mention in his text. He completely overlooks Gary Hess's *The United States' Emergence as a Southeast Asia Power* (1987), a volume that pointed to the region's resources as a key reason for the hard line taken by the U.S. against Japan.

Moreover, Marshall does not do justice to some of the historians whom he accuses of ignoring American resource dependency. He quotes, for example, David Reynolds's view that the United States had "no vital interests" (*The Creation of the Anglo-American Alliance* [1981], p. 59) in Asia, but ignores the acknowledgment of American reliance on Southeast Asian rubber and tin on the same page; Marshall also omits the critical qualifying word "much" in quoting Reynolds's attribution of American concern about East Asian affairs to "confused moralizing" (p. xiii). Marshall and Reynolds obviously disagree on whether the American stake in Asia was vital and the extent to which it influenced policy, but Marshall's selective quotation gives the erroneous impression that Reynolds was oblivious to the existence of American interests.

In short, this book has its limitations, but Marshall does make more explicitly and at greater length than anyone to date the case that concern about American as well as British access to Southeast Asian raw materials played an important role in stiffening Washington's opposition to Japan's southern advance.

E. Bruce Reynolds
San Jose State University

Allen Cronenberg. *Forth to the Mighty Conflict: Alabama and World War II*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 220. $29.95.

This book describes the experiences of Alabamians during World War II. Allen Cronenberg began it, in part, in response to the invitation and support of the Auburn University Center for the Arts and Humanities' year-long program "World War II: A Time Remembered." Although originally conceived as an essay that would complement a public history program, this monograph is a welcome contribution to our knowledge of how specific localities and individuals participated in that global conflict.

Cronenberg writes that "This book is about the profound effects of World War II on Alabama and the contributions the people of the state made to Allied victory over the Axis powers" (preface). The volume easily achieves the second of Cronenberg's objectives. Following a topical organization, individual chapters

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describe how Alabama and Alabamians contributed to the recruiting and training of U.S. military forces, the production of materiel, the incarceration of prisoners of war, and the conduct of military operations in Europe, in Asia, and on the seas. The chapter on war production notes the development of Huntsville as a site for the production of chemical-warfare agents; of Talladega County as a center for ordnance production; and of Mobile as a major port for both shipping and shipbuilding. The chapter on military camps records the importance of Maxwell Field, the Tuskegee Army Air Field, Fort McClellan, and Camp Rucker in the training of U.S. military personnel. The chapters on the military campaigns in the European and Pacific theaters highlight the roles of Alabama's native sons in each of the war's major campaigns.

Achieving the first objective described in the preface proves to be a more elusive task for Cronenberg. Although the study succeeds in identifying some of "the profound effects of World War II on Alabama," it does little more than survey important trends and give examples of where and when they manifested themselves. The brief chapter on Alabama politics during the war presents an able summary of statewide political campaigns and issues, but it is too brief to examine the underlying dynamics. Likewise, "The War and Society" describes demographic changes, developments in public education, public health conditions, concerns over moral issues, and the influence of significant religious denominations. The chapter concludes with information about changes in the roles of women and African Americans. The chapter on Alabama society makes clear that World War II was a catalyst for these social changes, but it does not explore why these changes occurred in Alabama in the way that they did.

As we review Cronenberg's work, it is important to remember that it began and matured as a work of public history. Its primary task was to offer to the general reading public an account of Alabama's participation in World War II. The book accomplishes this task admirably. Historians of the South and of recent American society will enjoy pursuing issues that the book raises but does not treat substantially. General readers, especially readers of Alabama history, will appreciate the information about how local people and local places contributed to the war that Cronenberg so richly provides.

GEORGE E. SIMS
Belmont University

IRWIN F. GELLMAN. *Secret Affairs: Franklin Roosevelt, Cordell Hull, and Sumner Welles*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 499. $29.95.

Irwin F. Gellman argues that a triumvirate of misfits, caught in a web of secret affairs, made and unmade American foreign policies between 1933 and 1945. This trio included President Franklin Roosevelt, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, and Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles. Intent on retaining absolute control over his administration, a physically paralyzed Roosevelt developed a management style that played one assistant against another so that each would come running to the president for support. Thus, Roosevelt could maintain control. This method particularly affected Hull. Often ill and away from the office, Hull soon lost control of the State Department to Welles and the type of Ivy League professionals that the Tennessee politician Hull mistrusted and hated. Intensely loyal to Roosevelt and the New Deal, Hull tried to run the State Department for the president and to defend and promote administration policies to the best of his ability.

Gellman contends that historians have largely ignored Hull's real accomplishments in developing Latin American policies and reciprocal trade relations because Roosevelt chose to listen to Undersecretary of State Welles instead and seemingly adopted the advice of this brilliant but troubled official. Roosevelt allowed Welles to by-pass Hull and regular departmental channels. The president established an intimate and confidential foreign policy partnership with his undersecretary of state.

As Welles's influence with the president grew, Hull began to fight back against the undersecretary. Hull employed his considerable political talents to check Welles. Hull believed that he had to save Roosevelt from Welles, not only because Welles threatened to disrupt departmental organization and standards but also because he might embarrass the administration politically. Hull learned that Welles had solicited sex with young male railroad porters. Nothing in wartime Washington could be so damaging to the president as the revelation that a close administrative aide was homosexual. Hull became obsessed with destroying Welles. Roosevelt protected Welles as long as he could, but he finally abandoned his trusted advisor. Hull had won the personal fight but was unable to regain control of the department, or to establish the same rapport with Roosevelt that Welles had achieved.

Gellman has contributed the best work yet on Hull's role in the Roosevelt administrations. Gellman's study, however, does not add substantially to our understanding of Welles's personal and political struggles, nor to his relationship with Roosevelt that lies at the heart of the secret affairs. Gellman suggests that Welles's homosexuality deeply influenced the way that the Roosevelt administration carried on State Department business and probably the manner in which it conducted foreign relations. But Gellman implies that Welles's homosexuality was a perversion (certainly, in the context of the 1930s and 1940s it would be seen as such). Gellman also suggests that because as undersecretary of the navy Roosevelt had once cracked down hard on an alleged homosexual ring in the U.S. Navy at Newport, the president must have shared the era's homophobia. This does not explain Roosevelt's tolerance of, and indeed sensitivity toward, homosexuality, with Welles, Roosevelt's own wife, and an

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intimate circle of friends that surrounded Roosevelt on Vincent Astor's yachting retreats. Nevertheless, Gellman reminds us again of Roosevelt's unique management style and of the complex layers of secret affairs that made the Roosevelt administration one of the most provocative subjects for the historian.

JEFFERY M. DORWART
Rutgers University, Camden

DAVID FROMKIN. *In the Time of the Americans: FDR, Truman, Eisenhower, Marshall, MacArthur—The Generation that Changed America's Role in the World.* (A Borzoi Book.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1995. Pp. xiii, 618. $30.00.

David Fromkin describes his book as a "biographical narrative" (p. 541), a story of the generation of Americans born in the 1890s. These were the men who led the United States to victory in World War II, moved their fellow citizens from isolationists to internationalists, and held back the forces of communism during the Cold War. Implicit in his theme is the overriding importance of individuals to the course of events. The book, however, promises more than it delivers.

Despite the book's subtitle, about two-thirds of it is devoted to events before Franklin Roosevelt's election in 1932. Given the author's assumption that the views of that generation at mid-century were formed by their experiences as young men, his emphasis on the events from 1914 to 1930 is understandable. Fromkin assures his readers that to understand Harry Truman, Dean Acheson, or Douglas MacArthur, it is necessary to understand that as young men they had been influenced by Theodore Roosevelt and, with Woodrow Wilson, "they had agonized over whether they should allow America to be drawn into Europe's global wars" (p. 7). They "invested their youthful hopes and dreams" in the "earlier war" (p. 8) and were influenced the rest of their lives by the experiences of that era.

The book suffers from the author's decision to achieve comprehensiveness rather than depth. The failure to be selective diminishes the thrust of his theme. Crowded by events and people, vignettes of trivia designed to lighten the narrative merely serve to distract. For example, Joseph Kennedy's uninvited interruption of Doris Fleeson's interview with William Bullitt is entertaining but serves no real purpose. Typically, it is followed by another subject altogether, in this case, the Soviet threat to Finland in the spring of 1940 (pp. 193–94). In addition, Fromkin offers only the most shallow accounts of the individuals around whom he presumably has built his narrative. Once again he introduces too many individuals, thereby diminishing the importance of the main players.

Fromkin's lengthy bibliography indicates that he is aware of the latest scholarship, with its often conflicting interpretations. But he rarely strays from the conventional view of people and events reflected in popular consensus and eschews controversial conclusions. For example, with no caveat, he states that Wilson sent an American expedition to the Soviet Union because "At stake were vast quantities of supplies ... that might fall into the hands of the Germans" (p. 191).

Yet there are yawning gaps. The book rarely touches on economic policy and its effect on international affairs. Domestic influences on foreign policy are also given short shrift. The reader may also be surprised by the pervasiveness of William Bullitt, who enters and reenters the narrative, or Walter Lippmann, whose index citations are double that of Henry Stimson.

This is old-fashioned celebratory American history. FDR, Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, and George C. Marshall are his heroes. Even MacArthur emerges relatively unscathed since the Korean War is barely mentioned. But it is difficult to determine the audience envisioned by Fromkin. Written entirely from secondary works and with only the most rudimentary notes, it is clearly not intended as a scholarly work. Presumably he is seeking a popular, if literate, audience. Yet he assumes his readers have the knowledge to understand his passing reference to Admiral Alfred Mahan and the patience to assimilate the enormous number of facts that crowd every page. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine those who read history for pleasure enmeshing themselves in the plodding details offered by this book.

ANNA KASTEN NELSON
American University

DAVID K. NICHOLS. *The Myth of the Modern Presidency.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 181. Cloth $32.50, paper $13.95.

At the core of David K. Nichols's book is the question, did something central to the character of the presidency change during Franklin Roosevelt's time in office? Although he notes the personalization of the presidency in an electronic age and grants that FDR increased presidential involvement in the legislative process and transformed the White House staff into a "presidential bureaucracy" (p. 6), Nichols holds that "the myth of the modern presidency is incorrect in assuming that these changes required a transformation of the constitutional office of the Presidency" (p. 6). Although presidents now do more, reasons Nichols, that is because government does more.

Nichols tracks the supposed modern president's legislative role, administrative scope, use of unilateral authority, and symbolic leadership (the so-called public presidency) to presidents before FDR and finds their origin in the constitution. For Nichols, the constitution shapes presidential behavior.

Nichols advances these claims in seven chapters, with the first examining the history of the modern presidency, the second the constitutional presidency, and the core chapters probing a president's legislative, administrative, and foreign policy prerogatives. The

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book closes with chapters on the theoretical origins of the modern liberal and modern democratic executive.

Those familiar with scholarship on the presidency will find the book's individual claims about the antecedents of presidential prerogatives familiar. Neither is there much new in the notion that one can locate constitutional justification for the powers exercised by FDR.

While each facet of the modern presidency may have been both presidentially and constitutionally forecast, it remains possible that their coexistence in times of national crises did, in fact, transform perceptions of the office, if not the office itself in a way consistent with the myth Nichols seeks to debunk.

KATHLEEN HALL JAMIESON
University of Pennsylvania

PAUL R. HENGGELER. *The Kennedy Persuasion: The Politics of Style since JFK*. Chicago, Ill.: Ivan R. Dee. 1995. Pp. x, 321. $27.50.

President John F. Kennedy served a scant 1,033 days in office. Yet he has affected almost every president and presidential aspirant from Lyndon Johnson to Bill Clinton. The Kennedy mystique is so compelling, according to Paul R. Henggeler, that it has altered the behavior and style of presidential politics. How does one account for this phenomenon? Henggeler contends that it goes beyond Kennedy's limited concrete accomplishments and the circumstances of his death, which left JFK forever frozen in time as youthful and dashing. The mystique also transcends the idealism, energy, and promise of a presidency that attracted young people to public service. Instead, it has also evolved from subsequent social turmoil, the failures of the administrations of Richard Nixon and others, and disappointing presidential candidacies. Consequently, Americans have come to fantasize about Kennedy, who personifies the nation's needs and desires. As Gary Hart recognized, even Jack Kennedy is not Jack Kennedy. Political failures have elevated Kennedy's stature, making it impossible for anyone to attain the Kennedy ideal, which has survived historical revisionism. Politicos who have tapped into the Kennedy mystique can count on only momentary successes.

One can learn much about political leaders in the context of how they tackled the Kennedy legend. "Interlopers" Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, and Jimmy Carter unsuccessfully emulated the Kennedy image and ultimately were haunted by the legacy. Johnson quickly discovered that presidential accomplishments have nothing to do with favorable comparisons. In contrast, Henggeler contends that George McGovern was the first candidate outside the Kennedy family to project credibly the idealism and spirit of John Kennedy and Robert Kennedy, but McGovern also had a clear understanding of their faults. He retained his own low-key style, which weakened his identification with the Kennedy legacy.

Democratic candidates Hart and Michael Dukakis faced much more public criticism for their efforts to capitalize on the Kennedy legacy. Additionally, Henggeler concludes that the shy, reserved Hart adopted the Kennedy mask to protect himself and to hide his own shortcomings. Kennedy became Hart's ideal public self. Meanwhile, Dukakis, who recognized no Kennedy faults, invited derision because his Kennedy imitation lacked charm and charisma.

Because the Kennedy mystique transcends ideology, Republicans can also embrace it. No one did so more than Ronald Reagan, who used the Kennedy image to win over Democratic moderates and to forge his buoyant portrayal of a new America. Besides elevating Kennedy in his campaign speeches, he captured him in such an adoring way that he won the praise of the Kennedy family. Clinton soon superseded Reagan in seizing the legacy. Unlike most past Democrats, Clinton received enthusiastic support from Kennedy family members. His celebrated handshake with JFK at Boys Nation in 1963 became a powerful symbol of annointment. His outgoing, charismatic personality also fused elements of the Kennedy style with Clinton's own down-home, touchy-feely, New Age approach. Almost predictably, Clinton soon fell short of the Kennedy ideal.

Henggeler utilizes previously untapped archival material and extensive personal interviews with Dukakis, Geraldine Ferraro, Hart, Eugene McCarthy, McGovern, and others. He has written an important, well-organized, and readable study that builds on his work on Lyndon Johnson and the Kennedy mystique. It is comparable in quality and approach to William Leuchtenburg's excellent *In the Shadow of FDR* (1983).

JAMES N. GIGLIO
Southwest Missouri State University

BARTON C. HACKER. *Elements of Controversy: The Atomic Energy Commission and Radiation Safety in Nuclear Weapons Testing, 1947–1974*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xxiv, 614. $55.00.

In 1978, with sponsorship from the U.S. Department of Energy, Barton C. Hacker began his monumental study of radiation safety in America's nuclear weapon testing program. Originally planned as a single volume, this book was preceded by publication of *The Dragon's Tail* (1987), which focused on radiation safety during the wartime Manhattan project. The present volume traces the history of the Atomic Energy Commission's (AEC) radiological safety program that supported its atmospheric and underground nuclear weapon testing program.

As Hacker notes, in recent years both journalists and scholars alike have been severely critical of the U.S. nuclear weapon testing program. His book focuses on two major charges: that the AEC's testing program neglected adequate health and safety precautions, and that the government defended nuclear weapon testing

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by issuing false or misleading statements about the dangers of radiation. Of the first charge, Hacker discovers that those in the field responsible for radiation safety during weapon tests "were competent, diligent, and cautious." Testing nuclear weapons obviously involved taking risks in the interest of national security, but Hacker finds that "they understood the hazards and took every precaution within their power to avoid injuring either test participants or bystanders" (p. 9).

Yet Hacker not only discovers that the AEC made mistakes and miscalculations, at least once resulting in serious injury to fallout victims following the Castle/Bravo test in 1954, but also that it failed to be forthcoming about the risks and consequences of the testing program. "AEC officials in general, headquarters staff members in particular, mostly preferred to reassure rather than inform," he concludes. Hacker himself is cautious in his assessment. The AEC did not exactly cover up or lie about problems with radiological safety, he notes, but "by the same token, they rarely if ever revealed all" (p. 278). According to Hacker, AEC officials (who believed testing was safe) were reluctant to admit any risk that might lend credence to public criticism of the nuclear weapon program.

Not surprisingly, neither this book nor *The Dragon's Tail* satisfies either extreme of America's great nuclear debate. Hacker's meticulously researched, carefully crafted, and copiously footnoted books nevertheless estabilsh him as one of America's preeminent nuclear historians. Ironically, the very commissioners accused of dissembling about radiation safety were the founders, in 1957, of the AEC history program that established the foundation for this study. Despite the fact that nervous bureaucrats upset by Hacker's alleged "editorializing" delayed publicatlon of the manuscript for five years, this study represents the epitome of outstanding public history. Hacker has observed that official history often proceeds "slowly and rigorously." His own painstaking scholarship, unprotected by academic freedom, provides a convincing assessment of the AEC's radiation safety policy and practices during the darkest days of the Cold War. Ironically, despite the fact that this book has won the Organization of American Historians' 1996 Richard Leopold Prize, Hacker recently lost his job at the Department of Energy's Lawrence Livermore Laboratory.

JACK M. HOLL
Kansas State University

GARY E. ELLIOTT. *Senator Alan Bible and the Politics of the New West*. (Wilbur S. Shepperson Series in History and Humanities, number 36.) Reno: University of Nevada Press. 1994. Pp. xix, 273. $34.95.

During the last decade the University of Nevada Press has published several dozen notable studies in Nevada history in the Wilbur S. Shepperson Series in History and Humanities. Series editor Jerome Edwards has concentrated extensively on the history of twentieth-century Nevada, providing that state with a wider and fuller range of historical works than is available for other states. Gary E. Elliott's political biography of Senator Alan Bible, who served Nevada in the U.S. Senate from 1954 to 1974, is a fine addition to this list.

In his public career Bible's main interest was in environmental issues. As successor to Senator Pat McCarran, he was a close friend and associate of Lyndon B. Johnson and became part of a cadre of other western senators who promoted the interests of the West as they perceived it in the post–World War II period. This was not only a period of unprecedented population and economic growth in the West but also by the 1960s was characterized by growing environmental awareness. Bible's activities centered on the growth of national parks, historic monuments, and recreational areas. He also played a significant role in the preservation of 80 million acres of Alaska wilderness, taking a stance between rabid wilderness proponents on the one hand and private developers on the other. Elliott focuses on environmental issues and does not delve into Bible's role as chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia where he dealt with urban and civil rights problems.

This well-written study contributes to a clearer understanding of politics in the 1950s. Elliott details Bible's background as Nevada's attorney general between 1938 and 1950, when he was engaged in issues regarding land and water. That experience provided his training for the national arena. Some of the most interesting chapters in the book deal with Bible's relations with the powerful denizens in the Senate during the 1950s, including LBJ, Henry "Scoop" Jackson, and Clinton Anderson. A quiet but effective deal-maker and member of the inner circle of the power brokers, Bible advocated the expansion of recreational areas in the West. In his mind the preservation of wilderness and the promotion of economic development were a pragmatic combination that would ensure western growth. Elliott skillfully develops this theme. His scholarship is meticulous and includes oral interviews with Bible and his associates. The book is a worthy addition to the series and to twentieth-century western history.

GERALD D. NASH
University of New Mexico

EDWARD D. BERKOWITZ. *Mr. Social Security: The Life of Wilbur J. Cohen*. Foreword by JOSEPH A. CALIFANO, JR. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1995. Pp. xx, 396. $34.95.

"An expert on social security," Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois once said, "is a person who knows Wilbur Cohen's telephone number" (p. 144). Cohen, fresh out of college, was a junior member of the University of Wisconsin group that was so influential in writing the original social security legislation in 1935. He then

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moved into administering the act and eventually rose to be secretary of health, education, and welfare under Lyndon B. Johnson, but only at the end of Johnson's career in 1968. Edward D. Berkowitz reports that Cohen was constantly amazed that the son of a Jewish grocer in Milwaukee could become so close to the the center of political power in the United States. For brief periods, when the political atmosphere in Washington was uncongenial, he was a professor and then dean at the University of Michigan. After 1968 he "retired" to the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, but most of his life was spent as a bureaucrat in the social security system. As such he was at the center of forming the amendments of the late 1930s, the broadening of coverage during the Dwight Eisenhower years, and the failures and eventual success of Medicare in the 1960s. He was a master of negotiation with Congress, particularly Wilbur Mills in the House of Representatives. Suspicious of grandiose attempts at social change, like the "War on Poverty," he had much more confidence in small steps taken with solid political backing, and he was convinced that only a system with deep congressional support—no matter how much had to be compromised to get that support—could become a permanent part of American life. He was also sure that social insurance, not welfare, was the key to fighting poverty in the United States, and he seemed only dimly aware of the limitations inherent in social insurance.

Berkowitz has written a sound, thorough book. If one wants to know what Cohen was doing at any particular time, or what his part was in changes in the social security legislation, this is the place to look. But the book could have been so much more. In the debates on everything from the original social security legislation to Medicare, there was passionate rhetoric and passionate feeling. The anger, defensiveness, hypocrisy, and high drama are not conveyed here. Nor is there analysis of the historiographic questions. Does a distinction between "paternalist" and "maternalist" welfare legislation make sense? Is it correct to talk about a "bifurcated" welfare state? These analyses may turn out to be momentary historiographical fashions—I suspect they are—but they should at least be mentioned, if only to be discussed and dismissed. More serious, however, is the lack of any systematic attempt to understand Cohen's social vision or blind spots. Why did the civil rights movement, even in its economic aspects, figure so slightly in Cohen's thinking? We get little glimpses here and there of what kind of society he wanted, but about all Berkowitz says by way of summation is that Cohen was an "incrementalist." But an incrementalist toward what? He had an idea of social justice, of a different sort of distribution of wealth than existed in the United States, of a different relationship between society and the individual, and of social cohesion, but Berkowitz never tries to draw these ideas together. As a result, Cohen often appears as a mere technician, a functionary. This is to a degree the way he saw himself, but technicians in fact can have a great influence on policy, and Berkowitz hints that Cohen was more than a "mere" technician. Berkowitz should have told us more about that more.

DANIEL LEVINE
Bowdoin College

WYATT C. WELLS. *Economist in an Uncertain World: Arthur F. Burns and the Federal Reserve, 1970–78.* (Columbia Studies in Contemporary American History.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 334. $37.50.

Arthur Burns lived a classic American success story. A poor but bright and ambitious Jewish boy from Bayonne, New Jersey, Burns earned his Ph.D. in economics at Columbia, taught at Rutgers and Columbia, and became director of the National Bureau of Economic Research, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, advisor to presidents, and ambassador to Germany. In this excellent biography, Wyatt C. Wells focuses on Burns's tenure at the Federal Reserve during the tumultuous 1970s, and on the thinking behind his policies. Wells pays close attention to the political pressures and personal interactions that influenced decisions, but it is clear that when it came to monetary policy, ideas mattered.

Burns was the protégé of Wesley Clare Mitchell, who founded the National Bureau (the private research group that defines the business cycle) and whom Burns followed as research director. Mitchell and Burns pursued a distinct approach to economics that emphasized the accumulation of massive amounts of data, downplayed formal theorizing in favor of tentative hypotheses arrived at inductively, and viewed the business cycle as the product of numerous interlocking forces including market imperfections and psychological factors as well as monetary and fiscal policy. This approach appealed to many non-economists, who viewed the then dominant schools, the Keynesians and especially the monetarists, as making unrealistic assumptions and proposing "simplistic" solutions.

How well did his approach serve Burns at the Federal Reserve? Wells gives his policies mixed grades. Under Burns the Fed moved swiftly to forestall panics in the money market, a traditional function of a central bank. But Wells records some notable failures in controlling the growth of money and credit. Monetary expansion was too rapid, for example, during 1971 and 1972 when Richard Nixon's wage and price controls were in place. But this was not (as has been alleged) because Burns was trying to influence the election; rather his concern was that the political logic of the stabilization program required stable interest rates. In 1976 and 1977 monetary expansion was again too rapid, setting the stage for inflation in 1978 and 1979. Burns's eclectic approach to monetary economics was partly to blame for these and other mistakes. Although it was easy to say that many interacting factors must be taken into account, it was often the

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case in practice that this view encouraged him to jump from one diagnosis to another depending on the political pressures of the moment.

It was, perhaps, as a raiser of questions that Burns made his most important contribution. He was among the first to realize that the 1970s were the beginning of a new regime of slower economic growth, and that economic policy had to be geared to long-run increases in productivity as well as to short-run management of the cycle.

This is a well-written, thoroughly researched, and balanced account. Moreover, although monetary theorists might object to a few formulations, on the whole Wells does an excellent job of explaining alternative economic theories. I recommend this book highly to anyone interested in postwar economic policy.

HUGH ROCKOFF
Rutgers University, New Brunswick

DAVID GARTMAN. *Auto Opium: A Social History of American Automobile Design*. New York: Routledge. 1994. Pp. xvi, 264. $17.95.

Evoking a working-class childhood in Houston, David Gartman recalls his father as a dissatisfied refinery worker who sought compensatory pleasure in a green dual-exhaust 1955 Chevy V–8. That memory (along with Gartman's confession that he avidly participated in the cult of the automobile) suggests an emotional involvement enlivening and complicating this sometimes problematic but always rewarding social history of American automobile design. Gartman's earlier work, *Auto Slavery: The Labor Process in the American Automobile Industry, 1897–1950* (1986), analyzed the industry's production side. This volume, by contast, presents consumption of mass-produced goods, especially image-laden automobiles, as a reward held out to deskilled workers to distract them in their leisure from deprivations of a dehumanized workplace.

Gartman's story begins around 1900, when the automobile attracted popular resentment as a plaything of the wealthy. After the Ford system brought car ownership to clerks and farmers by the early 1920s, automobile design reflected class divisions as boxy mass-produced tin lizzies contrasted with sleek, aesthetically integrated roadsters designed and crafted by independent body builders. During the 1930s and into the postwar era, by contrast, following the rationalized concepts of planned obsolescence and price-lining introduced by General Motors, the major automakers brought inexpensive mass-produced cars aesthetically ever closer to luxury models, offered a plethora of styles and options whose tooling expense drove independents out of business, and stimulated belief that American workers belonged to an expanding middle class whose members enjoyed classless equality. Finally, Gartman weaves the complex strands of the 1970s and 1980s: manufacturing decline, labor unrest, and a loss of faith in the automobile, accompanied by fragmentation of automotive styles as desperate producers and consumers alike sought reassurance through individualization.

Along the way Gartman offers a useful model for design history, a field perpetually seeking definition. Even an art historian would admire the clarity of descriptions of three-dimensional objects by which Gartman teases out often complex meanings. Just as important, as a sociologist he presents styling as an evolving institution within the automotive industry. Even when using colorful anecdotes from oral histories to construct portraits of stylists Harley Earl, Virgil Exner, George Walker, and others, the author never loses sight of their corporate, social, and cultural contexts. Finally, Gartman demonstrates a theoretical sophistication—derived from Antonio Gramsci, the Frankfurt school, and Georg Lukács—that is rare in design history. But it is here that the book becomes problematic. However convincing Gartman's thesis that driving an American "dream machine" compensated for working in "Fordized production," he too often indulges in empty rhetoric. Describing such comfort options as power windows, for example, he suggests unconvincingly that "after a day of drudgery in the Fordized factory or office, no one wanted to be forced to labor at another recalcitrant machine" (p. 141). Such verbal chrome mars the surface of an otherwise intelligent and compelling work; but it also reveals a passion in Gartman for the plight of the worker as consumer that is equal to his fascination with automotive chrome.

JEFFREY L. MEIKLE
University of Texas, Austin

RAY BATCHELOR. *Henry Ford: Mass Production, Modernism and Design*. (Studies in Design and Material Culture.) Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 150. Cloth $69.95, paper $18.95.

Ray Batchelor's book, a volume in the Studies in Design and Material Culture series, delivers both more and less than it promises. On the negative side, Batchelor, gives a standard overview of Henry Ford the man and the originator of mass production. Written from secondary works, principally Robert Lacey's *Ford: The Men and the Machine* (1986) and David A. Hounshell's *From the American System to Mass Production, 1800–1932* (1984), the volume does not add anything to the already familiar Ford story.

Batchelor is at his best, however, when he gets to his real interest, which is to assess how Ford's mass production process influences people's lives. The author traces the gradual changes in design philosophies from the arts and crafts movement that emphasized the distinctiveness of each product, to the Modernists who saw a chance to bring to every home well-designed, mass-produced products that would spread social, cultural, and perhaps even a little political happiness throughout the world. Their failure to

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achieve their modest goals gave rise to a postmodernism that raised consumerism to its greatest heights.

Batchelor's story is, however, much more complex. Ford's mass production put America on wheels, but it also enslaved thousands in his factories. Ford at least believed, unlike many Third World factory owners today, that high wages made up for his workers' loss of independence and initiative, and he paid them enough to buy the cars they built.

All design is fiction; it creates an image, an illusion that is used to part us from our money. The Modernists' hope that designers would create an acceptable aesthetic that would express and celebrate mass production failed. They dreamed of a world filled with rational, logical designs that exemplified the best of the machine age. People, however, wanted to keep their older illusions, Ford's Greenfield Village for example, and put their dollars in Spanish-style or mock Tudor suburban homes. The 1960s youth preferred whimsy to reality and struck the Modernists their final blow.

The men who owned the means of mass production expected designers to increase their returns; as Batchelor says, "capitalism used the machine to mass-produce fictions" (p. 84), but the Modernists paid little attention to consumption. They assumed their timely products would always create their own markets. Only belatedly did companies concentrate on consumption, mass production's natural partner. Design became an adjunct to sales and designers' fictions were harnessed to serve another god. If consumers identify themselves by the products they choose to buy, then designers, aesthetic trends, and Ford's moving assembly line still define our lives.

Batchelor's arguments are so densely packed and thought provoking that a short review cannot do them justice. His well written and argued volume is worth reading just to demonstrate that after eighty-one years of assembly line production we still have not sorted out its effects on our lives.

James A. Ward
University of Tennessee, Chattanooga

John A. Jakle and Keith A. Sculle. *The Gas Station in America*. (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 272. $32.95.

This is a quirky book. A collaboration between a geographer (John A. Jakle) and a historian (Keith A. Sculle), it reflects the autobiographies of a pair of baby boomers who grew up in the golden age of the gas-guzzler and recall the filling station through a pungent haze of fumes that sometimes smell suspiciously like nostalgia. So theirs is a quirky, personal book, part aesthetic commentary on the use of quaint roadside cottages with appended gas pumps to disguise the technological intrusions of the automobile, and part dry-as-dust chronicle of the rise and fall of giant gas vendors in America, all interlarded with charts and maps tracing the spread of Mobil's flying red horses, the Texaco star, and the Shell shell across an unsuspecting landscape.

It is quirky, too, in the attention devoted to long case studies of specific stations and types of stations. Chapter 7, for example, examines two regional types: one a series of tasteful stucco bungalows built in Wisconsin in the 1920s to further the stylistic goals of community boosters, and the other a three-dimensional sea shell in North Carolina, built in the desperate 1930s, when world's fairs had taught retailers how to rivet the attention of reluctant customers by sheer freakishness. Although vernacular architectural history is valuable in its own right, the case studies seem obsessively antiquarian because Jakle and Sculle do not make much effort to connect the look of gas stations to the appearance of other commercial buildings of their respective periods. Are these unique examples of a modern industry stealing through the landscape in architectural disguise? Or does the gas station share a common stylistic vocabulary with movie houses or strip malls? Style, in other words, has something important to say about how the gas station wished to be regarded, and about what it meant as a cultural artifact. But the authors are not much interested in the semiotics of roadside buildings.

Nor are they much interested in geography. Although chapter 8 diagrams the ebb and flow of the gas station across the urban landscape of downtown Urbana, Illinois, there is little commentary on the gas station in relationship to the highway, the interchange, and the nullity of the interstate, where artists like Allan d'Arcangelo see nightmare visions of blood, gas, and infinite spatial recession. It is there, where the geometry of the modern Exxon station is often the only thing that articulates and defines the empty land, that the aesthetic of the filling station—the "oasis," as it is sometimes called on highway signs—takes on an emblematic quality. Although Jakle and Sculle do not discuss their paintings, d'Arcangelo and Robert Indiana see gas stations in this way. So did Edward Hopper. So did John Ford in that wonderful scene from *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940) when the Joads come upon a wholly new place at the end of the dusty road from nowhere. It is clean and modern and as unlike the surrounding terrain as possible. It is California, hope, and the millenium. And it's a gas station.

Karal Ann Marling
University of Minnesota, Twin Cities

Dolores Hayden. *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*. Cambridge: MIT Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 296. $30.00.

Hoping to unify the work of preserving both the cultural and physical landscapes of American cities, Dolores Hayden brings her democratic sensibilities and planning experience to the fore in this timely and

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important book on the prospects of a truly public history. Affiliated with a Los Angeles project, The Power of Place, which she founded in 1984 and directed for eight years, the author quite early confronted the distorted picture that passed as the city's history and premised its planning. Like most metropolises, Hayden argues, Los Angeles needed "a socially inclusive urban landscape history" (p. 12). As a result of that omission, the city's designers, who had been professionally trained to generate top-down planning, had usually failed to consider the human dimensions of their work. Compounding that problem, preservationists were ignoring the city's ordinary citizens—most noticeably people of color and women—and focusing instead on the aesthetics of architecture, adaptive reuse for business, and the history of Anglo-American elite.

Rejecting those traditional approaches, which are indeed changing elsewhere, Hayden encourages preservationists and planners to reorient their work to the concept of "place." By reconnecting the cultural and physical landscapes it would be possible to nurture positive racial, class, and gender identities, develop functional communities, and counterbalance the undemocratic workings of the urban and, perhaps, global economy. Her goal is to establish what historian Michael Frisch has called "a shared authority," whereby such communities collectively define their past, present, and (implicitly) future.

Like the Common Ground project in England, which also favors a holistic approach to the landscape, The Power of Place involved a shifting alliance of planners, artists, historians, geographers, activists, and members of the community. True to its mission, it focused on central Los Angeles by highlighting the homestead of Biddy Mason (an African-American midwife), Fire Station No. 30 (home of an all-black company of firefighters), the Embassy Auditorium (site of union and Latino meetings), and Little Tokyo (center of the Japanese-American community). Where possible the project tried to preserve buildings, whether vernacular or academic in style, as a means to spark old memories, but in those places where the landscape had been physically erased it created public art and educational displays. Not all projects succeeded as hoped, but the community workshops, public artwork, and publicity helped to rekindle a collective identity.

Nicely illustrated and written as personal experience, this book is a model for public history for the twenty-first century. Such an emphasis is a crucial step if these cities are to survive. As the nation's metropolises become more fractured along racial and class lines, Hayden warns, "any American city split between affluent suburbs, a glossy downtown business area, and a maze of ghettos and barrios is not going to work" (p. 244). From her vantage point, public history does reconnect people to the land and thereby nurtures viable communities. Unlike the top-down thinking of traditional professionals, however, Hayden recommends that planners, historians, and preservationists "listen and learn from members of the public of all ages, ethnic backgrounds, and economic circumstances" if such programs are to succeed (p. 235).

JAMES M. LINDGREN
State University College of New York, Plattsburgh

JOHN EGERTON. *Speak Now against the Day: The Generation before the Civil Rights Movement in the South.* (A Borzoi Book.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1994. Pp. 704. $35.00.

John Egerton concludes that between the years 1932 and 1945 the South stood at a crossroads: the "World of Yesterday" and the "World of Tomorrow." This theme is the basis for what is a monumental study. Egerton gives the South of Yesterday ample coverage by focusing on "an old leadership which conspired to hold back the dawning of a glorious day of liberalism and equality and prosperity for a New South" (p. 5). He wisely chose to concentrate on the South of Tomorrow and its new leaders who realized that a Tomorrow was not necessarily on the horizon because the South's values were "rooted in the land, in hierarchy and status, in caste and class and race" (p. 19). Tomorrow's South was an age of opportunity, growth, prosperity, recovered self-esteem, national parity, and full citizenship. The South began its journey along the path of Tomorrow during the New Deal era.

The election of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the presidency in 1932 was "one of those deeply significant shifts in American history that came along only once in a generation or a century" (p. 16). Noting that the Old South suffered from economic, mental, and physical isolation, Egerton concludes that its racial mores "finally became the single most prominent characteristics that set [it] apart from the rest of the country" (p. 25). What began as a "political initiative in 1932 in response to a desperate economic crisis, [evolved, by 1954, into] a union of two hallowed American constitutional principles—equal justice under the law and the right of citizens to petition their government for a redress of grievances" (p. 11). The Roosevelt presidency marked the beginning of what was a sustained attack on the Old South's racial mores.

New leaders, organizations, and institutional structures commenced to address the South's racial attitudes, practices, and beliefs. White southerners such as Will Alexander, Carrie Parks Johnson, Jessie Daniel Ames, H. L. Mencken, and Howard Odum abhorred the violence and abusive treatment of law-abiding black citizens. They were black southerners' best friends rather than the enemies of segregation. Southern white newspaper editors, among them Jonathan Daniels, Ralph McGill, Hodding Carter, and Virginius Dabney, were a bridge between the Old South and the New, "between the painful past and a hopeful future" (p. 253). Dabney condemned several black newspaper editors for "demanding an overnight revolution

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[based] on absolute political equality and social equality, [and concluded that] segregation was a defensible policy, even for liberals, [that] the white South couldn't be pressured into giving it up, and federal authorities could not order its abandonment" (p. 255).

The assault on white supremacy went in a direction that was contrary to how Dabney and a few other progressive southern white newspaper editors believed it should go. Black leadership, including Mary McLeod Bethune and Charlotte Hawkins Brown, became outspoken foes of the Ku Klux Klan, lynch mobs, and various forms of intolerance, and Walter White and James Weldon Johnson "attached particular importance and a high priority to defending the rights of racial minorities and attacking such atrocities as lynching" (p. 54). By the late 1940s, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had launched a frontal attack on segregation, which culminated in the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision (1954).

This volume captures the voices of scores of white southerners who made no apology for their belief in white supremacy, and of those blacks and whites who were concerned about the destructive consequences of continuing hostility between the black and white races. Egerton's analyses of individual and collective efforts to transform the South serve as reminders that everything changes, and that peace, prosperity, mobility, materialism, technology, population growth, and dozens of other factors beyond the control of people, democrats or demagogues, will inevitably transform a society, ready or not. He is at his best when writing about the white South after 1945 that faced an end to a traditional way of life uninformed and unprepared. This study is must reading for specialists and generalists of American history who wish to gain a clearer understanding of the dynamics of race, class, caste economics, and politics in the South before the civil rights movement.

JESSE T. MOORE, JR.
University of Rochester

WILLIAM A. LINK. *William Friday: Power, Purpose, and American Higher Education*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 494. $29.95.

This handsome book by William A. Link is a well-written and professionally crafted biography of a major figure in post–World War II higher education. It will be an essential building block for the sorely needed history of American colleges, professional schools, and universities since the mid-1960s. Link's study of the near half-century career of William Friday, a homegrown professional administrator who did so much to modernize North Carolina's university system, deserves a place alongside the books of Richard M. Freeland, William Rothstein, and Roger Geiger.

William Friday's career spanned the great cycle of American higher education. Schooled in North Carolina during the Depression, he then obtained a law degree and became a university administrator at the height of the G.I. Bill era. Friday climbed the educational administrative ladder during the golden age of the 1950s and 1960s. His career was not confined to those bright decades when government funding and the revolution of aspirations led to the breathtaking expansion of higher education. Friday's greatest challenges as the effective head of his state's university system came as the nation suffered the traumas of the Vietnam and the civil rights eras and, then, the demographic and economic dislocations of the 1970s.

Friday was caught in a swirl of incompatible demands: town-building populists called for prestigious campuses throughout the state; the legislature insisted on spending caps; state college presidents fought against the creation of a state-level university administration; a heavy-handed federal government threatened to sanction North Carolina unless it both desegregated the university system and invested hundreds of millions of dollars building up its historically black colleges; industry called on the universities to focus on applied research; and a few intellectuals supported Friday's goal of concentrating funds in a more traditional "flagship" campus.

Friday contributed much to resolving conflicts during the declining years of higher education and won many battles in his campaign to establish bureaucratic order and, perhaps, professional control of his state's university. But this is not a book filled with happy educational endings, nor is it one about educational content. There is little about what went on within the state's classrooms and laboratories and there is almost nothing about educational philosophy or intellectual discovery. This is a book about bureaucracy, politics, and form rather than substance. The power that Friday gained had to be used for a limited purpose, to fend off political and ideological attacks against a bureaucratically directed university system.

A sense of loss may turn out to be the book's main contribution to the interpretive history of higher education since the golden age. Link's work documents how the energies needed to create a quality democratic higher educational system were diverted to bureaucracy-building and to defending the university against America's populist and radical urges.

COLIN BURKE
University of Maryland, Baltimore County

TOM ENGELHARDT. *The End of Victory Culture: Cold War America and the Disillusioning of a Generation*. New York: Basic Books. 1995. Pp. viii, 351. $25.00.

The collapse of the Soviet Union has reinvigorated debates by American historians about the dramatic decline of U.S. political hegemony since the 1950s. Tom Engelhardt participates in this debate by examining the collapse of a national narrative of triumph, or what he calls "victory culture," during the years from 1945 to 1975. Unlike many histories that focus on the

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social turmoil provoked by the Vietnam War, his book locates the origins of this decline in the immediate postwar years. Through this periodization, Engelhardt examines the atomic explosion at Hiroshima, the frustrating stalemate in Korea, and other postwar conflicts in order to understand how political events began to erode this dominant cultural narrative at the very pinnacle of U.S. global power.

Central to victory culture, according to Engelhardt, is the "war story," a defensive narrative in which a savage attack by an enemy Other justifies violent retaliation. This war story, he writes, propelled American imperialism for centuries until the postwar period when, in the face of horrific events, "victory and defeat, enemy and self, threatened to merge" (p. 6). Notably, the atomic bomb's slaughter of millions challenged the righteousness of this national war story. Later, fears of nuclear annihilation undermined anticommunist justifications for Cold War militarism. Such contradictions intensified with the Vietnam War until, according to Engelhardt, the narrative collapsed. The war story needs a savage enemy to sustain the narrative; something impossible to achieve in Vietnam where the "enemy could [not] prove themselves monstrous to Americans" (p. 12). For instance, the military's reliance on statistics about enemy deaths paradoxically challenged the validity of the war story since victory continued to be elusive. In a concluding chapter, Engelhardt examines the reconstruction of an "identity of triumph" after 1975 in Panama, Grenada, and the Gulf War.

Engelhardt deftly moves between political and cultural history, relying on a rich selection of sources from movies and comic books to political speeches and government policies. Among the most engaging material is his analysis of how children's war games and toys like G.I. Joe did more than reflect a militaristic culture. Instead, Engelhardt explores how children's games negotiated cultural anxieties embedded in postwar victory culture, including a compelling autobiographical section about his own childhood war games and love of westerns. Like other historians of the Vietnam era, Engelhardt examines challenges to national ideologies by student activists in the civil rights and antiwar movements. Here, he makes some interesting connections between the civil rights movement, Malcolm X, and narrative instabilities about U.S. international power. This analysis, however, ignores the women's movement and does not consider the centrality of gender to this narrative, which, after all, depends on masculine ideals of violence and power. Although Engelhardt recognizes the importance of the captive white female to the war story, he does not examine the crucial relationships between masculinity, militarism, and nationalism. Not only did masculinity play a crucial role in "victory culture" but it also faced significant challenges during these years from both the women's movement and from social changes like the dramatic increase in women's labor force participation rates. Equally troubling is the author's assumption of one coherent "war story" as the dominant narrative for over three centuries. Engelhardt disregards how apparently similar narratives of war, captivity, and violence functioned differently in response to complex social, economic, and political changes.

This book is an engaging account of the postwar decline of a dominant narrative about American political power. Its major shortcoming, however, is that in focusing on internal contradictions, the author ignores important external challenges to this hegemonic narrative.

WENDY KOZOL
Oberlin College

TERRY H. ANDERSON. *The Movement and the Sixties*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. 500. $30.00.

Joining the already massive literature on the 1960s, Terry H. Anderson's volume centers on protest rather than organizations, leaders, or ideologies, and covers an enormous range of events, movements, issues, and ideas. He frames his look at the "sixties generation" (defined as those who turned 18 between 1960 and 1972) with the claim that "activists of the sixties were similar to those who rebelled during the nation's other major reform eras—the Revolution, Jacksonian democracy, the populist and progressive eras, and the 1930s." From the distance of the 1990s the outlines of the 1960s as an era of ferment and reform are, indeed, beginning to take shape and will no doubt provide grist for continuing historiographic debate.

Anderson organizes the story of protest movements between 1960 and 1972 into two "waves," separated by the "rip tide" of 1968. He contributes to previous scholarship a new breadth of coverage, bringing into focus the enormous expanse of activism (in terms of geography as well as constituencies, issues, strategies, and tactics). Such scope avoids giving over this history to one group, one section of the country, or any specific set of charismatic leaders. It also challenges the declension narrative about the late-1960s activism offered by a number of other authors (see, for example, Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties* [1987]). Indeed, Anderson's sympathetic portrayal of hippie counterculture after 1968 draws on a wide variety of underground newspapers and ephemeral publications. And he offers an evocative portrait of opposition to the Vietnam War among veterans and soldiers, an aspect of the movement in which the author himself was a participant.

The strengths of this narrative, however, are also its weaknesses. Within the framework of "waves" the narrative generally proceeds by chronological juxtaposition. Protests that occur in the same time period seem to come out of nowhere: women's liberation, consumerism, religious groups, Chicano movements, People's Park. The result is a kaleidoscopic review, not a deeply argued or analyzed one, a view rather like a documentary film. (Anderson served as a senior advi-

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sor to the PBS series on *Making Sense of the Sixties* and draws on its interviews and research materials.)

Because of its scope, this book is likely to be criticized by anyone who is familiar with particular themes of this era, and those who are not will find a narrative with many unexplained references. "The movement" (a term that works for the "first wave" but is too monolithic to encompass the realities of the late 1960s and early 1970s) appears in the form of public, group actions. There is little attempt to describe the subjective experience of the movement or the interactive effects of race, age, and class. Indeed, class remains an almost invisible issue, while race and gender emerge whenever activists concerned with such issues take center stage. For example, not only the specific experiences of women but also the gendered nature of the movement itself have little place in the narrative except when the women's movement appears. An assertion that "another counterculture value was brotherhood" (p. 262) leaves the gender specificity of the language unnoted and unanalyzed. Yet this could have presented an opportunity to explore the dynamics of gender within the counterculture. Long hair was a "freak flag" primarily for men because it scrambled the signs (symbols?) of gender even under a rubric that remained unreflectively exclusive (brotherhood).

Each of the issues and constituencies mobilized during the 1960s had its own history and dynamic. Anderson tends to skim over these, describing in each case the wrongs they set out to right as sufficient cause. That they affected each other, and that the total is surely more than the sum of the parts, is certainly incontestable. This book is both useful and frustrating in its deliberate effort to juxtapose movements and actions in an age of protest.

Sara M. Evans
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Richard Cándida Smith. *Utopia and Dissent: Art, Poetry, and Politics in California*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xxvi, 536. $35.00.

Richard Cándida Smith, relying on oral histories held at the Universities of California at Los Angeles and Berkeley and on various personal interviews, as well as on much published materials in exhibition catalogs, articles in periodicals, and books on such widely varied subjects as pornography and Jewish mysticism, deals with the intellectual and artistic climate in California during the time of the Vietnam War. He defends his choice of that state as a viable cultural entity by claiming that it "was one of the places where the thinning of the line between bohemian and popular culture took place earliest, most clearly, and most systematically" (p. xx).

The most extended discussions are given to the painters Wallace Berman, Joan Brown, the post-Surrealists Helen Lundeberg and her husband Lorser Feitelson (there are eight color and fifty-nine black-and-white illustrations); the novelist Jack Kerouac; and the poets Kenneth Rexroth, Allen Ginsberg, Gary Snyder, Robert Duncan, and Denise Levertov, with in-depth coverage of the views of their defenders and detractors. The crumbling and regeneration of society, sexual permissiveness, the adherence to various forms of mysticism, the uses of drugs, the efficacy of the government's institutions, and opposition to the war were issues engaging the principal figures in the book and confronting Californians in general. It was a time of widespread dissent, when many poets moved beyond their craft to become politically involved. Levertov's poetry classes at Berkeley in 1969 transformed themselves into a community that, she recalled, "stayed together each day . . . with a love and mutual care that made that terror into a time of joy and wonder" (p. 414). Duncan, although he linked President Lyndon Johnson to Adolf Hitler and Joseph Stalin as one of the great criminals of the century, unlike Levertov saw the antiwar movement as a false community that would develop its own set of inhibiting dogma. Throughout the book one comes on details and anecdotes known only to the insider. We are told—the source is not footnoted—that Ginsberg escaped criminal prosecution for car theft and marijuana possession in 1948 by agreeing to undergo therapy at Columbia-Presbyterian Psychiatric Institute in Manhattan and that while he was there he met the left-wing Carl Solomon. Solomon asked that he be given a frontal lobotomy; instead, as part of his "cure" he received brutal shock therapy. Solomon and this incident were made into a major part of the poem "Howl" (pp. 151–52). One becomes immersed in the ideas and personalities of that time. The texture is rich.

Yet, in some cases, we are given too much about the writer or artist, not quite enough about the achievements. Such is the case with the Abstract Expressionist Clyfford Still: we are told of his arrogance, of his comments to his students, of his exhibitions, but not quite enough about his painting style (not once is a color mentioned). And sometimes Smith brings forth turgid acadamese, as in the last sentence of the book: "Strangely, freedom is a meaningful category to the degree that it becomes unfreedom, that is, when human action is no longer simply the epiphenomenal play of possibility but creates facts that others must consider in the contingency that presses upon them."

Abraham A. Davidson
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Robert David Johnson. *The Peace Progressives and American Foreign Relations*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. v, 448. $45.00.

This is an important book, a welcome addition to the growing historiography on the relationship between the domestic politics and the foreign relations of the United States. Indeed, it is a very impressive achieve-

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ment for a first book. On the basis of painstaking research in a remarkable array of manuscript collections (I counted some seventy-four), Robert David Johnson makes a persuasive case for the importance of a group of U.S. senators, whom he dubs the "peace progressives," who articulated between 1913 and 1935, and especially in the 1920s, an alternative to both the Wilsonian and the corporatist approaches to the conduct of American foreign policy. The author demonstrates conclusively that it was the peace progressives who functioned as the opposition party to the business internationalism of the Republican leadership on all major foreign policy questions in the 1920s, and in the process he provides the best explanation I have seen for the eclipse of Wilsonianism in that decade.

Johnson approaches his material from a number of revealing perspectives. Apparently sharing Daniel Patrick Moynihan's belief that "the neglect of congressional history is something of a scandal of American scholarship" (p. 3), Johnson sets out to reestablish the centrality of congressional history. In that endeavor he is entirely successful. He also makes a concerted effort to counter much previous writing on his subject by arguing that the foreign policy positions of the peace progressives were not predetermined by factors unrelated to international relations: not by "the ethnic compositions of their constituencies," not by "regionalism," nor even by "their domestic ideology" (p. 7). In the first two instances he makes a strong case. But in the latter instance the evidence is less compelling; Johnson himself often traces their thinking back to a domestic-centered populism and anti-imperialism. Finally, it is obvious that Johnson has considerable empathy for those who formulated "the most powerful left-wing dissenting ideology that Congress has ever produced" (p. 69). But to his great credit he does not permit his sympathies to override his judgment. On those occasions when the inconsistencies and the vacuities of his protagonists' thinking cannot be ignored, he can be sharply critical. In the process, he builds an impressive interpretive edifice, always perceptive and sometimes even sagacious.

Even when attempting to establish the unity and coherence of his subject group, the author is ever mindful of the conflict between those peace progressives who wanted to reform the international system and those who wanted to shield the nation from it, a conflict that was always latent and tended to come to the fore, as in 1917, when the threat from abroad became manifest. The author, however, might have pursued this important insight further; I believe that it was precisely the absence of such a threat in the 1920s that allowed the peace progressives to cohere as an identifiable group and the emergence of such a threat in the 1930s that caused them to go their separate ways.

Although my admiration for this work is profound, I do feel the need to qualify it in one small respect. Johnson makes as strong an argument as can be made for the crystallization in the 1920s of a peace progressive critique of American foreign policy that was both intellectually powerful and consistent. The danger in his approach is a tendency to homogenize, to lose sight sometimes of the fact, well established by a spate of fascinating biographies of men such as William Borah, Hiram Johnson, Robert LaFollette, and Gerald Nye, that the peace progressives were also probably the most churlish, eccentric, and egomaniacal collection of individualists who ever graced the halls of the U.S. Congress. Unfortunately, sound philosophy and human nature are sometimes at odds.

WILLIAM C. WIDENOR
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RICHARD W. FANNING. *Peace and Disarmament: Naval Rivalry and Arms Control, 1922–1933*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1995. Pp. xiii, 224. $35.00.

Richard W. Fanning's book presents a straightforward chronological narrative of the major events of the interwar naval arms control process and explains the key political, diplomatic, and technological changes. This work draws on research in Great Britain and an impressive array of U.S. archives and libraries. Focusing on the years 1927–30, it concentrates on the American part of multinational interactions, attempting also to examine the British and Japanese sides.

Wearied by world war, the people and leaders of the great powers generally agreed on the need to limit arms in the hopes of sustaining a peaceful new world order. Although Fanning does not examine these countries in great detail, he notes that each also had specific reasons for entering into the Washington Conference of 1921–22. The American, British, and Japanese political leaders shared a general belief that arms races had led to war. Additionally, U.S. Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes hoped to establish some sort of non-League forum for discouraging war by addressing various countries' security concerns. The Japanese premier Hara Kei had another reason, hoping that naval arms control would limit the influence of the Imperial Japanese Navy within his government. Fanning mentions this salient point only briefly and then apparently fails to connect it to Hara's assassination later that year.

The Washington treaties, as comprehensive as they were, did nothing to provide stability in postwar Europe or to limit cruisers in size or armament. Fearing a resurgent Germany, France would not have agreed to any external limitations on its commerce-raiding ability. In effect, because of its fear of Germany, France scuttled the agreements that might have averted the events of June 1940. Instead, for a decade and a half between 1921 and 1936, the great powers engaged in a series of multilateral conferences to settle the various cruiser questions, doing little to address the geopolitical issues that really threatened international security. Focusing on a class of arms, the great powers were distracted from the real work of assuaging

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France's security concerns, a point recently brought out well in Emily O. Goldman's *Sunken Treaties: Naval Arms Control between the Wars* (1994).

Although all his subjects are interesting, one might have wished that Fanning had turned his eye for detail to any of the following questions on which he touches lightly. Why did most of the American naval officers favor cruisers with eight-inch guns over the smaller, more economical, and possibly more effective six-inch guns? Fanning discusses this distinction at great length but does not really indicate its importance or why the sides divided as they did. What effect did the assassination of two liberal Japanese premiers have on that government's willingness or ability to negotiate in good faith? And, finally, what was the impact of the various peace and militarist groups on the negotiating positions?

Fanning claims that "This study differs from other accounts of disarmament after 1922 in that it uses a variety of British, American, and Japanese sources and is really a comparative history of forces and personalities" (p. xii). And yet he cites no Japanese, German, or Italian-language and few French-language sources. Fanning has written a solid introduction to a variety of interesting questions surrounding the best example history provides of formal arms control regimes. The treatment is competent if not masterful. It contains few lapses, none of which undermines the value of the book for historians of the U.S. Navy or of arms control.

MARK R. SHULMAN
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DAVID STEIGERWALD. *Wilsonian Idealism in America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 296. $37.50.

Since the Gulf War and the accompanying talk of a new world order, Wilsonianism has been the subject of numerous scholarly studies. In 1994 Frank Ninkovich's *Modernity and Power*, Tony Smith's *America's Mission*, and the work under review by David Steigerwald all appeared. And despite their differing definitions of and approaches to the subject, all make important contributions to our understanding of an influential strain of thought and how it was adjusted to accommodate disillusioning historical developments.

For Steigerwald, Wilsonianism was an idealistic form of American liberalism that took seriously the Enlightenment hope that societies could be built on universal rational principles. He does not make it a synonym for liberal internationalism, as Smith did; nor does he see the linkages to the domino theory featured in Ninkovich's study. Instead, he identifies and focuses on a group of political thinkers who resisted interest-group liberalism, rejected modernist notions of inevitable conflict, and retained a faith in building institutions through which enlightened self-interest would bring both individual fulfillment and political and international harmony. Following an introduction and three chapters on Wilson himself, he organizes the remainder of his story around the political thought and activities of such "Wilsonian" figures as Newton Baker, Raymond Buell, Walter Lippmann, Raymond Fosdick, Norman Davis, Sumner Welles, James Warburg, Adlai Stevenson, J. William Fulbright, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Theodore Lowi, and Francis Fukuyama.

Also featured throughout the book are the interactions between Steigerwald's "Wilsonians" and their chief rivals, particularly the isolationists, pacifists, and national planners of the interwar period, the one-worlders, globalists, and liberal realists of the post–World War II era, and the champions of a New Politics after 1960. In his depiction of the resulting critiques and counter-critiques, the author shows a mastery of the nuances involved and builds a strong case that the people being studied did indeed constitute a coherent intellectual group with distinctive ideas and values. Receiving less attention than it deserves, however, is the alternative form of internationalism served up by the Republican administrations of the 1920s. And as Steigerwald admits, the efforts of Wilsonians to come to terms with the modern world sometimes produced messy attempts to combine contradictory philosophies. A leading exemplar was Walter Lippmann, and in a long chapter entitled "The Dialectic of Reason and Faith" he traces Lippmann's tortuous swings into rival camps but concludes that he remained a Wilsonian idealist who never fully lost his faith in the efficacy of human reason.

The least satisfying part of the book is a conclusion in which Steigerwald becomes a philosopher instead of a historian, argues for a revivified public sphere committed to the advancement of the common good, and concludes that achieving this requires a return to the thinking of John Dewey rather than that of Wilson and his intellectual heirs. Just why this should be so is never very clear, and one doubts that the book will be much read as a guide to future state-building. Its strength lies rather in its recovery and penetrating elucidation of a history given meaning by current developments.

ELLIS W. HAWLEY
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JOHN EHRMAN. *The Rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945–1994*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 241. $27.50.

Without a doubt, John Ehrman's study is one of the most important books on American foreign policy to be published in recent years. Nearly flawless in its execution, this beautifully written intellectual history is essential for anyone interested in understanding the political shift of the neoconservatives from Truman Democrats to Reagan Republicans as they led America's anticommunist crusade.

Ehrman begins by evaluating the great impact Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s *The Vital Center* (1949) had on political philosophy at the time of its publication.

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Exhibiting a healthy faith in virtuous democracy, Schlesinger believed that, like Nazism and Japanese imperialism, communism and Soviet expansionism presented an "immediate political danger" to American ideals. Only by practicing various strategies of containment, supporting democracies abroad, and offering economic assistance to lesser-developed nations could America prevail in the global struggle for military, political, economic, and intellectual dominance.

With Schlesinger's book as the starting point, Ehrman traces what became known as "Truman liberalism" as it evolved throughout the Cold War and beyond. He tells the story of how the neoconservatives from the late 1940s to the late 1960s broke ranks with the left-of-center Democratic Party to forge a powerful coalition that practiced conservatism with an intellectual flare into the 1980s. With the more centrist Truman wing of the Democratic Party eclipsed by anti–Vietnam War doves, the neoconservatives, led by hardliner Norman Podhoretz, sought refuge in the Republican Party. The hope was that communism could be defeated by an American-led offensive in places such as Nicaragua, Angola, Poland, and Afghanistan. The goal was simply stated: win the Cold War.

Ehrman proves to be a marvelous, objective chronicler of such neoconservatives as Irving Kristol, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Robert W. Tucker, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Walter Laqueur, Richard Pearle, Elliot Abrams, and a portrait gallery of others. He demonstrates that they were not single-minded elites but rather issue-oriented intellectuals with a wide range of nuanced, and often conflicting, world views.

"By early 1985 the neoconservatives' period of greatest success was drawing to a close," Ehrman notes. "The departure of Kirkpatrick from the United Nations deprived them of their highest level and most influential voice in the administration." In addition, many neoconservative wizards expended intellectual credibility by mistakenly dismissing Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms in the late 1980s as insignificant. In particular, the American Jewish Committee's *Commentary* lost much of its neoconservative luster, and Kristol's new, Washington-based, *National Interest* quickly moved in to fill the void.

Ehrman finally looks at how the end of the Cold War, accompanied by the elections of George Bush and Bill Clinton, to a large degree marginalized the neoconservatives. Their internationalist foreign policy agenda clashed with the conservative Right's belief that the future of America was to be determined within its own borders. But as Ehrman notes in his epilogue, any neoconservatives who might have been attracted back into the Democratic fold by presidential candidate Clinton found themselves marginalized once again soon after the inauguration.

DOUGLAS BRINKLEY
University of New Orleans

JOSEPH H. ALEXANDER and MERRILL L. BARTLETT. *Sea Soldiers in the Cold War: Amphibious Warfare, 1945–1991*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 220. $32.95.

Two central themes dominate this book: the enduring strategic utility of forced landings in conventional and limited wars in the nuclear age and the U.S. Marine Corps' sharp break with past tactics embodied in the adoption of the helicopter-borne beach envelopment model. A usual touchstone for postwar amphibious histories is the unfortunate assertion by General Omar Bradley in 1949 that the atomic bomb precluded future landing operations. This error-ridden assessment endowed generations of marine corps historians with a ready launching pad for their highminded correctives. As Joseph H. Alexander and Merrill L. Bartlett point out, however, the offending remark also moved the corps to revisit its recently acquired faith in the amphibious mission.

The Korean War quickly transformed the U.S. Marine Corps. The authors carefully explain that the Inchon landing—although strangely ignoring the fiasco at Wonson—was an integral aspect of General Douglas MacArthur's plan to destroy the invading North Korean Army. Experience on the north Asian front moved marine leaders to accelerate the shift from World War II–era frontal assault tactics to beach envelopment tactics most appropriate for operations on the Cold War's European periphery. The Hogaboom Board proposed in 1956 that helicopters provide air mobility to the assaulting battalions and argued for maneuver-at-sea against tactical inshore objectives. This "revolutionary idea," the authors maintain, "envisioned infantry battalions seizing widely separated key terrain, perhaps far from the landing beaches," with reinforcements and heavy equipment arriving over-the-beach. Nonetheless, fashioning the amphibious force envisioned by the Hogaboom Board took three decades owing to navy indifference, the slow development of heavy assault helicopters and new landing craft, and the Vietnam War.

Alexander and Bartlett posit that the corps' experience in Vietnam—where marines fought, as in World War I, as conventional infantry, distinguished only by their organic tactical air—was a diversion. Critics, myself included, argue that marine participation would have enhanced the navy's unsuccessful mobile riverine campaign in the Mekong Delta, but Alexander and Bartlett respond that "the difference between 'brown water' and 'blue water' operations is more than color variance," the latter being conducted against a defended shore.

After a decade rethinking and rebuilding the amphibious force, the tactic of amphibious envelopment finally came to fruition as a feature of the maritime strategy of Ronald Reagan's presidency. Navy Secretary John Lehman's "600-ship Navy" program supplied the long-sought platforms and his grand strategy of peripheral "horizontal escalation" provided for

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amphibious movements on the Eurasian perimeter. The authors also applaud the post–Cold War transition to a "Marine Expeditionary Force" as a component of the navy's recent "From-the-Sea" strategy. They uneasily confront the paradox that, during the Persian Gulf War, marines once again fought as mechanized infantry and that enemy mine warfare and beach defenses made landing operations too costly. Proud of the corps' recent accomplishments, Alexander and Bartlett predict a busy future for American expeditionary forces in an atomized, unruly New World Order.

This outstanding survey, based mostly on secondary works, is best in dealing with American issues; the occasional sections dealing with the Falklands/Malvinas War and Soviet amphibious forces rely wholly on published English-language material. These quibbles notwithstanding, this book establishes a sound interpretive architecture explaining an important aspect of America's recent military history.

ROBERT W. LOVE, JR.
United States Naval Academy

LATIN AMERICA

VICTOR BULMER-THOMAS. *The Economic History of Latin America since Independence*. (Cambridge Latin American Studies, number 77.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 485. Cloth $69.95, paper $17.95.

Victor Bulmer-Thomas wished to write a survey of the economic history of Latin America in the two centuries since the region achieved independence. In this goal he has succeeded admirably. He argues clearly how the mix of natural resources, internal economic policy, and international economic conditions and shocks governed the development of the different sectors of the economy in Latin America in general, and provides generous numbers of specific examples and tables to illustrate episodes in the development of each nation's economy. His mixture of narrative, analysis, and incident is nicely weighed.

Bulmer-Thomas disavows the sufficiency of any simplistic theory to explain uneven and often slow rates of economic growth among the countries in the region over the years. His analysis instead centers on the complex mechanics of export-led growth. That growth is governed by external supply and demand shocks, conditioned by each nation's market size and fiscal policy, and subject to the "commodity lottery," in which each of the geographically dissimilar nations is "given" a few commodities of varying long and short-term profitability, and of varying ability to promote national industrialization and market integration. Despite Bulmer-Thomas' disavowal, this is indeed a history quite close to those of liberal economists, lacking only their characteristically Whiggish optimism.

Bulmer-Thomas organizes his survey mainly by chronological periods, interrupting his scheme only for the three chapters on the period between 1850–1914, which are organized by economic sector. The initial overview describes the economy of colonial Latin America and takes the story through the initial disruption and stabilization of the chaotic independence period. The three chapters on individual sectors chronicle Latin America's entry into the international free-trading regime of liberal Britain, each nation taking its place by the export of primary commodities and the import of manufactured goods. The following chapters, almost on a decade-by-decade basis, show the decline of that system. World War I, the Great Depression, and World War II are the economic shocks that disrupted the system of assured and steady imports and exports, turned Latin America from its traditional economic orientation to and dependence on Britain to a new orientation toward and dependence on the United States, and promoted export diversification, industrialization, a will to industrialize, and a relatively closed economy as the Latin American nations strove to make themselves less dependent on industrial imports and commodity exports.

Bulmer-Thomas then criticizes the Latin American nations for continuing to base their economic policies—especially for tariff and exchange rates—on a pessimism about the world market for exports even as international trade reached its high-water mark in the years between 1945 and 1970. The debt-led growth of the 1970s and the debt debacle of the 1980s come across, despite the impartiality of his language, as the just reward for the region's previous economic misperceptions. He is moderately optimistic, as of early 1994, regarding the ability of Latin America's newly opened economies to find their way to growth once more through exports, although the commodity lottery and small domestic markets remain problems as much as ever.

Bulmer-Thomas's book is a very good introductory survey and reference book for students and scholars interested in economic history unsullied by questions of politics, social history, and culture. The book, consequently, is a history of the whats and hows of economic growth, but not one of the whys of specific and/or irrational economic decisions by individual policy makers. I regret that Bulmer-Thomas did not choose to expand the scope of his book, but I understand that it is a choice, not a failing. I hope that in the future he will also address his considerable skills to these further topics.

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ALINE HELG. *Our Rightful Share: The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886–1912*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 361. Cloth $45.00, paper $16.95.

This is an extremely important book. It is an impressively researched, well-thought out, and well-written

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study of how racism manifests itself in Cuba, and it has implications for all of the Americas, including the United States in the post–civil rights era. Covering the years from 1886 to 1912, Aline Helg illuminates a neglected but vital aspect of Cuban history: the pivotal role of Afro-Cubans in the Cuban independence wars and their struggles against tightening racial discrimination, oppression, exploitation, and economic marginalization during the first decades after Cuban independence, culminating in the widespread massacre of Afro-Cubans in 1912. The book is based on unusually rich and detailed original research, including a great number and variety of diplomatic, military, judicial, and newspaper sources in Cuban, British, U.S., Spanish, and French archives, as well as numerous enlightening political cartoons and some photographs. Helg shows how a society that proclaimed formal racial equality and allowed a few elite blacks with extraordinary talents to rise to positions of prestige and power adopted any means necessary to wipe out the Partido Independiente de Color, an autonomous political movement basing itself on and advocating for the vast majority of Afro-Cubans caught up in a dead-end social structure and tightening vise. Helg also explains how racist ideology, which blamed the victims for their own plight because of their alleged cultural and educational failures, was inflamed by false rumors of Afro-Cuban witches killing and eating children and using their blood during their religious ceremonies, raping white women, attacking and plotting to massacre all whites, and overreporting and sensationalizing crimes for which Afro-Cubans were arrested.

Helg avoids attributing Cuban racism to the occupation by and influence of the United States, and she does not accept the claim of the *Fidelistas* that "socialism" as established in Cuba has eliminated racism and racist oppression there. This book will, hopefully, at last help lay to rest the myths of mild slavery and racial equality in Latin America, ideas that remain surprisingly current, especially among U.S. historians. These ideological defenses of slavery, racism, and structural exploitation of people of African descent in Latin America were repeated uncritically in books by Frank Tannenbaum, Stanley M. Elkins, Louis Hartz, and Herbert S. Klein, books that still receive considerable attention among U.S. historians despite the books published twenty-five years ago by Franklin W. Knight, Leslie Rout, Jr., and myself that effectively refuted these myths.

Afro-Cubans comprised one-third of the population of Cuba, with larger numbers in Oriente, the cradle and bastion of both independence wars (1868–78 and 1895–98). They emerged from the last war for Cuban independence in a strong position, having fought far out of proportion to their numbers in the population. Afro-Cubans were more than 80 percent of the Liberation Army, and 82,000 Afro-Cubans died in the war of 1895–98, compared with only 26,000 whites. Their impressive level of organization in the liberated zones is richly documented here in a fine example of military history from below. Women and children lived in the liberated zones. They effectively used herbal medicine remedies. Schools, printing presses, workshops, vegetable gardens, and cattle farms were established in the forests. Their justice system included the death penalty for rape. Afro-Cubans' concern for education resulted in their closing the large gap in literacy among white and Afro-Cubans between ten and fourteen years of age by 1907, when 70 percent of this age groups was literate. The school attendance records of Afro-Cubans was slightly higher than that of whites. Based on their status as veterans of the independence war, they had the right to vote. Within the framework of Cuban politics, their military organization and experience weighed heavily. Afro-Cubans were overrepresented in the Liberal Revolt of 1906. They approached holding the balance between the Liberals and the Conservatives and were courted by both sides.

But Afro-Cubans faced opposition from two directions. U.S. companies began purchasing land in large amounts, land that Afro-Cubans expected to enjoy, and brought in employees from the United States for most skilled and managerial jobs while excluding Afro-Cuban veterans from the prospects of land ownership. Massive immigration of Spanish families was encouraged and subsidized to "whiten" the Cuban population, thus lessening job opportunities for Afro-Cubans. Jamaican and Haitian workers were brought in to cut sugar cane. Racial segregation in public places grew apace.

As Cubans of all colors were increasingly excluded from the economy, pressure increased on political offices and the associated networks of patronage, which became the main means of survival and advance. The ultimate weapon of would-be office holders was to pose either an actual or theatrical threat to public order so they could be bribed into submission, often by officials of the United States occupation; this, of course, merely encouraged more political violence. Patronage inevitably went from squeezing out merit to squeezing out competence as a threat to the patronage network. Afro-Cubans were excluded from officer rank in the police, the rural guard, and the artillery, all of which became racially segregated. The few Afro-Cubans on the slippery slope of economic survival were factionalized through patronage of various political parties and by regionalism. Evaristo Estenoz, one of the two main leaders of the Partido Independiente de Color, refused to run for the Liberal Party in local elections in Oriente because Afro-Cubans were required to "have the wisdom of the señores [Juan Gualberto] Gómez or [Martin] Morua, or the heroism of the Great [Antonio] Maceo" to get menial jobs (p. 129). Gómez and Morua were Afro-Cuban intellectuals already famous before the independence war of 1895–98, which they spent abroad as exiles. The Morua Law outlawed the Partido Independiente de Color in 1910, with Morua arguing that "he could not be motivated by prejudice, because he proudly belonged to the raza de color" (p. 165).

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The Partido Independiente de Color was neither racist nor separatist. It had white members. At one point it agreed to remove "de Color" from its name. Its program was mainly patriotic and class-based: expansion of free public education for all; free technical, secondary, and university education, state control of private schools; judicial and penitentiary reform including ending the death penalty; the eight-hour day; priority for Cubans in employment; and the distribution of national lands to Cubans. For Afro-Cubans, the Partido demanded the end of racial discrimination in public service and the diplomatic corps, and an end to the ban on nonwhite immigration. Nevertheless, while thousands of Afro-Cubans were being massacred, "Socialists and anarchists, concerned primarily with events in Spain and Mexico, showed little interest in the fate of Afro-Cubans" (p. 228).

The Partido had wide support. Although their claim of 60,000 members, including 15,000 veterans, twelve generals, and thirty colonels, was probably exaggerated, it had 146 registered municipal committees and its newspaper, *Prevision*, had a circulation of 9,000 in 1909. Its three-day armed protest against its outlaw status began on May 20, 1912. There were few overt acts of violence from its members. The rest of the month of May was peaceful. By June 5, 1912, its leaders and thousands of its members had been murdered in Oriente and a reign of terror against Afro-Cubans spread throughout the island. The official death toll was 2,000, but U.S. citizens in Oriente reported 5,000 to 6,000 deaths. Cuban armed forces suffered sixteen dead including eight Afro-Cubans murdered by white fellow soldiers. Cuban newspapers pointed to disenfranchisement and lynching in the United States as a good example for Cubans to follow. This was no revolt. It was a massacre.

There are a few points of interpretation that need to be explored. Although Helg's definition of the *raza de color* by appearance rather than descent makes many white Cubans biologically partially Africanized, its demographic, economic, and cultural history makes Cubans, regardless of descent, culturally Africanized to the point where white Cuban and Spanish culture should not be conflated. Helg also could have touched on class and race conflicts in Latin American independence wars, as well as the widespread support of white immigration by independent nations throughout Latin America, as an example set for this "solution" to Cuba's problems. There is a tendency to stereotype "white Cubans" as a bloc. Although Helg makes a good class analysis of Afro-Cubans, she does not do the same for white Cubans. She understates conflicts among Afro-Cubans based on color differences.

The most serious problem, however, is Helg's advocacy of irrationality: "The failure of Afro-Cubans was thus an important lesson for all struggles against racism. Only by offering countermyths, countericons of fears, and counterimages of fantasy—only by targeting the level of the unconscious—could they have been able to neutralize the dominant message" (p. 19).

It is easiest to mobilize against a common enemy. But Afro-Cubans, as well as peoples of African descent throughout the Americas, are not in a position to defeat a stereotyped and amalgamated white enemy. All successful movements, from the Haitian Revolution to the triumph of the African National Congress in South Africa, relied heavily on a policy of alliances transcending racial designations. The best contribution historians can make is to dig the truth out of the documents, analyze it, and present it effectively to the public. Helg deserves our gratitude for doing precisely this.

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MARCELLO CARMAGNANI. *Estado y mercado: La economía pública del liberalismo mexicano, 1850–1911.* (Sección de obras de historia, serie hacienda.) Mexico City: Colegio de México and Fideicomiso Historia de las Américas and Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1994. Pp. 439.

This account of Mexican government fiscal policy during the country's first extended period of political stability and economic growth (1867–1911) provides specialists in prerevolutionary Mexican history with a uniquely comprehensive guide to the taxing, borrowing, and spending activities of the liberal regimes that dominated public office after the overthrow of the French-imposed Emperor Maximilian. Marcello Carmagnani's diligent excavation of contemporary published sources, particularly the governments' legislative and regulatory record and copious financial reports, provides most of the data for the book's two main sections: "la política del presupuesto" and "la economía del presupuesto." The first reviews the organization of the budget and policy debates over the distribution of government revenues. The second, twice as long, analyzes the financial dimension of budget-making over time, or what Carmagnani defines as the struggle to balance income and expenses. He links fiscal policy to the country's overall economic performance, arguing that the economy was "not only a tributary of the State but also its beneficiary" (p. 192).

The book's title highlights the tension between state and market that Carmagnani employs as an organizing principle. His overarching subject is the triumph of liberalism, to which he attributes no less than the invention of the budget itself. The budget was liberalism's tool for the construction of a new relationship between the state and the economy as well as between the state and politics, a way to control not only federal government finances but also a completely new sphere of activity: the "economía pública." More than just the public sector, the public economy was the result of the liberal state's attempt to provide equal access to public goods for all citizens. And what drove the budding interaction of the market and the state was the inhab-

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itants' assertion of civil, political, and economic rights, from which followed their perceived obligation to pay for them in the form of taxes. As the new link between the state and the market, the budget would be governed by two basic principles: the supremacy of the federal government over those of the states, and the supremacy of the congress (as representative of the nation) over the executive branch in the formulation of the budget.

This book bears the burden of what often appears to be an insufficiently critical, even celebratory, interpretation of Mexican political history, which Carmagnani views in terms of the progressive empowerment of consumers and citizens who shaped the new public economy through congressional control over the federal budget. Had he descended from the domain of constitutions, legal and financial commentary, and statistical reports, he may have found not merely "citizens" and "individuals" merrily exchanging taxes for public goods but *caudillos*, *hacendados*, mill owners, peasants, *peones*, miners, and so on. Omitting the grubby realities of power and social relationships, Carmagnani has unaccountably enveloped his analysis of state finance in a Whiggish interpretation of liberalism that seems blissfully innocent of the period's formidable historiography. Human beings with distinct class positions, interests, and access to power rarely intrude in the arid realms of "state," "market," and "citizens" that control his presentation of an otherwise useful investigation of fiscal policy. This odd deference to the shibboleths of liberalism is enough to make one long for at least a touch of the biting materialism (with its obligatory references to "the dominant class") that drove Carmagnani's *La grande illusione delle oligarchie: Stato e società in America Latina (1850–1930)* (1982), a product of its time that he unfortunately but understandably failed even to list in the bibliography of this book, its antithesis.

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VIVIANE BRACHET-MARQUEZ. *The Dynamics of Domination: State, Class, and Social Reform in Mexico 1910–1990*. (Pitt Latin American Series.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1994. Pp. vi, 251. $59.95.

The central purpose of this book is to establish a linkage between labor actions and social reform in twentieth-century Mexico. Viviane Brachet-Marquez criticizes analyses that presuppose autonomous state action as the origin of such social welfare policies as state-subsidized medical care, worker housing, and worker participation in enterprise profits. Instead, she argues, attention should be devoted to the ways in which the Mexican organized labor movement has directly or indirectly shaped the development of political institutions and social policies since the 1920s. In short, Brachet-Marquez's goal is to illuminate the relationship between "pressures from below and state reform" (p. 165).

Brachet-Marquez argues that Mexico is exceptional in the Latin American context for the extent to which political crises have produced periods of social reform ("class compromises"), thus transforming the existing regime ("pact of domination") rather than resulting in its breakdown. In the course of her study, she examines several episodes of political crisis and subsequent social reform. In each instance, the author devotes special attention to the conduct of the organized labor movement, particularly the positions adopted by the Confederation of Mexican Workers, Mexico's largest and most politically influential labor confederation and the governing Institutional Revolutionary Party's official sector organization for urban and industrial workers.

An actor-centered, "bottom-up" examination of social welfare policy formation in postrevolutionary Mexico is inherently valuable, yet this book fails to fulfill its most important objectives. Because the author relies entirely on secondary works, she is unable to shed any significant new light on major periods of policy innovation. Apart from some brief comments on the evolution of social insurance as a policy issue in the 1920s, Brachet-Marquez's case study of the adoption of health and accident insurance and pension policies in the early 1940s is limited to three paragraphs (pp. 93–94); her discussion of the origins of worker profit-sharing legislation is restricted to a single paragraph (p. 119). Without the fresh insight that original research might have provided, the author's discussion is too often restricted to a chronological account of labor politics and social policy innovation. Neither does the author always succeed in demonstrating the causal link between political crisis and/or labor mobilization and social reform.

Although it is never agreeable to conclude a review by calling attention to an author's factual errors, mistakes of this kind are so significant and so frequent that they merit separate comment. The author errs on matters so consequential as the date (1928) when the Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana began to lose significant support, the date (1931) on which Mexico's first federal labor law was enacted, the date (1935) of the politically decisive clash between former president Plutarco Elías Calles and President Lázaro Cárdenas, and the date (1982) when Mexico's debt crisis erupted. Brachet-Marquez consistently misspells key names (Confederación de Trabajadores de México, Adolfo Ruiz Cortines, Miguel Henríquez Guzmán, Carlos Jonguitud Barrios), and the bibliography contains numerous errors and omissions. Moreover, a number of important passages in the text lack adequate documentation.

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JOSÉ IGNACIO AVELLANEDA. *The Conquerors of the New Kingdom of Granada*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 275. $50.00.

Six expeditionary groups reached the New Kingdom of Granada, now Colombia, between 1537 and 1543. José Ignacio Avellaneda examines in great detail what is known about the almost 2,000 men who took part in the conquest and provides a great deal of data, in the form of a collective biography, of the 658 survivors. The expeditions were led by Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada, Nikolaus Federmann, Sebastián de Belalcázar, Jerónimo Lebrón, Lope Montalvo de Lugo, and Alonso Luis de Lugo. Avellaneda has published, or has in press, monographic studies of each of the expeditions. In some ways the current volume is a summary study; in other ways it is a major source for what information is available about the early European presence in Colombia.

The opening chapters examine the expeditions and their antecedents. They comprise a short third of the book and are excellent narrative history, densely written. Almost all readers will wish that this section had been expanded. There are minor problems with inconsistent spelling (p. 49), not always citing the best source (p. 16, n. 28), and inaccuracy in terminology (p. 40). The next two chapters deal with the personal characteristics of the conquerors as defined by birth (race, gender, place, and date of birth) and their background, that is, qualities acquired after birth (education, religion, previous experience in Europe and America, and social and economic class). Using these definitions, on some matters of race and religion—particularly Jews and Muslims—the author is inconsistent, inaccurate, and confused (see pp. 63, 67, 68, and 77). Much of the information is presented in tabular form (p. 57 refers to a table 3.6, which does not exist), with explanatory text that often is several times as lengthy as the table it explains.

Avellaneda evaluates New Granada's political organization, economic activities, and social organization in separate chapters. The section on the lesser nobility (*hidalgos*) in Spain and New Granada is particularly well done. There also is a fine segment on Indian political and social organization. And the explanation of *encomienda* discusses the institution in New Granada very clearly. But the author on occasion is reduced to defining an individual's character by an introductory adjective, a style of writing almost as antiquated as that other Hispanic tradition of beginning a work of history at the Creation.

A brief chapter of conclusions attempts to draw together all the data presented but does not completely succeed. For researchers, the most significant part of the volume probably will be the appendixes: the lists of surviving conquerors, their characteristics, the public posts they held, the marital unions they made and the numbers of children they had, and a list of *encomenderos* and their *encomiendas*. The material on the conquerors, their survivors, and their activities in text, table, and appendix is what will be the enduring value of the book. Other sections on occasion seem to have unnecessarily extended prose. And the bold-face section headings are both excessive and intrusive. The book is a vital and necessary addition to the literature, but nevertheless should not be read as the first book on the conquest and conquerors of the New Kingdom of Granada.

BRUCE B. SOLNICK
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AUSTEN IVEREIGH. *Catholicism and Politics in Argentina 1810–1960*. New York: St. Martin's, in association with St. Antony's College, Oxford. 1995. Pp. xiv, 275. $59.95.

Other than the conflicts between Catholics and anticlericals and manifestations of liberation theology, surprisingly little is known about the church in Latin America after independence. Austen Ivereigh helps fill the gap for Argentina by tracing Catholic thought and movements, as well as relations among Catholics, politicians, and the state, from 1810 to 1960. He also offers a view of Argentine history emphasizing the clash between secular values, which he identifies with the Enlightenment and liberalism, and Catholic values, or scholasticism. Clearly siding with the second set of values, the author regards the first as elitist, intolerant, and dictatorial.

Ivereigh's perspective on the Argentine past is provocative at times, yet not entirely novel. Argentines have offered critiques of liberalism and its effects in their country, although not necessarily from a Catholic point of view. His argument also is reminiscent of scholars who have claimed that Latin America follows a distinct Catholic corporatist tradition, to which liberalism is foreign and unnatural.

The author's main contribution is his treatment of Catholic diversity. He discusses the rivalry in social Catholicism between paternalists and the more egalitarian Christian Democrats, and opposition among Catholics to Miguel de Andrea's alliance with the state against class conflict. Néstor Tomás Auza has addressed these divisions, but this is the first work to do so in English. Ivereigh goes on to delineate the conflict between liberal and integralist Catholics in the 1930s and 1940s; the tension and overlap between the latter and nationalists; and disagreements among Catholics over Peronism and the post–1955 order. Clarification of the relationship between social and integral Catholicism would be useful. Moreover, although Ivereigh distinguishes between Andrea's and the integralists' strategies and political visions, some of the views he characterizes as integralist, such as the "revised notion of womanhood" (p. 87), were much like Andrea's. Further explanation here also is needed.

The author obscures some issues. Although he shows that Catholicism was not monolithic, he conflates the various Argentine strains of liberalism, de-

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mocracy, and leftism, citing their common origins in the Enlightenment but overlooking the vital differences among them. Indeed, he also claims that fascism and Argentine nationalism stemmed from the Enlightenment. Many scholars would disagree, but whether one disagrees or not, one should note that fascists and nationalists themselves would deny a connection to a belief system they abhorred. Ivereigh seems overeager to paint secularism as authoritarian and scholasticism as democratic, downplaying the rightist tendencies of integral Catholicism. Tellingly, he does not discuss the Catholic authoritarian nationalist group Restoración, or the prominent Catholic César Pico's approval of Catholic participation in fascist and reactionary movements. The author uncritically accepts the church's insistence that it was equidistant between communism and fascism. Although it is true that Gustavo Franceschi and others voiced suspicions of Italian fascism and particularly of Nazism, at different times Argentine Catholic spokesmen sympathized with the former and believed it was moving in a Catholic direction.

Neither would one know from this book that anti-Semitism permeated integral Catholicism. The only mention of prejudice against Jews is with regard to Father Julio Meinvielle, and Ivereigh notes that *Criterio* criticized his views. He overlooks the many anti-Semitic articles in the influential Catholic journal, some penned by its editor, Franceschi. The author writes that the Catholic novelist Gustavo Martínez Zuviría was "abhorred by the left" (p. 139), but he neglects to explain that his extreme anti-Semitism was the reason.

Ivereigh provides little documentation for some debatable points. He attributes some of the Argentine Patriotic League's beliefs to "Maurrasian influences" (p. 71), but there is no evidence that the French counterrevolutionary affected the organization. Without confirmation in military sources, he claims that the coup of 1930 evinced scholastic views. The author assumes that Spanish and Italian immigrants and internal migrants were outside the Enlightenment tradition and therefore receptive to Catholic values; if nothing else, this does not account for the anarchist appeal among foreigners, which Ivereigh admits outstripped that of social Catholic labor groups. The most questionable claim is that the religious education decree of 1943 was "overwhelmingly popular" (p. 61). The author's evidence for this statement is a government survey indicating that the vast majority of students enrolled in Catholic religion rather than nonsectarian morality classes. Does acceptance mean popularity? He does not consider the possibility that indifference, knee-jerk identification with Catholicism, or fear of appearing different or nonconforming under a dictatorship might have prompted this choice. Such assertions require more sufficient grounding in sources.

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THOMAS H. HOLLOWAY. *Policing Rio de Janeiro: Repression and Resistance in a 19th-Century City*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 369. $45.00.

Brazil in the nineteenth century was a ramshackle nation, fifteen times the size of France and with less than one-fourth of its population. Slavery made society grossly exploitative. The national government, commanding small resources and even fewer personnel, lacked power. Its authority at the local level depended crucially on conciliating local landowners. Given these circumstances, it is remarkable how strong the system of social control was during the imperial regime (1822–89). The maintenance of law and order hardly can be termed exemplary, but it was sufficiently effective for the nation-state to function.

This system of social control has not hitherto received the attention it deserves, and Thomas H. Holloway's book is most welcome on that ground alone. The study examines in depth the evolving police system of the Brazilian capital from the foundation of Police Intendancy and the Guarda Real de Policia (Royal Police Force) in 1808 and 1809 to the overthrow of the regime in 1889. The author deserves considerable praise for his determination in tracing the changes in structure of the police and even more for his gallant efforts to quantify, analyze, and thus make sense of the surviving (and variable) data on arrests, jail detainees, and criminal charges. As a study of the police force and an explanation of its functioning, this book is a basic work for Brazilian historians, indispensable for any understanding that country's past.

As Holloway argues, the history of the Rio police can be seen as a slow move from guardian of the status quo by use of random terror against the ordinary population to a bureaucratized, professional force mindful of the citizens' civil liberties and concerned only to prevent and detect crime. This transformation was more of form than substance. Maintenance of the existing social order remained the prime purpose of the police. All other rules and obligations were subordinate to that end. The maxim *fiat justitia, ruat caelum* (let justice be done, though the heavens fall in ruin) did not apply.

Useful as this study is, its form does raise some questions. The policing of the national capital in imperial Brazil was not typical of the country as a whole, as Holloway notes (p. viii). The police of Rio were directly controlled by the national government and received more funding than any other force. Overall, the work pays little or no attention to this difference, with the result that scholars will take its findings to be representative of imperial Brazil as a whole. We need studies of policing as it existed in other provinces and cities to complement and balance this account.

A more serious question relates to the book's conceptual approach. Historians of Latin America are susceptible to fads and fashions; witness "dependency theory," once supreme, now dead and gone. "Resis-

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tance" is currently in vogue, and, as the book's subtitle proclaims, the concept guides the work's approach. No one has the right to deny the author that choice. Yet the materials on which the book relies are essentially institutional and the products of social control. They do not and cannot reveal the emotions, strategies, and reactions of those caught in the policing system. Only in one instance, the arrest and imprisonment of two British officers in 1850 (pp. 186–91), can we study the perceptions of each side and the interplay between them, since the arrested belonged to a parallel status quo keeping its own records and protecting its own members. Holloway strives to imagine and reconstruct the outlook and the world of the oppressed, but these parts rather resemble the garnishings around the Christmas turkey: they are sauce to the substance.

This book might have gained if it had been less ambitious. Nonetheless, it is an extremely important study that contributes greatly to our understanding of the Brazilian past.

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WARREN DEAN. *With Broadax and Firebrand: The Destruction of the Brazilian Atlantic Forest.* (A Centennial Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xx, 482. $38.00.

It is difficult to confine oneself to a conventional review when the book in question is the final work of an extraordinarily influential scholar. And this is even more the case when the book bears such eloquent witness to the author's intellectual and personal passion for the subject. This volume was published posthumously, following Warren Dean's tragic death in May 1994. A monumental work of environmental history, it chronicles the destruction of the Brazilian Atlantic forest, an ecosystem that covered an immense expanse of central and southern Brazil at the time of the European conquest.

In the late 1970s, after having published a pioneering work on Brazilian industrialization and an important study of slavery and emancipation, Dean shifted his primary interest to the fledgling field of environmental history. Painstakingly acquiring the technical knowledge necessary for such research, Dean first published *Brazil and the Struggle for Rubber* (1987), a study of the failed efforts at rubber cultivation in the tree's native habitat. The current volume, by comparison, is a far more ambitious book, for it tells the story of the Atlantic forest from the earliest moment of human "invasion" to its present near-extinction, surviving only in scattered, pathetic remnants.

Writing prose that often approaches the poetic, Dean begins by arguing for the special nature of tropical ecosystems, with their much more complex plant and animal life compared to forests in temperate zones. Thus, Dean contends, "the disappearance of a tropical forest is . . . a tragedy vast beyond human knowing or conceiving" (p. 5). This statement is especially illuminating in that it broadcasts the author's priorities and sentiments, and it encapsulates the somewhat paradoxical tone of the book, which frequently uses technical or scientific detail to undergird a deeply personal argument.

Although Dean devotes nearly two chapters to the environmental changes caused by the forest's inhabitants prior to the conquest, the story really picks up speed with the arrival of the Portuguese. Despite a brief period of reforestation (caused, sadly and ironically, by the drastic decline in the indigenous population), we know from the outset that the colonists' acquisitiveness, their disregard for the natural environment, and their reverence for "bare ground" all spell disaster for the forest. The details are often sketchy, since the Portuguese settlers were remarkably unreflective about their natural environment; as Dean points out, it was several centuries before the neo-European settlers "discovered" the Atlantic forest in their midst. But by gathering bits and pieces of evidence, Dean composes a strikingly original picture of colonial society. He argues for the pervasive influence of indigenous culture on the Portuguese colonists in frontier zones, where they not only adopted Indian linguistic terms and hunting strategies but also took up slash-and-burn agriculture with a vengeance. And in this account, little-recognized aspects of colonial society, such as charcoal production and consumption and the leaf-cutting saúva ant, suddenly take center stage.

The bulk of the text actually details the rapid degradation of the Atlantic forest in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, due first to the spread of coffee cultivation and then to the national obsession with economic development. The basic shape of the story, however, has already been established in the earlier chapters wherein the Portuguese/Brazilians are portrayed as extraordinarily profligate and rapacious in their relations with the natural environment, relentlessly seeking to "civilize" their milieu by reducing the forest to bare ground. Not even the traditional rural folk are exempted from such a judgment, since their desperate economic circumstances often compel them to prey upon the environment; one only has to consider that a full-grown jacarandá tree could fetch $7,000 at a time when the monthly minimum wage was the equivalent of $60 to appreciate the vulnerability of the most valuable trees.

Should we, then, regard the Brazilians as uniquely careless and destructive of their environment, as this book seems to imply? To address this inevitably comparative question, it is instructive to contrast the language and arguments of Dean's study with that of William Cronon's pioneering work on colonial New England, *Changes in the Land* (1983). Whereas Cronon spoke of "changes," Dean speaks of "destruction," and whereas Cronon treated the human presence—indigenous or English—as an integral aspect of the ecosystem, Dean regards all humans as "invaders" of the forest. Yet the English colonists, although more systematic or "rational" in their exploitation of the land

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and the natural environment, do not seem to have been substantially less destructive of that environment than the colonists who settled in Brazil. Moreover, some of the techniques that Dean criticizes the Brazilian agriculturalists for not adopting, such as plowing, are described by Cronon as directly responsible for environmental degradation in colonial New England.

Such a comparison, by revealing a similar pattern of forest destruction, may make the dimensions of the environmental holocaust in south-central Brazil seem less extraordinary than Dean would wish, and less attributable to the peculiar moral failings of the Brazilians. Nevertheless, it should not make the results seem less tragic. Further comparisons might also help to illuminate the real differences in Brazilian public attitudes toward forest preservation. Until very recently, as Dean tells us, only a handful of outspoken scientists and amateur botanists took up the cause of environmental conservation. And even when these groups managed to get the government's ear, the state's limited resources and collusion with private economic interests meant that conservationist legislation had little effect. (The many dramatic cases of environmental degradation in the formerly "socialist" nations of Eastern Europe indicate, however, that apparently opposite circumstances can produce the same results.) Despite the apparent grandeur of their national patrimony, Brazilians have been much less likely than North Americans to associate national greatness with an unspoiled natural environment. The author intermittently addresses this issue by discussing institutions and individuals, but a fuller exploration may well require insights from cultural history and literary theory.

Environmentalists often oscillate between an emphasis on nature preservation for its own sake and an argument that stresses the environment's integral relationship to human welfare. This sort of tension can be found throughout Dean's book. To be sure, Dean openly eschews a "human-centered" approach to forest preservation, and one of the few heroes in his story is Augusto Ruschi, a deeply committed botanist who posted a plaque in his garden announcing that "these plants are worth more than my own life" (p. 307). At the same time, the book's narrative is replete with dramatic evidence of the dreadful human cost of environmental degradation. Indeed, the very nature of the historian's craft, with its narrative method, may subvert whatever effort we make to avoid a human-centered account. The poetry and passion of the book's opening pages cannot be sustained across repeated statistical accounts of ever-shrinkinq forest acreage. But the book virtually vibrates with emotion as the author recounts the horrors of Cubatão, a hellish conglomeration of petrochemical plants where erosion of the coastal plateau led to a series of easily predictable disasters resulting in hundreds of deaths. Ruschi may have considered his plants more valuable than his life, but the reader of this book is likely to find Ruschi a good deal more interesting than the contents of his garden.

In his foreword to the text, Stuart Schwartz observes that Dean's books are "always large, always important." Every one of his previous books has generated heated debate and inspired further research. This volume will surely have the same effect, for it is both a pathbreaking work of environmental history, and (more covertly) a revisionist approach to 500 years of Brazilian history. And if widely read and disseminated, it might even help save the remaining patches of the Brazilian Atlantic forest.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

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Communications

A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editor's discretion. Letters may not exceed seven hundred words for reviews and one thousand words for articles. They should be submitted in duplicate, typed double-spaced with wide margins, and headed "To the Editor."

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

In his review of my book, *The End of the Communist Revolution* (*AHR*, 100 [February 1995]: 196–97), Robert Edelman rightly underscores the negative consequences of a Western theoretical model of reform imposed in Russia. Unfortunately, distracted by the question of denseness of documentation—which was not the object of such a work of reinterpretation—he overlooks the main thesis of the book leading up to this analysis. This was expressed in my title: the era of perestroika and the collapse of Communist rule represented not a new "revolution" but the final stage of the complex process begun in 1917, namely the "moderate revolutionary revival," which put an end not to an "experiment" but to a decrepit postrevolutionary dictatorship.

ROBERT V. DANIELS
University of Vermont

ROBERT EDELMAN REPLIES:

I am perplexed by Robert Daniels's reaction to what I thought had been a positive review of his interesting and thoughtful book. I did note that he had chosen an unorthodox and not altogether successful rhetorical strategy. Perhaps this explains his belief that I have missed his point. In any case, it is not uncommon for reviewers to choose emphases different from those of the author. I stressed the original and not the familiar in Daniels's work.

I do not believe, however, that these choices were made because I was "diverted" by issues of documentation. His decision to ignore an entire generation of scholarship on twentieth-century Russia is neither professional nor responsible. Even in a work of synthesis, the omission of a large block of sources can, after all, skew conclusions. One can take on arguments or challenge the usefulness of sources, but one cannot pretend that this body of work was never written.

ROBERT EDELMAN
University of California, San Diego

TO THE EDITOR:

In his diatribe against my book, *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociohistorical Approach to Religious Transformation* (1994) [*AHR*, 100 (June 1995): 888–89], Thomas Noble not only engages in sarcastic personal criticism, he does not even comply with the *AHR*'s minimal standards for book reviews. The *AHR*'s letter to reviewers states that "the review should give a clear statement of the book's content" and that quotations "should be accompanied by the page numbers." [The writer is referring to a cover letter sent to reviewers with their assigned book.—ED.] Noble does neither, thus disserving the potential reader and thwarting the serious student from verifying his criticisms. I am therefore surprised that Noble's comments were accepted by the *AHR* for publication.

Since Noble failed to "give a clear statement of the book's content," I must do so here. The first two paragraphs of the introduction (p. 3) state: "This inquiry applies recent observations from the behavioral sciences, medieval history, the history of religions, and Indo-European studies, as well as from what has become known as 'metahistory,' to the pivotal religious transformation which occurred as a result of the encounter of the Germanic peoples with Christianity . . . Part I develops a model of religious interaction between folk-religious societies and universal religions. Part II applies this model to the encounter of the Germanic peoples with Christianity."

Noble's problem with my book apparently stems from his reluctance to recognize Germanic influences on medieval Christianity. Although my chosen topic is the *Germanization* of Christianity, he faults me for ignoring "Coptic, Syriac, Jacobite, Orthodox," and

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other transformations of Christianity. Noble would disallow my very use of the term "Germanic," since "to reify 'Germanic' is to fall into a kind of racialism."

Noble claims that "one critical buzzword has eluded Russell: ethnogenesis." Yet on pages 145–46, I briefly discuss the ethnogenesis of the Franks, and in note 50 on page 145 I specifically use the term "ethnogenesis."

Noble asserts that "there simply was no missionary 'policy' in the early Middle Ages," since "no structures existed to articulate or promote such a policy." Is he serious? The career and correspondence of St. Boniface alone provide ample evidence of a network of monasteries, dioceses, and missionaries, as well as papal coordination.

Noble asserts: "Russell says the cult of saints 'rose to prominence' (p. 43) [*sic*] because of Christianity's encounter with the Germans. But was not that cult 'prominent' before Germans were Christians . . . ?" His quotation is not only out of context but also incorrect. It does not appear on page 43 or anywhere else in the book. What does appear is the phrase on page 167, "rose to *a level of* prominence." In the very same sentence that Noble quotes, I actually *deny* any claim to the uniqueness of such Germano-Christian developments (p. 167). In a comparison of my original text with Noble's quotations from it, his technique becomes apparent. I wrote: "The effects on various aspects of Christianity as a result of its encounter with the Germanic peoples *are not claimed to be unique* . . . For example, devotion to the saints and their relics *existed prior to the Germanic encounter with Christianity*, but it was as a result of this encounter that this devotion *rose to a level of prominence* in early medieval Western Christianity" (emphases added).

Finally, Noble attributes to *me* the words of the noted liturgist Cyrille Vogel, despite their appearance in an indented block-quote. Vogel wrote that one step in early medieval liturgical development was "the progressive creation of a 'mixed' or 'hybrid' set of new rites in the Carolingian Empire through the amalgamation of the Roman liturgy with indigenous ones" (p. 41). Without providing a page reference, Noble complains: "*Russell* says that Roman liturgies were mixed with 'indigenous' ones and, predictably, Germanized . . . He misunderstands, or perhaps misrepresents, the work of Cyrille Vogel" (emphasis added). I leave it to the reader to judge who is misunderstanding or perhaps misrepresenting.

I hope that those who are interested in religious or cultural transformation will avail themselves of the current paperback edition of *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity* and decide on its merits for themselves.

JAMES C. RUSSELL
Saint Peter's College

THOMAS F. X. NOBLE REPLIES:

I sincerely regret having inadvertently cited page 43 when I should have cited page 167. Likewise, I am sorry that I dropped the words "a level of" from a quotation, although, ironically, the quotation reads better and less ambiguously in my version (and I still think the point being made is wrong).

James C. Russell objects that my review does not provide a clear statement of his book's content. On the contrary, I think that the second paragraph of my review provides a clear and accurate, albeit unflattering, description of the core of the book. Russell picks at the periphery of my review without addressing himself to the heart of my criticisms of his scholarship, approach, and interpretation. On reflection, I stand by what I said.

Russell writes that I am reluctant "to recognize Germanic influences on Christianity." That is not true. I am, however, completely unconvinced that Russell has demonstrated such influences or that his "model" is likely to result in such demonstration. I do object to Russell's reification of "Germanic" because, quite simply, there was no such thing. There were many Germanic peoples who, as historical communities, formed, unformed, and reformed many times in widely varying circumstances. Russell seems either not to know or not to care about this. I suppose that one inevitable consequence of Russell's kind of model building is that historical particularities are planed flat in the construction. Russell seems to have missed the point of my reference to Coptic, Syriac, and other Christian traditions. Here were discernible traditions that emerged from the encounter between Christianity and various human groups with identifiable cultures. My point was to say that what Russell tried to do can be done, and has been done, but has to be done right.

Russell asks if I am "serious" in saying that there was no missionary "policy" in the early Middle Ages. Let me assure anyone interested in such things that I am very serious indeed. Thousands of individual acts of missionary activity do not constitute a policy, and that is what I said. That is, also, the standard scholarly interpretation. If Russell, who mostly does not work from sources, has found a document that articulates such a policy, I should very much like to see it. Russell's remark about the correspondence of St. Boniface is eloquent testimony to his inability to understand medieval sources. Much of Boniface's distress—and his letters are full of distress—arises because he cannot figure out what the "policy" is or should be.

On the matter of liturgy, Vogel, and I following him, got it right. What I said was that Russell misunderstood what Vogel meant by "indigenous." These liturgies were late antique relics that were, in the Carolingian period, re-romanized. But they were not "Germanic," and "indigenous" does not in Vogel's formulation imply that they were Germanic, as it appears to do in Russell's view of things.

I published my first book review in 1973, and over the last twenty-three years I have done nearly 150 reviews in about a dozen journals. The review to which Professor Russell objects is the most critical I have

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ever written, or ever hope to write. I am sorry about that, but I think that my track record shows that the fault does not lie with me. Informed readers will decide in the long run if my assessment is just.

THOMAS F. X. NOBLE
University of Virginia

TO THE EDITOR:

I am delighted to be reviewed in your journal but distressed by the distortions in Hannah S. Decker's review [*AHR*, 100 (December 1995): 1612–13]. She claims that my book, *In Defense of Schreber*, is "basically a polemic," when in fact it is a historical study building on predecessors Sigmund Freud and William G. Niederland. It is astonishing that a trained historian like Decker wants scholarship to stop with Freud and Niederland. Four previous reviewers, all members of the American Psychoanalytic Association, did not complain that I "attacked" Freud or Niederland, for I am not *against* Freud or Niederland but *for* Paul Schreber; I wrote Schreber a life, not a case, and corrected misreadings of Schreber ever since his *Memoirs of My Nervous Illness* appeared in 1903. What Decker basically misunderstands is the difference between what is true in Freud and others and what is true in what Freud or others said *about* Schreber; she misstates my historical findings but has not produced any of her own to disprove mine.

Freud admitted in *Psycho-analytic Notes on an Autobiographical Account of a Case of Paranoia* that he "was not acquainted with the society in which Schreber moved and the small events of his life . . . to trace back innumerable details of his delusions to their sources," but he felt nevertheless justified "to charge . . . Schreber with homosexuality" because "the patient has himself informed the world at large of his phantasy of being transformed into a woman . . . and in translating it into the technical terminology of medicine we have not made the slightest addition to its content" (London, 1958, pp. 57, 43, 42). But Freud has done just that, and today clinicians know that such a fantasy is *not* a prima facie indication of homosexuality. Nor do I claim that "at most, such delusions show that Schreber was a transvestite" but that Freud's interpretation was one-sided, because he did not understand, as we do today, non-homosexual transvestism and gender identity disorders. Furthermore, Freud had no proof that already during the incubation period of the psychosis, *prior to seeing Dr. Flechsig again in 1893* and eight years after they first met, Schreber "was left with a feeling of affectionate dependence upon his doctor which now, for some unknown reason, became intensified to the pitch of an erotic desire." I do not dispute Freud's connecting persecutory delusions to repressed homosexuality where it is proven: I show that such dynamics did not apply to Schreber.

As for Niederland, I do not deny the role of childhood trauma in adult illness, only that Niederland's inferences about Schreber's father are not supported by the extant biographical evidence. In 1963, Niederland was courageous enough to admit: "I do not claim that the data so far accumulated throw light on the nature of Schreber's psychosis. Suffice it to say that some of them appear to be useful in our effort to unravel a few among the many obscure features of the clinical picture and to make the hitherto incomprehensible aspects of Schreber's delusional system accessible to further investigation" ("Further Data and Memorabilia Pertaining to the Schreber Case," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, 44 [1963]: 206). I have done what I could in order to do just that: to further the investigation of the clinical picture of Schreber's illness. In 1980, Han Israels wrote that Schreber's father had been unduly demonized ("Schreber: Father and Son," PhD dissertation, published in 1989).

Decker's review misrepresents me as claiming that Schreber "basically suffered from depression brought on by loss and rage": I only disprove the diagnoses of paranoia or schizophrenia and explicitly state that Schreber suffered from "melancholia," a severe "mood disorder" with "manic-depressive traits," and that the transient "hallucinatory-delusional phase," the famous soul murder of Schreber's second illness that started *four months into his admission*, was a "psychosis within a psychosis." Decker also pooh-poohs the idea that some of Schreber's delusions were a toxic psychosis, whereas Dr. Flechsig actually entered a diagnosis of an intoxication with bromides. I did not suggest that Flechsig caused all of Schreber's troubles, neither was I unaware that Schreber "was a sick man before Flechsig allowed him to be adjudged incompetent." (By the way, Flechsig had nothing to do with carrying out the incompetency ruling: Dr. Weber and the lower court did that.)

Irving Goffman in his work and Albert Deutsch in *The Shame of the States* (1973) showed aplenty how state hospitals as a total institution were like a political concentration camp. The link between dehumanization of patients in Germany and the Nazi euthanasia program was exposed before me by Alexander Mitscherlich and the eminent German historian of psychiatry Klaus Dörner.

ZVI LOTHANE, MD
New York City

Hannah S. Decker does not wish to reply.

THE EDITORS

TO THE EDITOR:

In reviewing my book, *The Hébertistes to the Guillotine: Anatomy of a "Conspiracy" in Revolutionary France* (1994), Barry Shapiro condemns my effort to present the Hébertistes as I think they were [*AHR*, 101 (February 1996): 191–92]. It does not occur to him that one can write about Robespierre without being a "Robespierriste," or, in offering Hébert, without being an

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"Hébertiste." He sees only "a legal nicety" between talk of opposing the revolutionary government and of actually rising in insurrection against it. In my book, I still find the French Revolution to be a progressive event, but Shapiro evidently cannot conceive that it is possible to be sympathetic to Robespierre, Saint-Just *et al.*, in their struggle against the royalist counterrevolution and still be sensitive to those who criticized the Terror from the "left." Although this was not true of the Hébertistes, as I make clear, they still deserve a hearing, whatever one thinks of the *Père Duchesne*'s editor-publisher.

If my study is "generally well-researched," and if it "provides a good deal of useful information and analysis," could it possibly be that it is Shapiro's bias that "detracts from its value as a reliable" review?

What accounts for this extreme hostility to my book? I do not believe it is personal, since Shapiro and I have never met. I suggest that Shapiro has not been able to separate himself from the conservative, political atmosphere that permeates our present culture. This is why, perhaps, he cannot comprehend a different historical epoch. Needless to say, Shapiro's quarrelsome review does nothing for scholarship and, indeed, undermines the civility that ought to mark relations among colleagues.

MORRIS SLAVIN
EMERITUS
Youngstown State University

BARRY SHAPIRO REPLIES:

Of course, one can write about Robespierre or Hébert without being a "Robespierriste" or an "Hébertiste." I only said that Morris Slavin was "fundamentally sympathetic" to Hébert. Of course, there is a big difference between a call for an insurrection and an actual insurrection. I only pointed out that the frenetic atmosphere of the Year II was hardly conducive to a careful consideration of this distinction. Of course, one can be sensitive to "left" criticisms of the Terror and still retain some sympathy for Robespierre and Saint-Just. I only noted that, whatever the balance sheet in Slavin's other work, sympathy for the Incorruptible and his colleagues is in short supply in this particular book.

It is unfortunate that Slavin was so offended by my criticism of the moralistic tone of his book, though attributing "extreme hostility" to me and accusing me of "undermining civility" seems like something of a stretch. It is undoubtedly true that my response to his work reflects some kind of political bias, although the assumption that unwillingness to embrace his formulaic Marxism translates into conservatism seems transparently simplistic. In any event, it is hard to see why my own particular political biases, whether "conservative" or, as I would prefer to characterize them, "left-liberal," have rendered me any less able to "comprehend a different historical epoch" than Slavin, unless, of course, it is only those who disagree with him who have biases.

BARRY SHAPIRO
Allegeny College

TO THE EDITOR:

I am writing to comment on the review of Peter Iverson's book *When Indians Became Cowboys*, written by William W. Savage, Jr., which appeared in the February 1996 issue of the *AHR* [240–41]. I thought the review was terrible and highly inappropriate, in part because of its snide and sarcastic tone and in part because it did not meet the criteria of reviews that your editors themselves established and spelled out in the same issue under "Book Reviewing in the *AHR*" [xix–xxi].

It says in that piece that you "expect reviewers to write thoughtful and engaging critiques that explain the basic argument of a book, assess its strengths and weaknesses, and place the book in its historiographical context" (xxi). These are excellent criteria, but Savage's review of Iverson's book hardly begins to meet them.

In the first place, he never does consider the book's historiographic value, offering nothing about its place in the literature of Indian history or history of the American West generally. Nor does he summarize the book's content adequately or examine its major argument, except for a single throwaway line in which he acknowledges Iverson's point that Indian cattle ranching "is a native survival strategy." Yet he offers no assessment of the validity or merits of that claim. In addition, the tone of his review is highly condescending, as when he refers to "earnest scholars of Iverson's ilk" and laments the lack of assistance that Iverson received in editing the manuscript. Savage thus implies that Iverson is a sloppy and careless writer who dares to send off manuscripts riddled with errors. This assessment is inaccurate and arrogant.

But the worst part of the review is Savage's digression from the book itself into an indictment of academic publishers. Taking his cue from some typographical errors in the book, Savage finds an opportunity to blast not only the University of Oklahoma Press but academic presses generally for incompetence in editing and book production because of their management by "technocrats" and their faith in computers. This tirade against publishers may have its place somewhere, but to allow it to stand in a relatively short review of a single book can only be regarded as poor judgment.

On the whole, the review seems to reveal more about the reviewer's own foibles and biases than about the merits of Peter Iverson's book. It falls short on most of the criteria the *AHR* has set for book reviews, and it should not have been published.

MARK HARVEY
North Dakota State University

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WILLIAM W. SAVAGE REPLIES:

I would prescribe for Mark Harvey the sedative of quiet reflection. His are the fulminations of a naïf who believes a good friend to have been wronged, so of course he must deny the message and rebuke the messengers who brought it. Sadly, his grasp of the editorial function seems at best unprofessional and at worst conspicuously impaired. The censorship he recommends might be suited to third-rate publications with which he may be acquainted, but to suggest that a journal of the *AHR*'s stature embrace it is quite absurd.

As I understand it, Harvey's complaint is that I, not he, reviewed Peter Iverson's work. Or perhaps it is that I did not read the book as he would have read it, and so my review was "snide and sarcastic" and "terrible and highly inappropriate" and "highly condescending" and "inaccurate and arrogant" and "should not have been published." Of course my review was none of those things, and indeed it was published.

Perhaps Harvey's agitation derives from exaggerated notions about the influence of book reviews. I have never known a historian worth his or her salt to be dissuaded from reading a book on a topic in which he or she had an interest, merely because of five hundred words someone else wrote about it.

WILLIAM W. SAVAGE, JR.
University of Oklahoma

TO THE EDITOR:

Responding to a hostile review of one's book is a thankless task, especially when the reviewer gets the last word, but I am compelled to challenge Michael McGerr's review of *Swing Changes: Big-Band Jazz in New Deal America* for two reasons [*AHR*, 101 (February 1996): 254–55]. First, it misrepresents my book; second, it raises issues of more general interest about the historical study of popular music.

McGerr first admonishes me for wanting to have it both ways, to write as if I know what swing really means while acknowledging its many meanings for contemporaries. But historians do this all the time, almost by definition. Just because a phenomenon had diverse and contradictory meanings doesn't mean a historian sixty years later cannot try and sort it out.

McGerr's more serious charge is that I ignore the musicians and the music. This fundamentally misconstrues the intent of my book. My goal was never to write a musical history of swing. Gunther Schuller has already written an exhaustive study. There are many feet of shelf space devoted to biographical studies of swing musicians. Journalists such as Stanley Dance, George Simon, and Whitney Balliett have written several book-length collections. My aim was to bring the musicological insights of Schuller and others to bear on the historical context that these accounts of swing have left out. My purpose was to write a social history of a cultural form, to explore how swing functioned as an industry and expressed social and economic tensions of the 1930s and 1940s. To do this, it was necessary to look behind the great stars and consider the others: dancers, booking agents, Hot Club members, ballroom operators, FBI agents, record producers, and yes, critics (who, by and large, were very close to the musicians they wrote about). To dismiss my book for not paying sufficient attention to stars like Count Basie or Benny Goodman is like assailing a book on, say, popular politics for not devoting most of its attention to U.S. presidents.

But even if one accepts McGerr's Great Man approach to the study of popular music, his characterization of my work misses the mark. Musicians famous and obscure are quoted on virtually every page, both from contemporary sources and from memoirs or oral histories. McGerr complains that I devalue Duke Ellington at the expense of John Hammond. First, Hammond was a crucial player in swing, as influential as any other single artist. Second, I discuss and quote Ellington in every chapter of the book: his experiences in Hollywood, his involvement in Popular Front politics, his opinions on a wide variety of musical and social issues, including bebop.

Like McGerr, I initially accepted the conventional wisdom about the relationship between swing and bebop. Then I did my research. Ironically, it was by honoring the musicians' own words that I came to believe that bebop is better understood as an offshoot than as a dramatic break from swing. It is important to acknowledge what the bebop musicians said, to be sure, but it is also important to notice what they did. There is no denying that certain types of bebop sound very different from certain types of swing. But the ear is no less fallible than the eye; it all depends on what one is listening for.

Finally, McGerr belittles me for making "unsubstantiated claims," namely, failing to demonstrate a connection between swing and the New Deal. It is hard to know what such a smoking gun would be: a newly discovered section of the WPA devoted to big-band jazz, perhaps. Different historical arguments deploy different types of evidence and demand different standards of proof. To argue that New Deal America was a swing-shaped culture involves a very different standard of proof than an argument about (for example) what caused the "Roosevelt Recession." To a degree, the adequacy of historical demonstration is in the eye of the beholder. I am sorry that McGerr did not find my connections persuasive on the basis of a cursory reading. But I take comfort in the number of reviewers, historians, and lay readers who have been persuaded by the arguments in *Swing Changes*.

DAVID W. STOWE
Michigan State University

MICHAEL MCGERR REPLIES:

I regret that David Stowe considers my review unfair. I have not misrepresented his book. Instead, I have

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judged it according to Stowe's own claims and professed standards.

It is Stowe who, on page 9, faults earlier writers for a narrow approach to music history and calls for "broadening our conception of 'the music' to include social elements." But he then goes on to produce a new kind of narrow music history by denying musicians—certainly one of the "social elements"—a central role in his account.

It is Stowe who, on page 10, suggests that music has multiple meanings subjectively constructed in different ways by different audiences, rather than any inherent meaning. But he then proceeds, on the bottom of the same page and onto the next, to locate the real, inherent meaning of swing in its purported connection to the New Deal. If meaning is in fact a subjective, social construct, why should a reader privilege Stowe's interpretation?

Moreover, this interpretation lacks evidence at crucial points, as he now seems to concede with his invocation of a "very different standard of proof" and his inability to produce "a smoking gun." If Stowe did not have that "smoking gun," he should have been more cautious about his claims. Of course, one way to substantiate the connections between the music and the broader social and political context would have been to examine more carefully the lives of the musicians who created swing. Just how did life in the corporate, bureaucratized America of the New Era and the New Deal affect the men and women who transformed the small-group jazz and large-orchestra popular music of the 1920s into big-band swing?

Stowe's argument for the less-than-revolutionary character of bebop also suffers from his neglect of musicians and their music. Despite the research mentioned in his letter, his book does not deal adequately with the written evidence of musicians' sense of a revolution or with the aural evidence of music's upheaval in the 1940s.

Stowe's letter attempts to obscure these difficulties. He accuses me, without evidence, of favoring a "Great Man [*sic*] approach to the study of popular music," apparently because I named three musicians associated with John Hammond and presumably well-known to the readers of the *American Historical Review*: Count Basie, Benny Goodman, and Billie Holiday (who was, of course, a woman). But I could equally have named more obscure musicians such as Hank Duncan, Gabe Galinas, and Nan Wynn. My review did not fault Stowe for overlooking what he calls "stars" but for neglecting "the group of men and women who created the music."

Stowe's letter also resorts to unfounded sarcasm when it conjures up a big-band section of the Works Progress Administration. But sarcasm and misrepresentation cannot conceal the fundamental problem at the heart of this book: because Stowe chose not to focus intensively on the music and the musicians, he could not produce the broad cultural history he wanted to write and he could not prove the connection between the music and the society he wanted to make. As I concluded in the review, "A cultural history of music without the music and the musicians is inherently inaccurate and mystifying."

MICHAEL MCGERR
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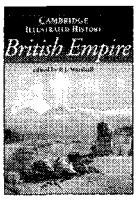
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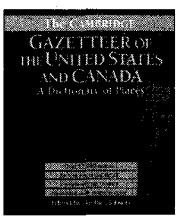
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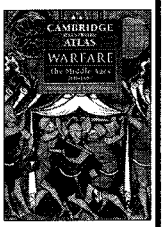
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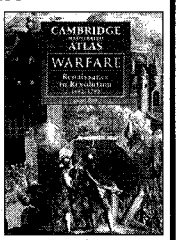


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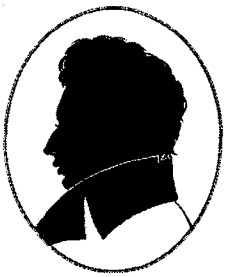
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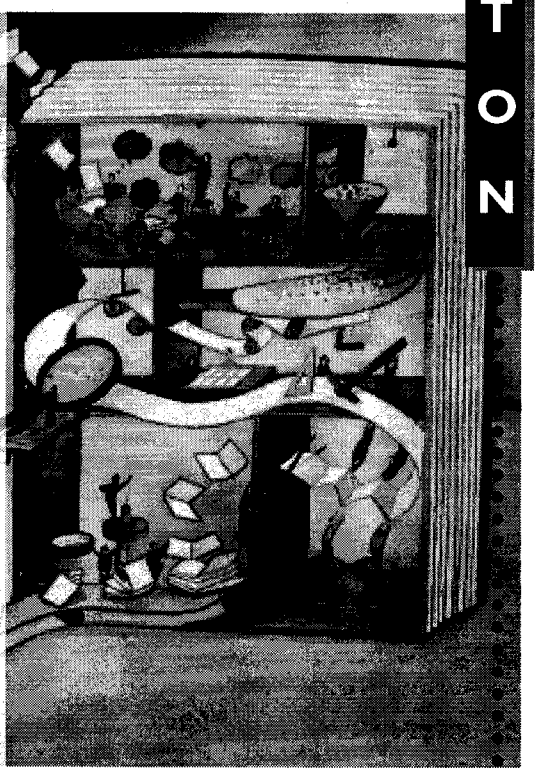
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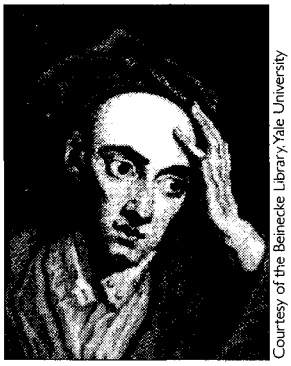
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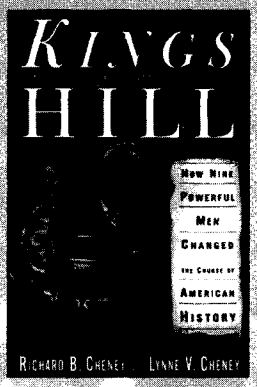
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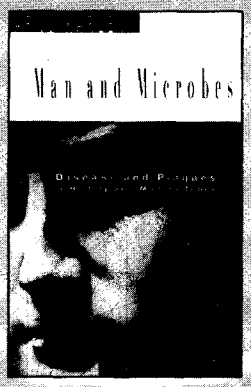
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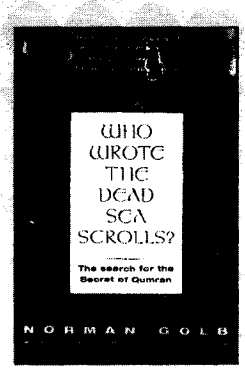
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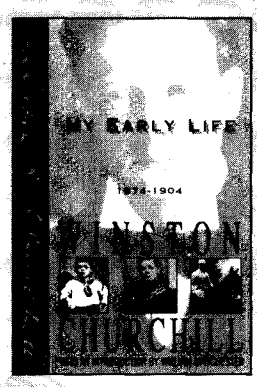
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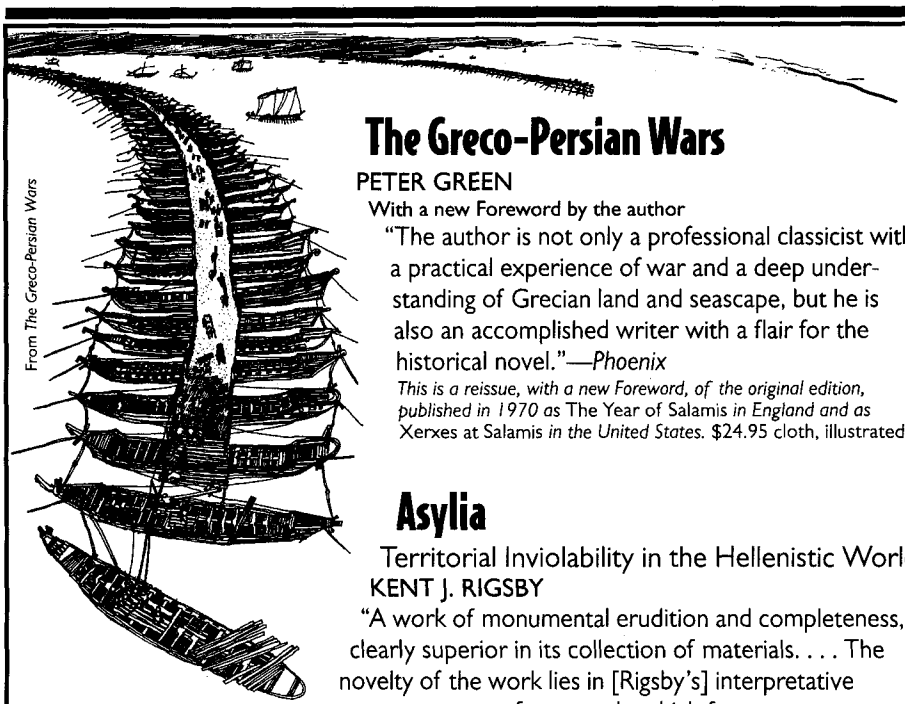
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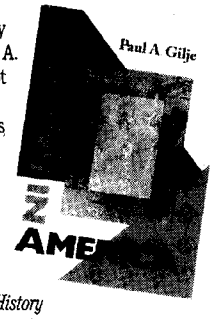
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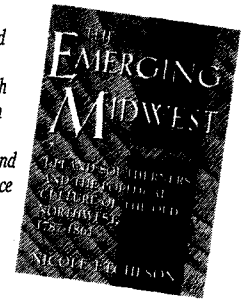
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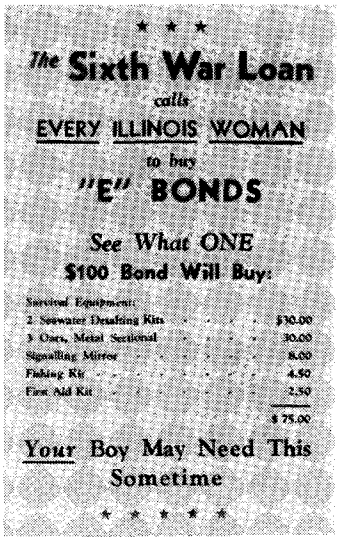
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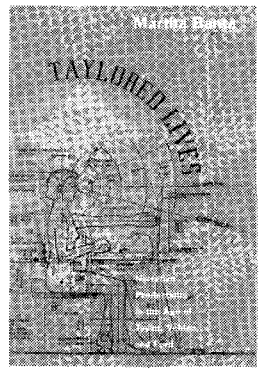
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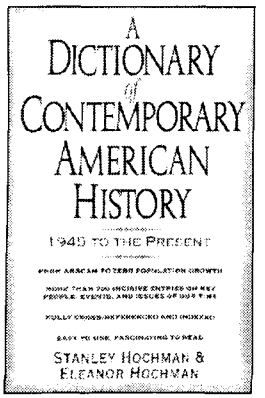
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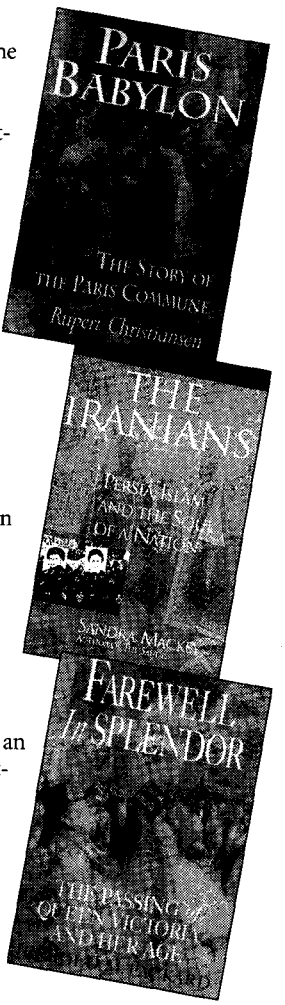
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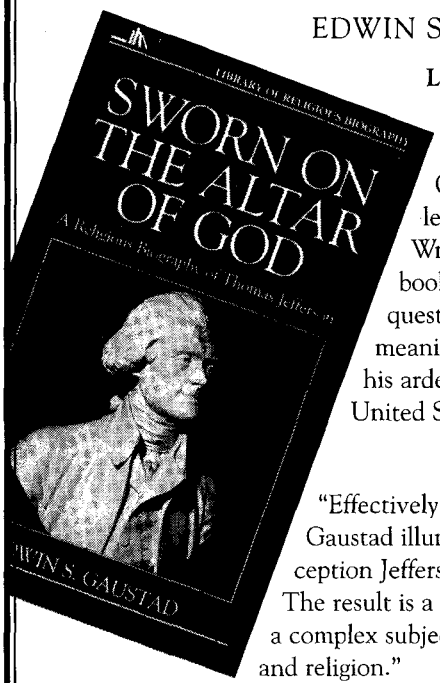
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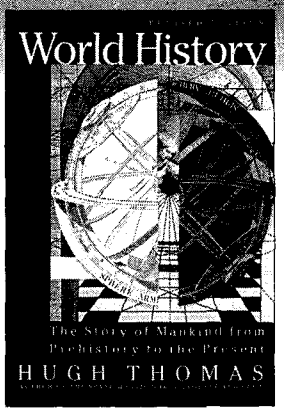
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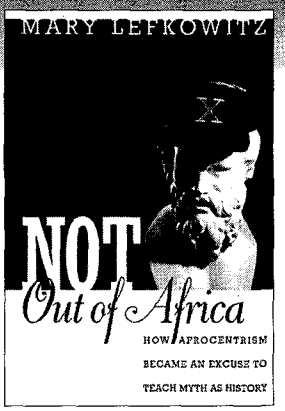
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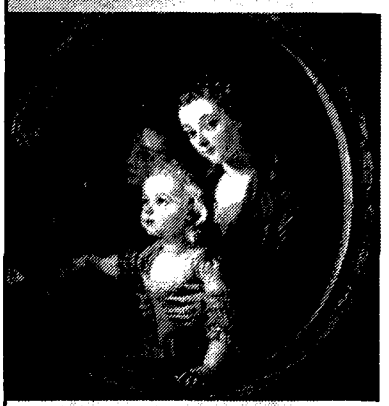
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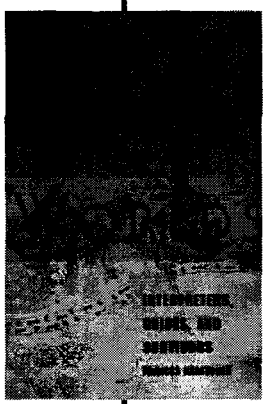
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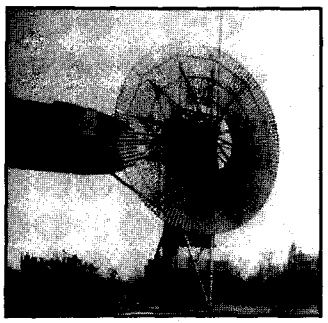
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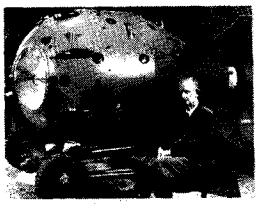
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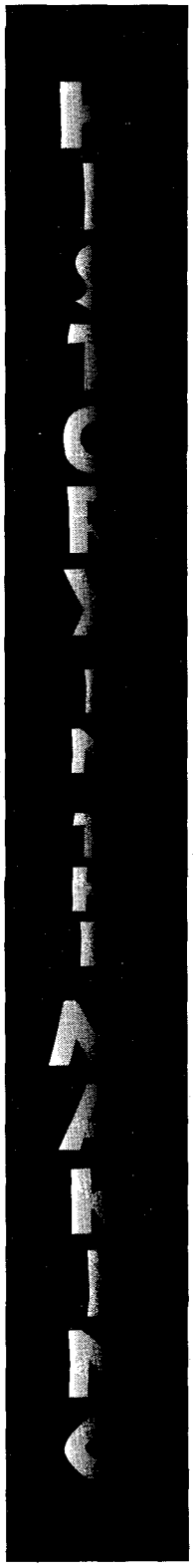
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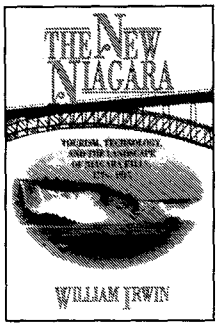
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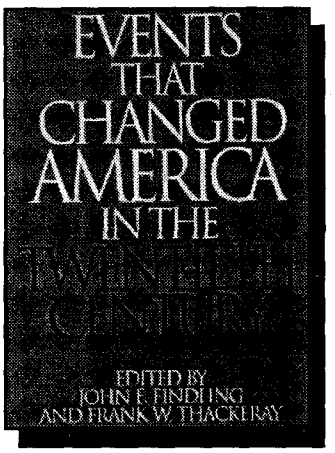
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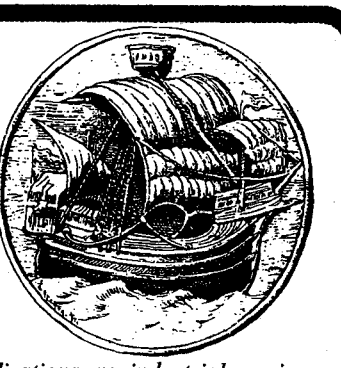
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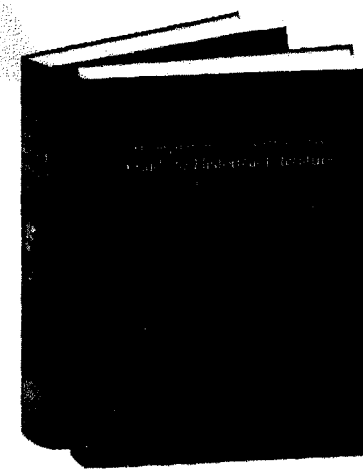
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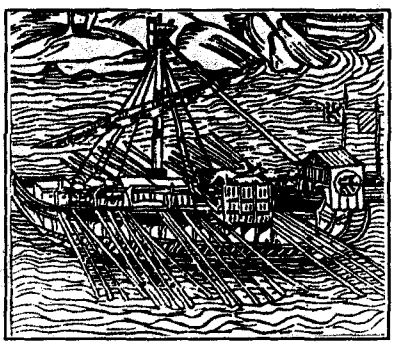
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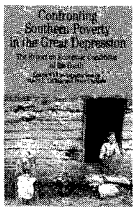


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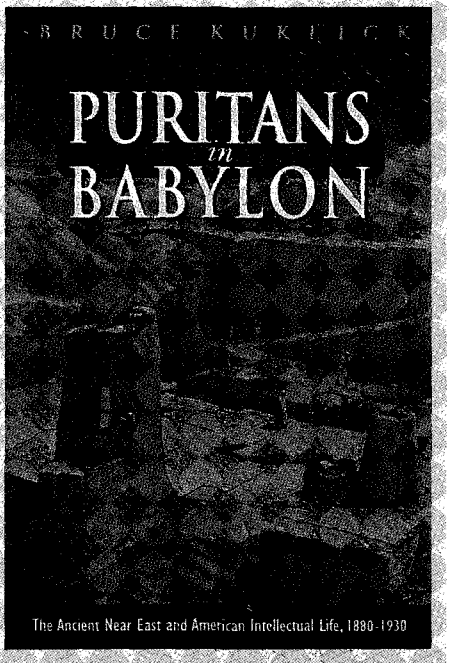
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